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Sholapur, 24-3-34.

"I am very glad to inform you that the variety of vegetable and other seeds that were ordered of you for the Agricultural Crops Court for the Agricultural Show at Barsi proved true to type and produced vigorous, uniform and bountiful crops."

C. R. GOKHALE,
Inspector of Agriculture.

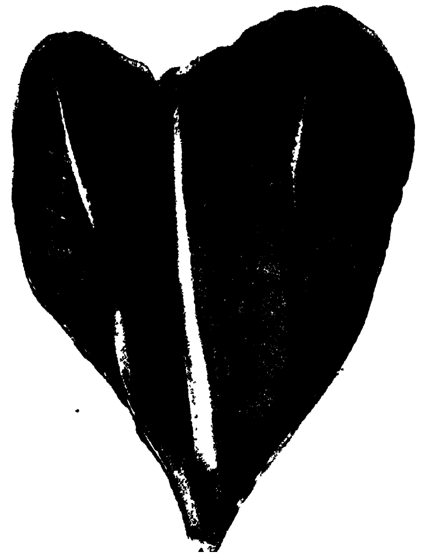


Batticaloa, 20-1-34.

".... I am glad to inform you that seeds from every packet you sent me quite recently have germinated to my satisfaction I am in charge of a Leper Settlement and I get the seeds for the Settlement. Our Settlement is on a small island which is over 100 acres in extent. It is a beauty spot and is visited by the town-folk regularly. They never fail to appreciate the fine flowers we grow from your seeds...."

Dr. A. S. HUNT,
Manthivu Leper Settlement,
Batticaloa, Ceylon.

Pestonjee P. Pocha & Sons,
SEED MERCHANTS,
POONA

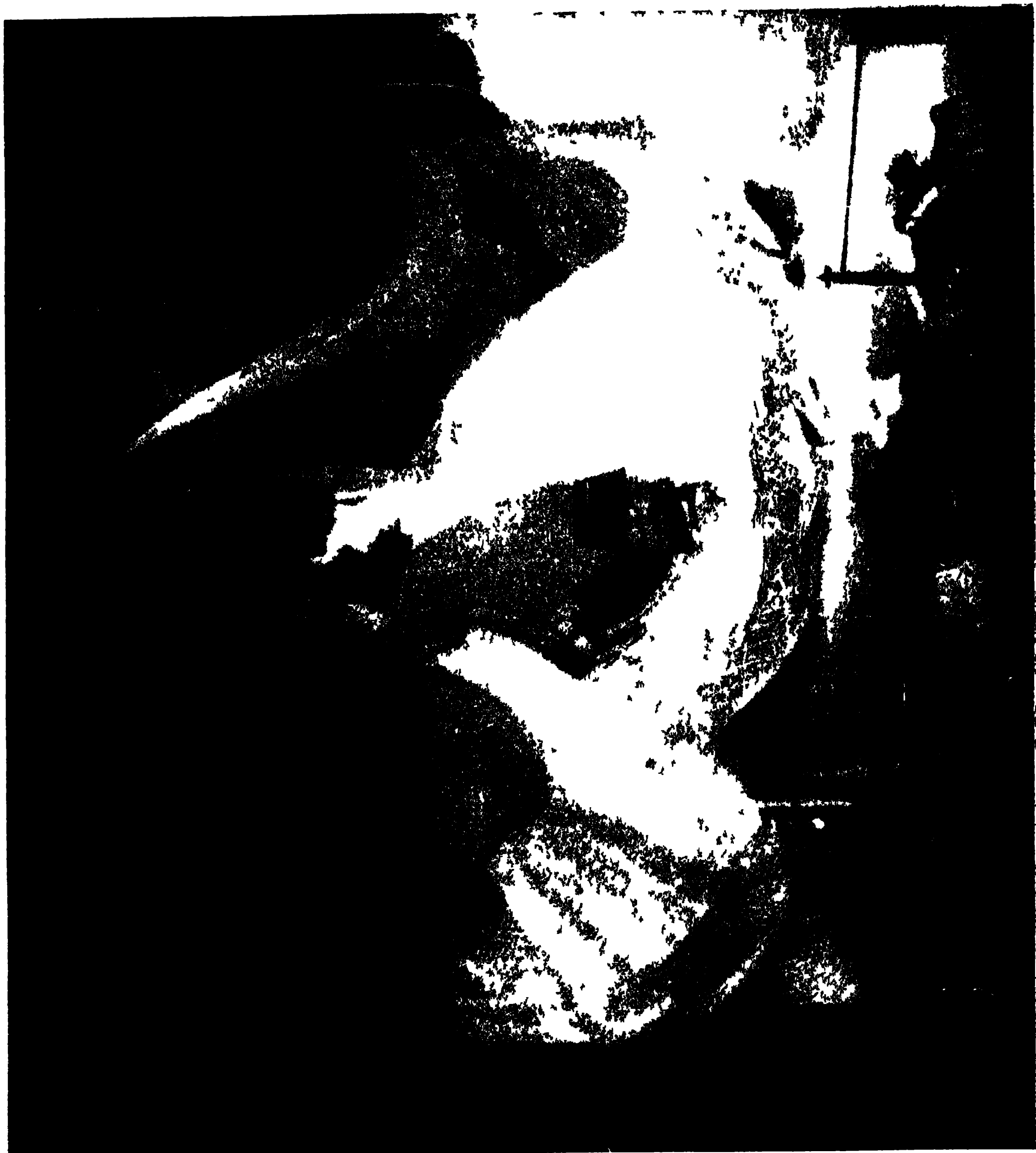


C/o The Burma Oil Co., Ltd.,
Masimpur, Dist. Cachar,
23rd February 1934.

"I am pleased to say that the seeds from your winter-collection have given very good results. I have had particular success with your Sweet-peas, Phlox, Hollyhocks, Antirrhinums, Petunias, Carnations, Pinks and Sweet-Williams, and can recommend these to any amateur gardener".

A. REID.





THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1934

VOL. LVI., No. 1 WHOLE No. 331

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

BY R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., EX-M.L.C., ETC.

MY object in this paper is to review the present political situation and to consider how best, in the present circumstances, we may work for the attainment of our national goal. The turn that events have recently taken makes such a review and consideration both opportune and necessary.

The outstanding features of our internal political situation as it is being moulded by ourselves are (*i*) the suspension of civil disobedience, and (*ii*) the lifting of the boycott of legislatures by the A. I. C. C. Both these decisions are of great importance, and it is not quite easy to foresee exactly what colour they may give to our national politics for some years to come. Externally, we are confronted with a scheme of constitutional changes, the exact nature of which will only be known after the publication of the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, but which, it may be predicted with confidence, will not be better or less illiberal than that embodied in the White Paper. Besides these new elements of the situation, the problems of Hindu *Sangathana*, of Hindu-Moslem unity, of the status of our countrymen in our Indian States, and of the economic order that should be established so as to ensure a reasonable standard of well-being and comfort for the masses and the lower middle classes, have produced and are producing varied currents of thought and activity.

Since 1921, our political life and movements have been dominated by the spirit and methods of direct action. We have employed the weapons of non-co-operation, non-payment of taxes, and civil disobedience, hoping that thereby we may be able to awaken the conscience of the British, and to bring moral pressure to bear upon the Government so that they may be persuaded to agree to a political settlement such as may ultimately eventuate in the full fruition of our national aims and as therefore we can accept without derogation to our national self-respect. Our national movements have passed through various phases and vicissitudes of fortune, but our objective has always been definite and clear, *viz.*, either Dominion Status, or complete national independence. It may seem preposterous to talk of national independence when even the semblance of dominion status is so remote or problematical ; but in politics, grudging and inadequate practicalism must be met by growing idealism, particularly when such idealism, being rooted in sound principle, cannot be regarded as mere utopia, in the unknown and unknowable evolution of national destinies which no doubt are largely the products of human designs and endeavours, but from which the working of the Divine in time and in the conflicts of races and nations cannot altogether be eliminated.

The voluntary sufferings and sacrifices

which we have undergone during the last twelve years have not, it must be regretfully confessed, succeeded in bringing about those tangible results at which we aimed. We have succeeded neither in appealing to the reason of the Government nor in awakening their conscience, nor in producing a change of heart, or spirit or will in them, nor in exercising such pressure upon them as to make them bend to our will. Mahatma Gandhi's soul-force has produced no effect whatever upon the fundamental political policy of the Government, though in one respect, *viz.*, the Communal Award in its relation to the depressed classes, that soul-force, when it was backed by the higher soul-force manifested in the unity of the Hindus in the matter, led to a modification of the Award. Except to this limited extent, our soul-force has not triumphed over the repressive, the legislative and the political forces of the Government. It is open to a protagonist of soul-force to argue that it has failed, not because it is in its nature incapable of succeeding, but because it was not manifested on an adequately wide and intensified scale. It is also arguable that a movement even of soul-force must become national both in thought and deed before it can hope to succeed, and that the failure of our soul-force movement is only another illustration of the truth that a partial or sectional movement cannot hold its own against the immense material and political resources of an astute and powerful foreign Government adept in the arts of ruling a subject population. Our past history, it may be said, records many an instance of our struggles for preserving or regaining our national independence having failed because they did not crystalize into united national movements. The Rajput, Mahratta and Sikh movements in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries failed because they did not embody the spirit of All-India national patriotism. The movement of 1857 failed also for the same reason. And Mahatma Gandhi's movement of Satyagraha or soul-force has failed not because of its inherent inefficacy but because it did not receive adequate response from all communities and classes of India. These arguments are not without any force whatever. In terms of logic or *a priori* reasoning, it is possible to conceive that even the hard and hardened hearts of our rulers may melt at the sight of millions of our people patriotically and cheerfully courting imprisonment and undergoing the hardships and tortures of jail life, in the cause of their country. But, humanly speaking, in the present circumstances and conditions of India, such a national mass movement of soul-force or civil disobedience does not seem to be a practicable proposition. Mahatma Gandhi expressed the hope that ten millions of people would follow him in the practice of civil disobedience. That hope has not been realized, and he has found it expedient to suspend it step by step and to reserve it exclusively to himself, at any rate for the time being. We may regret the failure of all these Congress movements; we are bound to take note of the length to which the Government may go in meeting such movements. But we must transmute all our experiences into principles and guides for future policies and programmes.

On the other hand, I do not think that these movements have been barren of any good results or are utterly destitute of moral value, or of political significance. Our national consciousness has grown; our spirit of resistance has risen; our ideals are being crystalized and are taking wider forms so as to embrace social and economic issues. Come what may, there is no possibility now of our taking wrong and injustice lying down; and we are being led to think more and more about a social, a political and an economic order in which we can find our national self-realization at the highest level. Even the region of religious thought and life, I may observe in passing, is being re-surveyed in the light not only of our own vast accumulated religious experiences but also in the light of Western developments of thought regarding the relations between science and religion. The fact is India is having a new birth and what we have witnessed and are witnessing around us is the pangs and the travails thereof. Apart from these indices to the moral significance of our movements, they have also led the Government not only to take the offensive but also to be on the defensive. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was imprisoned for his alleged continuance of the no-tax campaign in

violation of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact; but the U. P. Government realized that some measure of relief must be granted to the peasantry if it was to be weaned from Congress influence. Sir Frederick Syke's scheme of rural uplift is but a governmental reaction to Congress agitation and work among the masses. I should not be surprised if all the provincial Governments were to be busy devising ways and means for stemming the tide of nationalist and socialist influence upon the masses.

These are observations of a general character, perhaps they are even platitudinous. But they are necessary in order to make the general situation clear and to enable us to see it in the proper perspective. I now proceed to examine it in some detail.

There is a consensus of opinion that Mahatma Gandhi has done well in suspending Civil Disobedience. This suspension may mean suspension *sine die*, which will be virtual withdrawal or abandonment, or it may mean discontinuance for some time. Apart from expediency, I do not think that Civil Disobedience should in no circumstances form part of our armoury for fighting freedom's battle. Its justification may be determined by the policies and attitudes of Government and by the readiness and determination of large united sections of the people to resort to it with a fair measure of persistence. Granted that it may not succeed; at all events it is a moral method of lodging national protests in justifying situations. We cannot therefore agree to absolute and permanent surrender of a legitimate weapon. The only way to prevent its use is for the Government to broadbase their authority upon the will and consent of the governed.

Now let us see what the decision of the A. I. C. C. to lift the boycott of legislatures exactly means. I shall quote a material portion of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee on the subject. It says,

> "In as much as there exists in the Congress a large body of members who believe in the necessity of entry into the legislatures as a step in the country's progress towards its goal" etc., etc., and further on "The Board shall select only such Congress members as candidates as will be pledged to carry out in the legislatures the Congress policy as it will be determined from time to time."

In speaking on this resolution Mahatma Gandhi said,

> I shall retain my disbelief in the legislatures as an instrument for obtaining Swaraj in terms of the masses...Council-goers hope to reap limited benefit for the nation through the councils. There is no doubt in my mind that the benefit would be insignificant when compared to the energy that must be spent on it. The Parliamentary work must be left to those who are so inclined. I hope that the majority will always remain untouched by the glamour of council work. In its own place it will be useful.

From this it will be seen that Mahatma Gandhi still does not believe in council-entry, though he has not now used such condemnatory language about it as he more than once had done in the past. In spite of his lack of faith in legislatures he has begun to realize that at least in its own place council work will be useful. It cannot yet be concluded whether or not a majority of members of the Congress is in favour of council-entry. The resolution of the A. I. C. C. as it stands simply recognizes that a large body of the members of the Congress believe in the necessity of entering the legislatures and that they believe in it as a step in the country's progress towards its goal. And acting on this recognition, the A. I. C. C. has passed a permissive resolution allowing those who have faith in council-entry to work for it and requiring that those Congressmen who may be elected to legislatures on behalf of the Congress must work in them subject to the control of the All-India Congress Committee. As I understand the resolution, the Congress is not yet committed to council-entry. If and when the Congress meets in October next, it may accept one of the following alternatives, *viz.*, (*i*) Vetoing altogether the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee. (*ii*) Without deciding whether a majority of Congress delegates is or is not in favour of council-entry, it may adopt the resolution as passed by the All-India Congress Committee, and (*iii*) though a majority of Congress delegates may be found not to be in favour of council-entry, yet the Congress may decide to allow those of its members who believe in council-entry to contest elections or otherwise to take part in them. I will not hazard a prophecy; but I feel certain that under the powerful and almost compelling influence of

Mahatma Gandhi the first alternative will not be preferred by the Congress. If the Congress decides by a majority to favour council-entry, it will mean that the majority of Congress men have begun to realize that legislatures should not be boycotted.

In October last, the Democratic Swaraj Party was formed at Bombay. I have joined that party and naturally feel interested in the question of the relations between it and the Congress. In this connection, may I make a few personal references, so as to clarify my own position ? I had hoped that the deliberations of the Round Table Conference would result in a satisfactory settlement of our political and constitutional problem. I expressed that hope in my books viz. *India's Struggle for Swaraj* and *Principles of the Constitution of the United States of India* and in the speeches I had occasion to make on the subject in the Bombay Legislative Council. In the first issue of an English journal which I started in September 1932, and which unfortunately had to be discontinued, in describing the general policy of the paper, I wrote as follows:

> I do not yet despair of India's legitimate development taking place as an integral and equal member of the British Commonwealth. When I feel convinced that such development is not possible within the British Commonwealth, I may withdraw my present support of the British connection.

Then came the White Paper. Lecturing on the White Paper at Nasik in May 1933, I publicly declared that in view of the nature and trend of the proposed constitution, I no longer thought or hoped that the legitimate development of my country would, within a reasonable period of time, take place within the British Commonwealth ; and I decided to join or rejoin the Congress. I had some correspondence with Mr. Aney, the then President of the Congress, in which I conveyed to him my desire to become a Congress man, making it plain, however, that I did not approve of the boycott of Councils and would work within the Congress for lifting it. When therefore the Democratic Swaraj Party was formed, I had no difficulty in joining it and even accepting the condition that a member of the party must be a member of the Congress, when Congress organizations would function again. Such having been my own personal reaction to the policy of the White Paper, I am bound to consider the question of the relations between the Democratic Swaraj Party and the Congress. A meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Swaraj Party was held on the 13th May to consider what should be its attitude with regard to the Swaraj Party formed at Ranchi. The All-India Congress Committee has scrapped that party. No doubt the situation arising out of the decision of the A. I. C. C. will be carefully considered at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Swaraj Party to be held in July next. I for one shall feel very happy if conditions will come into existence, favourable to the discontinuance of the Democratic Swaraj Party as a separate body. At the same time, I must make it clear that, as far as I can see, there are three grounds of difference between the Democratic Swaraj Party and the A. I. C. C., *viz.*, (*i*) the attitude of the Democratic Swaraj Party towards council-entry is not exactly the same as that of the A. I. C. C. The Democratic Swaraj Party does not believe in the boycott of the legislatures : (*ii*) the Democratic Swaraj Party is opposed to the Communal Award and does not accept it as a settled fact ; while the A. I. C. C. has neither accepted nor rejected it but adjourned it *sine die* for the consideration of a constituent assembly if and when it is convened ; and (*iii*) the Democratic Swaraj Party feels a certain amount of scepticism about the soundness of Mahatma Gandhi's methods ; it thinks that Mahatma Gandhi should not be so much guided by his inspirations and intuitions, and that he is at times unduly and unnecessarily uncompromising, and at other times launches upon the country changes of policy as sudden as to be almost volcanic. In spite of these difficulties, I for one have every hope that an understanding will be reached between the Congress and the Democratic Swaraj Party. If the Democratic Swaraj Party feels assured that there is no possibility of a sudden reversion to the now discarded policy of boycott of legislatures, such an understanding may be facilitated even though it may involve the extinction of the Party.

I now come to the White Paper. I wish to go somewhat deeply into the matter. I make a distinction between the White Paper Constitution as it relates to the Centre and as it relates to the provinces. In its relation to the Centre, it is open to grave objections of a fundamental character. Its basic principle of an All-India Federation with paramountcy as regards Indian States vested in the Crown, with its perpetuation of the existing relations between them and the British Government—which relations will ever debar them from attaining Dominion Status—and with its denial of any recognized place in the constitution to the people in the States, will be found to be a serious barrier to our own full growth into a Dominion, much less into an independent nation. The scheme as regards the Centre is so cleverly and ingeniously devised as to delay indefinitely, if not altogether to prevent, our becoming a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster, and to prevent absolutely our claiming independence as a right constitutionally arising from Dominion Status. In the first place, the achievement under the scheme of Dominion Status is extremely problematical. But suppose at some remote period, it is achieved somehow, and Federal India then claims the constitutional right to secede. That claim will be countered by the cogent argument that it cannot be conceded without disintegration of the Federation itself; in other words that Federal India as such cannot claim independence constitutionally, inasmuch as it contains two elements, one of which does not and cannot have Dominion Status owing to the paramountcy of the British Crown. It is this constitutional implication that has made the British Government so much enamoured of an All-India Federation. I shall put it differently. The British Government is confident that it will be able to put down any attempt on the part of India to sever the British connection by force. But the question assumes a different aspect when a Dominion wishes to exercise the constitutional right to secede. Such exercise of a constitutional right cannot be put down by force. So the rise of such a situation itself must be provided against, and what should be done is to devise a scheme which will prevent such a claim being made, and even though made, being constitutionally recognized. And this is what has been done in the White Paper Scheme.

The position as regards the provincial part of the White Paper constitution is different and better. It gives us a vantage-ground of which the best use can be made, if only we would make it. Provided that ministries consist of able, independent, and patriotic men devoted to principles and determined to promote measures necessary for the healthy growth of national life, and provided further, that adequate funds are available for giving effect to large schemes of improvement, a lot of good can be done. And in case, the Governor opposes such measures and goes on exercising his veto situations may arise in which he will find it impossible to have ministries at all. The result will be that either he will have to yield or the constitution itself will have to be suspended. The suspension of the constitution in such circumstances need not be regretted, as the ultimate consequences cannot fail to be beneficial.

Now let us realize exactly what we mean when we say that the White Paper scheme must be rejected. One thing is certain. The scheme in its present form or in some worse form, is going to be thrust upon us, unless Mr. Winston Churchill succeeds in wrecking it. If Parliament prefers to accept Mr. Churchill's lead and to wreck it, it is its business and we are not concerned with it; our opposition cannot be given up or weakened because it may furnish him with an additional weapon for wrecking it. We shall not be in sack-cloth and ashes if it is wrecked. But I do not think that the scheme will fail to pass through the present Parliament. We shall be confronted with the proposed constitution as an actual fact. What shall we do then? When we say that it should be rejected, do we mean that the new legislatures should be boycotted? That cannot now obviously be our meaning in view of recent developments. All that our rejection of the scheme would mean is that we declare that we do not accept it, that it is imposed upon us against our will and consent, that we protest against it, that its principles are not binding upon us, that we shall work it only under protest, that we shall make what use we can of it with the sole object of promoting our own ends and ideals.

A survey of the present political situation must take some note of the new currents of political and economic thought flowing into our country. Socialism and communism have each its exponents in India and perhaps we may have Fascism also. I belong to a generation which was nurtured and nourished on Western political radicalism combined with our own metaphysical and religious view of life as expressed in the *Bhagvadgita*. I have been studying and thinking over these different systems; and on the whole, my inclinations are more towards Socialism adapted to our own conditions than to Fascism or Communism. But what I wish to stress is this: our chief objective is and ought to be to win political power. How is it possible to establish a communistic, a socialistic or a fascist state unless we first succeed in winning political power? It is on that objective that all our attention and energies must be concentrated; and the ranks of our nationalist movement must not be divided by uncompromising insistence on differences as regards the very type of the State to be ultimately evolved. Our political problem is already difficult and complicated. It is not wisdom to add to its difficulty and complexity by unnecessary emphasis on issues which are themselvas controversial and which cannot be successfully tackled, without winning political power.

I now come to the second and more difficult part of my paper. This survey of our present political situation is by no means inspiring. We had to retreat and we have retreated. But what about the future? Can I or can anyone point to a royal road whereby we may reach our national goal most quickly? The goal seems to recede more and more in the distance. The hopes of four years ago have been dashed to the ground. The plain truth is that there is no royal road to the achievement of freedom. Freedom's battle is going to be long and arduous and will make a great demand upon our perseverance and constancy in purpose. We may not, we ought not to, despair; but the realities of the situation must be faced. Hindu-Moslem unity is an essential condition of success and it must be achieved. I have always said and written that the achievement of this unity will be a greater manifestation of our national soul-force than individual acts or a partial movement of civil disobedience. I am fully conscious of the difficulties in the way of Hindu-Moslem unity; but they are not insurmountable and I believe that they can be overcome and the unity brought about. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's idea of a national convention or the idea of a constituent assembly is magnificent; but is it practicable without Hindu-Moslem unity? What will be the value of such a convention or assembly if the majority of Moslems remain aloof from it? We may not, we ought not to, give a blank cheque to Moslems; but without doing so, efforts must continuously be made to bring about such unity. Even leaving aside for a moment this question of Hindu-Moslem unity, is there any real organic unity among Hindus themselves? We are about 23 crores in number; the Moslem population *all over the world* is about 25 crores. Of these there are 7 crores in India, 5 crores in Indonesia, 2 crores in Western Asia, about 2 crores in Siberia and China, 5 crores in Africa and about 2 crores in the Balkan States and South Russia. Though scattered over so many countries, they have a sense not only of religious but also of social solidarity. Though we inhabit one and the same soil, we have no such sense of solidarity. Hindu *Sangathana* is absolutely necessary, but it must be organic and real, not superficial. It is my strong conviction held for the last forty years that so long as there are castes, sub-castes, and untouchables among us, Hindu *Sangathana* can never go deep. The Hindu society must be reconstructed on a non-caste basis and then only Hindu *Sangathana* will be a real, living and potent fact.

So the work of realizing Hindu and Hindu-Moslem unity must go on side by side with work of a purely political nature. Constructive work is one of our watchwords and rightly so. This work must be done not only in cities where it is comparatively easy but also in towns and villages where it is difficult. I think it is not now possible to avoid political parties; they will probably increase in number. I would therefore suggest that besides party organizations, in every district there should be a non-party Association whose sole duty should

be to carry on constructive work on agreed lines. Such work should include adult education, education in the elements of political science and in citizenship, the building up of a non-caste, non-communal patriotic spirit and the promotion of *Swadeshi*. It should be purely educative and free from any more propagandist colour than may be inherent in the work itself.

I am glad that the neo-Swaraj Party recognized the value of foreign propaganda. Mahatma Gandhi has hitherto belittled its importance but I hope that he will now realize it. In thinking of India's future, I often think of the policy of the Philippinos in promoting their cause of national independence. They maintained a national embassy in America with a view to impressing upon the Americans the justice of their demand for independence. The American Legislature has recently passed a Bill promising independence to the Philippine Islands in ten or twelve years. America has set a noble example which Great Britain ought to follow. What America has done she can certainly do, if only she has the will to do it. But I know she has no such will. And yet our national work should always include a department of foreign propaganda. Such propaganda should be carried on mainly in America, Switzerland and Great Britain.

Apart from concrete programmes, I insist on the right state of mind being preserved and maintained in all circumstances, through thick and thin. Whatever may happen, however far-off may be the attainment of our national goal, however depressing the situation may at times become, we must always be true, loyal and devoted to our ideal. We must cherish and worship it in the shrine of our hearts. Our national struggle may sometimes be attended by reverses ; what struggle has there been in history which was all victory and no defeat ? But a reverse or even a series of reverses must not weaken our *morale* and our flag must never be lowered, much less hauled down. The fight must be fought to the finish, whatever changes in methods or programmes or tactics may be made. In the serene confidence born of faith in the justice of our cause and in its ultimate victory, we must steadily advance towards the goal. Sometimes the advance may be quick ; more often it may be slow ; at times we may have to halt and wait for a more favourable season for pressing forward. But I for one am as sure as that the day follows the night that the victory and the glory of the victory will be ours, if only the flame of our devotion to our ideal is kept burning with undiminished and untarnished radiance.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TRUSTEESHIP

By BAMAPRASANNA SEN GUPTA, M.A., B.L.

Trusteeship the Back-Ground of the Modern Theory of Colonization

STARTING originally on a different basis altogether, namely, economic exploitation, pure and simple, the conquests of England had to give place to the theory of trusteeship, which ultimately became the back-ground of the modern theory of colonization. This principle has been definitely recognized by America in relation to the Philippines and is now more or less theoretically recognized as the sole justification for the government of one country by another in all cases. None in the twentieth century can possibly contend that they are holding empires for any other purpose save for looking after the interests of people, unfit, due to their comparative backwardness, for self-government. Logically this leads to the conclusion that the ruling race owes a duty to the governed and the civilisation at large to educate its wardens to such capacity and to renounce government over them as soon as the people are so fit.

The Principle in International Law

International law and the society of nations have in modern times emphasized this doctrine often as opportunities occurred for it, till the principle has been finally accepted in the cases of mandated territories by the League of Nations—thanks to the insistence and idealism of ex-President Wilson. International law in the course of its development has striven in its own way to exhibit that the regulation of the relations between the sovereign and subject States does not always affect only the States concerned but touches the humanity at large and should therefore form a matter of concern for international law and international machineries. The theory of "trustee-

ship" so clearly embodied in Art. XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations, may be traced for its first germ in utterances of idealists like Elphinstone, Metcalfe and Macaulay. But the theory took no definite shape at that time, it ended there with utterances and pious wishes.

The Principle in Practice

The principle however was put into practice in the cases of the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, which task was assigned to her by the Treaty of Berlin subsequent to the Russo-Turkish War, as well as that of England over Egypt. The incidents referred to however arose in this way.

The concert of European Powers had ever been keen in presenting before the Porte proposals for the reform of administration of his Christian subjects and often brought in moral pressure to atone for the inhuman atrocities that Turkey perpetrated on the neighbouring Christian States under their subjugation.

When in 1875, the Muhammedan aggression and atrocities reached almost their climax and the slaves in Herzegovina, revolted as a consequence of the relentless Turkish oppression, a Note (known as Andrassy Note, after the name of the Austrian Chancellor of the time) was prepared which contained a scheme of reforms to be pressed on the Sultan for conciliating the insurgents at Herzegovina. The Note was prepared by the governments of Russia, Germany and Austria and comprised in its proposals for reforms "(*i*) the improvement of the lot of the peasantry; (*ii*) complete religious liberty; (*iii*) the abolition of the farming of taxes; (*iv*) the application of the local taxation to local needs; (*v*) the appointment of Commission, half of Moslems, half of Christians, to supervise the execution of these reforms and of others recently promised by the Porte."* The Note could not however be presented to the Porte in 1875 because of the diplomatic intervention of the British Cabinet that was of opinion that the Note was inopportune and that Turkey ought to be given time to carry on the reforms, which by '*irade*' of October 2, 1875, the Sultan had promised to all his Christian subjects. It was however presented to the Porte in January 31, 1876 and Great Britain gave a reluctant assent to it. The Note was accepted by the Porte on February 11, with one reservation. But the Sultan who had been very enthusiastic about promises was lacking in action and the Powers realized that "unless energetic steps were taken by the Powers to stop the spread of the conflagration it would soon wrap the whole of Balkan Penninsula in flames." Accordingly the Berlin Memorandum' was drawn demanding 'the adoption of an armistice for two months; the repatriation of the Bosnian exiles and fugitives; the establishment of a mixed Commission for that purpose; the removal of Turkish troops from the rural districts of Bosnia; the rights of the Consuls of the European Powers to see to the carrying out of all the promised reforms. Lastly, the Memorandum stated that if within two months the three Imperial Courts did not attain the end they had in view (*viz.*, the carrying out of the needed reforms), it would become necessary to take "efficacious measures for that purpose." The Memorandum could not however be presented because of the refusal of the British Government to sign it and consequently the concert was broken up.

Next came the massacre of the Christians in the Balkan Mountains by the Turks as a retort to the murder of some Turkish officials there. This completely alienated British sympathy from the Turks. Lord Derby wrote to Sir Henry Elliott on August 29 that "the impression produced here by events in Bulgaria has completely destroyed sympathy with Turkey. The feeling is universal and so strong that even if Russia were to declare war against the Porte, Her Majesty's Government would find it practically impossible to interfere." And so it came to pass. In the war of 1877 between Russia and Turkey, Great Britain remained neutral, and Austria who ever dreaded Russian extension of power kept herself aloof from the struggles. At the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 some Christian States got independence and Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the administration of Austria-Hungary, who was to rule there as trustee so long as the people were not fitted to rule themselves.

An analogous incident took place in the history of Egypt. As early as 1798 when the French conquered Egypt and continued occupying it for three years till 1801, British statesmen were alive to the sense of the strategical position of Egypt for safeguarding Indian Empire but England took no step for occupying it at that time. The French conquest and occupation for three years weakened considerably the power of the Mamelakes, a Christian military caste in Egypt, before whom the authority of the Sultan over the country had dwindled to mere shadow. This caste was however finally ruined by a collision with Mohamed Ali, an Alban soldier with strong following, who first in Sultan's name and finally in defiance of his power won the allegiance of the different races of the country and set himself as the virtual lord of the land. In 1823 this powerful Pasha conquered the northern Sudan and formed Khartum as the southern bulwark of his realm. In 1821, he built up an army and navy and was on the point of overthrowing Turkish power in Syria, when Great Britain intervened and by the capture of Acre compelled the ambitious Pasha to abandon his northern schemes and own once more the suzerainty of the Porte. From that time till the Great War Egypt was virtually under the suzerainty of the Sultan though actually the protectorate established by Great Britain exercised

* J. Holland Rose's "*The Development of the European Nations.*" P. 164.

alone the supreme authority in the administration of the country.

What These Examples Show

These examples show that the relations between the subject and sovereign States are no longer considered as the domestic affair of any State but are matters for concern of the civilized world. So long strong individual States took upon themselves the responsibilities in interfering where interference seemed to them necessary but now the League of Nations has undertaken to do it. No doubt in the case cited the States in violation of all legal principles exploited their trust and appropriated all the profits of the countries and the trusteeship served only as preliminary steps to ownership. But this could happen only because of the unscrupulousness of the trusted powers and the absence of stronger forces to check them. The move though made in the right direction could not be rightly executed and that in the absence of a definite international public opinion.

Art XXII of the Covenants the League of Nations

The principle of trusteeship however with regard to backward races has been finally accepted in International law by Art. XXII of the Covenants of the League of Nations, which in the opinion of some "creates a new Magna Charta for the weak, backward undeveloped peoples of the world." It runs as follows: "To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States formerly governing them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous condition of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such people form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such people should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience of their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League. . . ." The concluding paragraph of Art. XXII is to the effect that "a permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates." It is also provided that "the majority of the Commission shall be nationals of non-mandatory Powers."

This system, which is a kind of compromise between the proposition advanced by the advocates of annexation and the proposition put forward by those who wished to entrust the colonial territories to an international administration * aims at a better system of administration of backward people than prevailing at present in colonies, dependencies, protectorates or spheres of influence "in the sense that it would more effectively secure the liberty, material welfare and opportunity for development of the native inhabitants, and that it would more effectively secure the opportunity of all States of the world to equal participation in the trade resources of these areas." †

Three classes of mandates have been created *viz.*, (i) the class A; territories formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire are of this class. The Covenant says that those communities that formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire "have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone." (ii) the class B; these are established over peoples such as in Central Africa, whom the mandatory must govern "under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, the prohibition of abuses, such as, the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure against opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League". (iii) The class C; these are over peoples such as in South-Western Africa and the "South Pacific Islands" which, because of the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory are to be administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portion of the territory of the mandatories. It is expected, as that seems to be the only logical conclusion, that the 'C' class mandates will, in the course of time, pass to the 'B' class and next to 'A' class and ultimately to the status of independent territories, when the education and other requisites of their inhabitants have developed sufficiently to justify their inclusions to the society of higher nations.

The question naturally crops up here as what is the status of mandated States and their inhabitants and in whom legally lies the sovereignty of these territories. Unfortunately, the answer to that is not free from difficulty. There are three opinions on the matter. According to Lee "The allied Powers, by creating the mandatory system have placed the sovereignty of all mandated areas in suspense during the operation of respective mandates."§ Mr. Quincy Wright is however

* *Vide* League of Nations, Permanent Commission's Minutes 1st Session, 1921, p. 6.

† Quincy Wright's *Sovereignty of Mandates* in American Journal of International Law, 1924, p. 691.

§ Lee's *The Mandates for Mesopotamia and the Principle of Trusteeship in English Law*, p. 19.

of opinion that it will be a close approach to truth in ascribing sovereignty of mandated territories to the mandatory acting with the consent of the Council of League.* There are, however, some † who regard the mandatory as the real sovereign of the mandated States, the system of mandates being to them nothing but annexation with a promise of future liberation. That the mandated territories are not considered to be under the sovereignty of the mandatories nor are the inhabitants of these territories taken to be nationals of the mandatories are established by the decision in *Christian V. Rex* by the Supreme Court of South Africa, where it was laid down that "the Government of South Africa is not possessed of *Majestas* in the full sense of that term; in other words, it is not a sovereign and independent State .... The signatories must have intended that such possessions should be dealt with as provided by Part I (The League of Nations Covenant) of the Treaty and they were placed at the disposal of the principal Powers merely that the latter might take all necessary steps for their administration on a mandatory basis...... The intention of the signatories seems to have been to place certain overseas possessions relinquished by Germany upon a basis new to international law and regulated primarily by Article 22 of the Treaty. In the same judgment the League of Nations has been referred to as "an association of states which, while retaining their own sovereignty and status, have agreed with one another to pursue a certain line of conduct in international affairs as laid down in the Covenant and to co-operate in certain matters of general concern. It functions through an Assembly, a Council and a permanent Secretariat, but none of these have any compulsory power over the individual states... . It is not a State, it owns no territory, governs no subjects and is not endowed with the attributes of sovereignty". The elaborate report submitted by M. Van Rees of the Parmanent Mandates Commission on the system of State lands in 'B' and 'C' mandated territories also shows that mandated territories are not considered to be under the sovereignty of the mandatories. He says that "under the mandate system the mandatory State is merely the governor of the territory which does not belong to it". § The conclusion is further irresistible from the disclosure made by representatives of some mandatories that States with which they had commercial treaties refused to give the benefit of these territories to goods from mandated territory, which is obviously considered as outside the Empire of the mandatories. Great Britain was unable to obtain favoured treatment as provided in their commercial treaties for goods from Tanganyika and South Africa being also similarly unable to obtain such treatment for goods from South West Africa*

It is seen that the inhabitants of the mandated territories whether native or of European origin do not automatically become nationals of the mandatory. "Persons under 'B' and 'C' mandates cannot be drafted for military service outside the mandated territory except for necessary defence; they are entitled to freedom of conscience and religion and to protection from slave, arms and liquor trade, they have a right to petition the League of Nations for redress of grievances and that they can enjoy the diplomatic protection of the mandatory while abroad". The Permanent Mandates Commission after considering the reports of the Sub-committee that was appointed to examine the question of the national status of these inhabitants presented some resolutions that were passed in the following terms:

"The Council of the League of Nations having considered the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission on the national status of the inhabitants of territories under 'B' and 'C' mandates:

In accordance with the principles laid down in article 22 of Covenant:

Resolved as follows:

(i) That the status of the native inhabitants of a mandated territory is distinct from that of the nationals of the Mandatory Power and cannot be identified therewith by any process having general application.

(ii) That the native inhabitants of a mandated territory are not invested with the nationality of the Mandatory Power by reason of the protection extended to them.

(iii) That it is not inconsistent with (i) and (ii) above that individual inhabitants of the mandated territory should voluntarily obtain naturalization from the Mandatory Power in accordance with the arrangements which it is open to such Power to make with the object under its own law.

(iv) That it is desirable that native inhabitants who receive the protection of the Mandatory Power should in each case be designated by some form of descriptive title which will specify their status under the mandate."

Only in case of South Africa authority was conferred on the mandatory to confer British nationality on the Germans of South-West Africa provided however that every such inhabitant might decline and those who did so might remain and would not be disturbed or molested in any way. No decision, however, with regard to the status of inhabitants in class 'A' mandates has ever been made but in view of the fact that these territories are provisionally recognized as

* Quincy Wright's *Opcit*, p. 698.

† Cf. M. F. Lindley's *The Acquisition and Government of Backward Territory in International Law*, p. 263. According to Dr. Lindley, except in Iraq, the sovereignty rests in the mandatories.

§ *Vide* Permanent Mandates Commission Minutes 3rd Session, 1922, annexure 2. The report is contained in pp. 216—239.

* *Vide* Permanent Commission, Minutes 3rd Session, 1923, p. 27 and p. 110.

independent, that their inhabitants it is evident cannot be assimilated to the nationals of the mandatory.

The question remains for us to consider as to how the mandates are to terminate finaly, and the limit of the power of the mandatories in regard to these territories. The 8th paragraph of Art. 22 says, "The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council". Further in case of amendment of mandates the consent of the Council of the League is necessary. Neither the Council nor the League nor the mandatory can amend the mandates though the two together may do so. In the modification of the Palestine Mandate excluding the provisions relating to a Jewish National Home from the trans-Jordan region, modifications were actually proposed by the mandatory and became effective on approval by the Council. The amendment must however be in conformity with the letter and spirit of Art. 22, the powers of the Council and the Mandatory being defined within the bounds set by the article, they, too, cannot go beyond it.

It is contemplated in Art. 22 that communities under 'A' mandates as also under 'B' mandates will gradually evolve into complete independence while the 'C' class will pass as 'B' class and then in its usual course evolve into independence. According to Article 1 of the Covenant two-thirds of the Assembly may admit new members to the League and by inclusion of the madatory as a member of the League, the mandate may be *ipso facto* terminated. The mandatory may also renounce the mandate or legally terminate it with the consent of the Council, subject however, to the same limitations as in cases of amendments.

The League again seems to have retained no power to transfer a mandate to another state so long as the mandatory meets the terms of the mandates. Neither can the mandatory effect the transfer as is seen from the discussion in the Permanent Mandate Commission and the Council of the League over the assumed transfer of the mandate of Naum from the British Empire to Australia.

There are administrative recommendations and judicial decisions that provide for the observance of the conditions of mandate by the mandatory. In case the mandatory persists in violating the mandate, it would possibly justify the League to choose a new mandatory by replacing the present one, who has forfeited the trust reposed in her by the League. Prof. Henry Gondy says, "Undoubtedly on legal principles failure by the mandatory State to carry out its instructions will warrant revocation. · · ·Nor is it clear what remedy the mandate will have, if the mandatory State neglects its duty under the contract, though probably withdrawal of the mandate would follow". *

Sir A. B. Keith on the other hand remarks that "the commission, of course, has no authority over the mandatory and the Council and the Assembly alike have not means of enforcing their views on the mandatories other than through the general procedure of the League of Nations which normally implies unanimity of opinion". † Generally however the League in terminating the mandate will have to follow the procedure as suggested by Prof. Keith and before taking any action a decision by the Permanent Court of International Justice will have to be obtained. In case the Court decides that the mandatory has violated the mandate, the final paragraph of Art. XIII of the Covenant, which runs as follows, will be applicable. The final paragraph as referred to is to the effect that "The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto".

The Essence

From the above it is quite evident that the administration of the mandante remains not the domestic concern of the mandatory but becomes an international concern, "the sacred trust of civilization", and the entire civilized world, those who are members of the League, (it practically now includes every civilized State save America and Russia) takes upon itself the responsibility to see that the trust is executed and the mandatory discharges its duties for the well-being and development of the inhabitants of the mandated territories.

Other Results Logically to Follow

Logically other results also seem to follow. The members of the League that are Imperial Powers, cannot possibly after this consistently refuse to follow the lead given by the League in the direction. Their policy, therefore, towards their own colonies and dependencies are bound to be shaped by the general principles of the League. International law has not yet gone far enough to hold that the relation between ruling States and their colonies and dependencies are matters for regulation by international bodies. So far the principle is confined only to mandated territories, but the extention of this principle to other subject territories is logically only a question of time.

The League, again, has appointed Great Britain, France, Belgium and Japan as the mandatories and these (over and above America) are the imperial States that count. These States cannot possibly follow one policy with regard to mandated States placed in their hands and another with

* *Journal of Comparative Legislation* 3rd. Sec. Vol. I, pp. 180, 181.

† *Journal of Comparative Legislation* 3rd Sec. Vol. IV, p. 80.

regard to States that came in their charge long ago.

Again, some subject States, *e.g.*, India and Egypt, have been taken as original members of the League and provided with representations in the Assembly and if their suzerain States flagrantly violate the principle of trusteeship in administering their territories while at the same breath advocating it in the case of mandated territories, the representatives of these subject States can at least invoke the moral pressure of the civilized world against the violation and in exceptional circumstances bring about the active intervention of the League. In the equal membership of India in the League of Nations, the seed has been sown which must, sooner or later, lead to the extension of the principle of Article 22 to subject territories other than mandated ones.

The next step, therefore, in the evolution of thought regarding acquired territories will be the recognition of the fact that the theory of trusteeship is not applicable only in cases where the mandatories and mandated States are concerned, but holds good everywhere, where the relations between suzerain and subject States are involved, and that all imperial states have the obligation to the civilized world at large for the administration of all colonies and dependencies to which full self-government has not been conceded. The admission of India and Egypt as original members of the League is a further instalment of the recognition of this principle and the consequent obligation of the suzerain States. The progress of this idea is naturally very tardy and interested attempts are doubtless being made and will continue to be made for a long time to prevent the logical development of the idea by eye-washes and camouflage, but if the progress is sustained, that end is bound to come, or the League of Nations will stultify itself. The history of the world, wherever there has been a struggle between a great idea and established facts, has always shown the triumph of idealism over convention and it is to be hoped that here too there will be no exception to the rule.

A NEW ORIENTATION OF WESTERN SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

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In recent years there has appeared a protest against the accepted values in social and political systems of the West. Eminent thinkers have begun to apply a pragmatic test to these values which have been found wanting in the context of the life in the 'Great Society.'* To this pragmatic inadequacy has been traced much of the evil in the Society and the State. Effectual remedies have, therefore, been suggested by offering a new synthesis of social life. This has resulted in an orientation of the social philosophy of the West, which in its broad principles, bears a close resemblance to the social philosophy of Ancient India.

The protest starts with a clear note of warning against the functional validity of the State and Society. When Earnest Barker speaks of the "Discredited State,"† on which Prof. Laski pours his poignant sarcasm; when Profs. Krabbe and Duguit assign new values to law in its political setting; when Dean Pound‡ preaches a new philosophy of law—its new social and ethical content; or when Prof. Tawney analyses the diseases of a society, that is all for "acquisition" and not for fulfilment, there is the surest indication of an attitude of mind that refuses to acquiesce in the existing order of things.

Prof. Tawney thinks that the Western Society has come to one of its turning points in history when "it should consider whether what it has done hitherto is wise, and if not wise to alter it."§ The turning point consists in the gradual disappearance of social equilibrium due to a lack of proportion between social rights and social functions, or what we may simply say between rights

* *The Great Society,* by Graham Wallas.
† *Political Quarterly,* February, 1915.

* *The Modern Idea of the State*
† *Les Transformations du Droit public*
‡ His two books under reference are:
(a) *Law and morals*
(b) *An introduction to the Philosophy of Law*
§ *Acquisitive Society,* p. 2.

and duties. Rights, he contends, are not properly related to functions, a phenomenon which in its social back-ground creates anomalies, and a temper that finds expression in the attitude of the Socialists, Syndicalists, etc. That these anomalies react on the political structure is also true. For, like the chasm between rights and duties of the individual there is a chasm between the rights and duties of the State. In the words of Prof. Laski, who is never tired of emphasizing the latter point, the modern state possesses rights which "do not involve, save as an act of grace upon its own part, an assumption of proportionate legal responsibility."* It is owing to this twofold—social and political—significance of this single phenomenon that Prof. Tawney's views are worth examining.

The rise of rights he traces to the gradual liquidation of the ethical competence of the State and the universal purpose of religion. Paradoxical as it may appear, it is a grim truth. For, when religion receded to the background, and thus made way for the supremacy of the State, individual rights replaced the synthesizing purpose of religion. This fact could be best explained in the words of Prof. Tawney himself. "During a great part of history men had found the significance of their social order in its relation to the universal purposes of religion... When the Reformation made the Church a department of the secular state, it undermined the already enfeebled spiritual forces which had created that sublime, if too much, elaborated synthesis." Clothed itself with many of the attributes of the Church arose the State. But in the eighteenth century "both the State and the Church had abdicated that part of their sphere, which had consisted in the maintenance of a common body of social ethics." That is to say, "opinion ceased to regard social institutions and economic activity, as amenable, like personal conduct to moral criteria." The result was the disappearance of "the idea of purpose," which consisted in "the conception of men united to each other and of all mankind as united to God, by mutual obligations." When mutual obligations, the purpose of social structure, ceased to influence the minds of men, what remained "was private rights and private interests, the materials of a society rather than a society itself." People "found in the beneficence of natural instincts" all the elements of the divine and did not hesitate to identify their instinct with God. "The result of such ideas in the world of practice was a society which was ruled by law, not by the caprice of governments but which recognised no moral limitations on the pursuit by individuals of their economic self-interest. In the world of thought it was a political philosophy, *which made rights, the foundation of the social order*, and which considered the discharge of obligations, when it considered it at all, as emerging by an inevitable process from their free exercise."*

Thus arose the theory of natural rights of man, which received its consecration from the French Revolution. In the meanwhile sovereignty of the people had been accepted as the basis of political practice in England, and the American and the French Revolutions imparted to it a comprehensive content and sacred character.† Sovereign national state, maintaining the rights of the individual came into existence. At this juncture opened an era of great industrial expansion. This expansion has been fully accomplished in the last century and a half, during which period the operation of the right of the individual, unrelated to adequate social service, has landed the nations of Europe in the unhappy predicament in which they find themselves today. They are today, according to Professor Tawney, in the throes of an Acquisitive Society, of which the tendency is *not* to "secure the fulfilment of tasks undertaken for the public service but to increase the opportunities open to individuals of attaining the objects which they conceive to be advantageous to themselves."§ Indeed as he says the interest of such a society is "to promote the acquisition of wealth." And since wealth controls the vital tissues of a society, and since the modes of its acquisition as well as the fields of its operation bind together the hinterland of states, the ramifications of this

* Laski—*Law in the Modern State*: Intro. p. xv.

* *Acquisitive Society*, pp. 12-15.

† Pound—*Philosophy of Law*, pp. 64-65; *Duguit-Les Transformations du Droit Public*. Ch. I.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

society are therefore not only of national but of international importance. It is not necessary to discuss in this connection how the currents and cross-currents of capital, the extra-territorial interests of nations bear closely upon the problems of peace and security in the world today. In one of his latest essays Prof. Laski very correctly depicts how parties with vested interests seize upon that strong sentiment of the people, called nationalism, to wage wars, that are always to their own benefit.* This is only another way of saying that wars are waged by nation-states and that with their sovereignty they get a fillip from the operation of an acquisitive society. Therefore, the magnitude of competence for good and for evil of such a society could not be judged except in the context of sovereign state.

The State is the guardian of public order and of the rights of the people at home and abroad. For the successful fulfilment of these functions it has been invested in popular thought and traditional theory with sovereignty. The connotation of sovereignty is "the right to act without being called to answer for such policy as it (State) might consider essential to its aims.....In England for example the Crown cannot be sued save by permission of the Attorney-General. All sorts of limitations surround the effort to sue the American State ; ......"† Here lies the similarity between the claims of the Sovereign State and acquisitive society—claims to possess rights unrelated to adequate responsibilities. Indeed each supplements the other in its activities within as well as without national frontiers. Hence there is a good deal of truth in the saying, as Wells§ and many others have said, that claims of Sovereign States are incompatible with the needs of world peace.

To sum up then, in the social sphere the failure to relate adequately rights and duties creates fissures that manifest in the class-struggle, while in the political sphere it creates antagonism between nations that threatens to undermine the world-peace.

* "Economic Foundations of Peace" in the "*Intelligent Man's Way to prevent War.*" Edited by Leonard Wolf.

† Laski—*Law in the Modern State.* Int., p. xv.

§ *After Democracy*, by H. G. Wells.

The structure of such a body-politic therefore needs, in the opinion of Prof. Tawney, radical overhauling. The new structure, he suggests, should be the Functional Society, instead of the Acquisitive Society Europe has today. Built upon the idea of purpose, it adopts the technique of creative functions. The social emphasis is to be laid on the performance of service rather than the enjoyment of rights, rights disproportionate to duties, rights based upon individual instincts. To use his own words: "A society which aimed at making the acquisition of wealth contingent upon the discharge of social obligations which sought to proportion remuneration to service and denied it to those by whom no service was performed, which inquired first not what men possess, but what they can make or create or achieve might be called a Functional Society."*

This view of social reconstruction, though it smacks of Socialism, is very different from Socialism. Tawney stresses creative functions of the individual which should determine his social status and rights. He does not, like the Socialist, stress merely the equalizition of the incidence of wealth in Society. That, indeed, makes a world of difference in his view point. For, if creative work is made the basis of rights, social esteem may be considered as an adequate supplement to, if not the absolute substitute for, equal distribution of wealth in return for the individual's function in Society. Each supplementing the other would create a more appropriate standard of social values than otherwise. That is to say, a right might be conceived in terms, other than merely equal distribution of wealth. Not that equalizing the incidence of wealth as far as possible is of doubtful effect ; but that, that alone does not make for an adequate standard of social values. If creative work is made the basis of the new Society then it is not hard to imagine how many creative functions could not be adequately valued in terms of wealth only. In a Socialist Society, for example, it will be difficult to determine the claims and values of a Newton, a Lincoln, a Cavour or a Tagore in terms of wealth. Hence while the inadequacy of the Socialist doctrine of equalizing

* *Acquisitive Society*, pp. 31-32.

the incidence of wealth as the only means of social reconstruction is apparent, the principle of adopting creative work for the same purpose is far more satisfactory. And again this has the advantage of harmonizing natural or providential inequalities in man with the standard of values in Society.

At any rate, whether with the principle that Prof. Tawney suggests, the reconstruction of European society is or is not feasible, it is beyond doubt that the structure of ancient Indian Society the ruins and ashes of which remain today, had been built upon the very same principle. It was in India that "the main subject of social emphasis" was "the performance of functions." Dharma or social obligations formed the foundation of society. Of course, religious obligations came in that category of social obligations, for religion like many others, is a social institution, and Indian Dharma was extremely comprehensive in connotation. It exactly expresses what Prof. Tawney would have for the foundation of his Functional Society. But it has also its inherent weaknesses, which result from crystallizing functions in groups. Further if it does not relate itself to the peculiar environment in each age, it is likely to degenerate into a system of castes as in India.

But on the whole a Functional Society does not possess, Prof. Tawney himself says, that drive and force which is the hall-mark of an Acquisitive Society. In a telling passage, he analyses the facts and foibles of an Acquisitive Society, and unwittingly offers an explanation of the fall of ancient Hindus.

"The secret of its triumph," he says, "is obvious. It is an invitation to men to use the powers with which they have been endowed by nature or Society, by skill or energy or relentless egotism or mere good fortune, without enquiring whether there is any principle by which their exercise should be limited... By fixing men's minds not upon the discharge of social obligations, which restricts their energy, because it defines the goal to which it should be directed, but upon the exercise of the right to pursue their own self-interest, it offers unlimited scope for the acquisition of riches, and therefore gives free play to one of the most powerful of human instincts. It assures men that there are no ends other than their ends, no law other than their desires, no limit other than that which they think advisable. Thus it makes the individual the centre of his own universe, and dissolves moral principles into a choice of expediencies.. Under the impulse of such ideas men do not become religious or wise or artistic: for religion and wisdom and art imply the acceptance of limitations. But they become powerful and rich. They inherit the earth and change the face of nature, if they do not possess their own souls."*

Prof. Tawney goes on in this strain to condemn the Acquisitive Society. He says people in such a society lose their own souls; but nevertheless "they inherit the earth." We have only to look back to our Pre-Muhammedan days, to become convinced of the grim truth, that India could not inherit the earth because she possessed her own soul. Prof. Tawney's ideas have the stamp of the Orient—the soul, religion and God;† but how far Europe is capable of realizing them in her life is difficult even to conjecture.

* *Acquisitive Society*, pp. 32-34.
† Is it because he was born in Calcutta?

There must be a firm assertion of principle and of decorum. Personal considerations must not affect the truthful and uncompromising discharge of public duty by members of the House, even if private friendships have to suffer thereby.

-Mr. Winston Churchill

TRUSTWORTHY INDIAN HISTORY

(*A Review**)

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

IT is very encouraging that of late we are getting reliable, and in a large measure adequate, histories of India under British rule. written from India's side. which let us know the real nature of that rule as the Indian people have felt it, and answering the question, whether they have regarded it as a benefit or an injury. We have numberless histories, long and short, in the form of books and of encyclopaedia articles, written by the British describing the rule from their side. Naturally, these almost without exception have represented it as a great blessing to the Indian people,--something which has been slowly lifting them up from semi-barbarism toward real civilization, and giving them for the first time a true religion and a wise, just and benevolent government. Great Britain has had the ear of the world, and as a consequence these histories have gone everywhere, creating the almost universal impression that their picture was true. That it was not true the Indian people have always affirmed, but they possessed no adequate histories of their own to tell the real facts as they saw and experienced them.

As has been said, of late a change is coming. They are getting histories written by their own scholars, which, sooner or later, will let the world know (if in spite of British censorship and almost universal prejudice they can reach the world) that the British domination of India has been exactly the same kind of thing that forcible rule of one nation by another has been, everywhere in the world, and has produced exactly the same kind of effects. That is to say : materially and economically it has exploited the people of India, and spiritually it has been a tremendous force operating all the while to create in them a slave mind.

Of the histories of British rule written by Indian scholars, I may name, as probably the best up to the immediate present, the monumental volumes of Ramesh Dutt and Major Basu. Now, however. we are given another work, fresh from the press, which seems likely to be assigned a place beside these, namely, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development* (*1600-1919*)," by Gurmukh Nihal Sing, Professor of Political Science in the Hindu University of Benares. Professor Singh's book is large (710 pages), well printed, attractive in make-up, and thoroughly documented. Its first 50 pages are devoted to *The Company Rule* in India, from the formation of the London Company in 1600, and the landing of the first traders in India, down to the Mutiny. The rest the great body of the work, gives us *India Under the Crown*, down to and including the terrible tragedy of Amritsar in 1919.

The author traces clearly, in much detail, and with a notable fairness of spirit to all parties (British as well as Indian), the beginnings and tantalizingly slow progress of what are called "Representative Institutions," and "Reform Schemes," particularly the famous "Morley-Minto Reforms" and the "Montford Reforms." What is very important, in connection with this, he gives us a fairly full history (perhaps the best we have) of the "Indian Nationalist Movement" and its organized heart, the "Indian National Congress," unraveling with a skilful hand the various undertakings of the Government to meet the demands of the Indian people for self-rule, by granting them something having the appearance of self-government but in reality only a mockery, or by offering to them something really good with one hand and taking it back with the other. The British have made great claims that they were introducing "Constitutional Government" into India, as a great boon. Professor Singh shows how little the great word "constitutional" can be made to mean, and how "Constitutional Government" may be so shaped as to be as autocratic as any other-form of government.

It is difficult to select out any part or parts of the important book before us, as more interesting or more valuable than the rest. But whatever else is missed by readers, they should not miss the last chapter on "The Amritsar Tragedy."

* *Landmarks of Indian Constitutional and National Development* (*1600-1919*) *Gurmukh Nihal Singh. Benares, India. 1934.*

A leader must not try to please. He who tries to please is weak in the eyes of the man upon whose pleasure he depends. He who wishes to lead the way must himself represent the standard of what is pleasing.

—STAMMLER.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S MEMORIES OF RODIN AND OTHER GREAT ARTISTS

A VISIT TO THE SUMMER-HOME OF THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS WRITER

By MICHAEL LORANT

A room at the Malvern Hotel, in Malvern, some time ago.

George Bernard Shaw is sitting crosslegged in a chair and talking "nineteen to the dozen."

Professor Strobl, the famous Hungarian sculptor, is modelling the great jester's head in clay, visibly aflame with inspiration. I, the humble scribe, am the only inactive member of the party. I just listen.

I could not put a word in edgeways even if I wanted to, which I do not. G. B. S.'s talk is highly entertaining, and the matter of his talk is made doubly fascinating by his manner of delivery. It clearly shows that he is out to entertain George Bernard Shaw rather than the sculptor and the scribe.

He talks easily, with a youthful zest that is amazing in a man of his years. Sometimes he ends a sentence with a loud chuckle, one bushy eyebrow darting up out of alignment with the other. But all the time he gives the impression of a bundle of electricity, vital and sparkling, and restless even in repose.

How he acquired his present cast of countenance is one story which he obviously enjoys telling.

Ordinary mortals are content to wear whatever features Nature has given them, and the majority of us are probably thankful that Nature has not been even less kind to us. Not so G. B. S. It appears that he has deliberately moulded his face to a definite pattern.

"When I was a boy," he says, "Gounod's 'Faust' was much in vogue. My mother was an opera singer and I often went to see and hear her in this play. I was particularly struck by the appearance of Mephistopheles—the conventional mask, you know. I thought the Devil had a most interesting face, shrewd, intelligent, with nothing commonplace in it, and I decided to develop just such a face. This ambition



George Bernard Shaw sits for a Hungarian artist. Prof. Sigmund Strobl, head of the Budapest Academy of Fine Arts, making a bust of G. B. S. at Malvern
Photo Michael Lorant, London

never left me, and although I had a round face then, through sheer force of concentration on the wish that it should be so, my face gradually became longer and longer, until it assumed the Mephistophelean expression it bears today. The process is still going on, and if I lived to be a hundred my

face would be as long as this"—and he extends his arms wide to indicate length.

The occasion reminds him of sittings he gave to some other sculptors, Rodin and Prince Troubetzkoy amongst them.

Of Rodin he says:

"Rodin had no interests outside his art. He was the most painstaking sculptor I have ever met. I gave something like thirty sittings, in as many consecutive days, at his studio in Menoon.

"Rodin took a large number of profiles, adjusting my face by a fraction of an inch

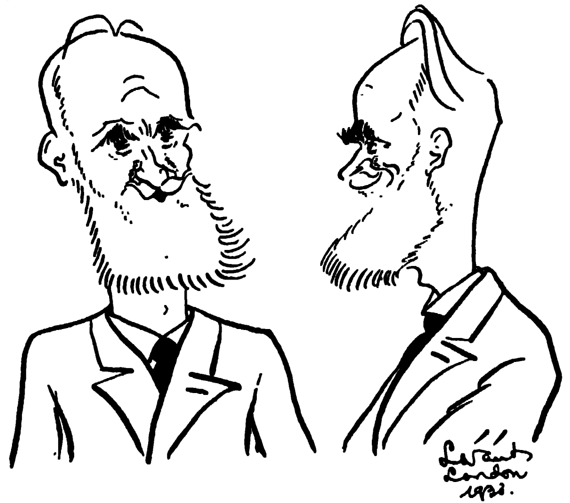


George Bernard Shaw
Photo: Michael Lorant, London

for each—spinning my head round by degrees. He took an immense number of measurements and made so many pencil marks on the clay that he used up three pencils before the sittings were over.

"To keep the clay moist he used to take water into his mouth and spit it on the model. But so deeply absorbed was he in his work that at the end of each sitting I was soaking wet, as if I had been out in the rain without an umbrella.

"Somewhere near the thirtieth day I asked him when the bust would be finished.... 'Finished?' he said in surprise; 'why, I have hardly begun!'



G. B. S. as seen by Lorant

"From the clay model he made two casts, one in marble and one in bronze. The bronze one is in my possession, while the marble one is in Dublin. For some unfathomable reason my friends and admirers have covered this marble bust with their pencilled signatures.

"Rodin was a passionate collector of pebbles. He would go out to the beach, or into the street, and pick up any pebble presenting in his imagination a resemblance to human features. He also collected large pieces of rock, and for the same reason. At first he accommodated these treasures in glass cases in his own house, then, when the collection grew too big for that, he rented a separate building for them.

"It was a sign of the highest favour on the part of Rodin to present someone with one such pebble or piece of rock.

"To judge by his bust of me, Rodin saw me as a French *petit bourgeois*. Of course, all the other sculptors who have made busts of me have endowed me with some of their own national characteristics.

"For instance, Prince Troubetzkoy, the Russian sculptor, saw me as a Russian intellectual.

"Prince Troubetzkoy's method of work was the exact opposite to that of Rodin's.

Troubetzkoy worked very fast. He took hardly any measurements, relying almost entirely on his vision and inspiration.

"Davidson, the American sculptor, apparently saw me as a profound philosopher."

From sculptors G. B. S. turns to Shakespeare, and as Professor Strobl is an Hungarian he comments on Shakespeare's popularity in Hungary.

"It is only natural that Shakespeare should be more popular in Hungary than in England. Shakespeare wrote three hundred years ago, in the language of three hundred years ago, which the average Englishman does not fully understand. On the other hand, the first Hungarian translation of Shakespeare was made only eighty years ago, in language that Hungarian theatre-goers understand. So Shakespeare must be more effective in Hungarian than in English."

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDIAN STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION, DRESDEN, GERMANY

During the year 1932-33 the Indian Students' Association gave farewell to two of its members, Miss Zora Mumtaz, former president of the Association, and Dr. Y. G. Lele, former secretary. Miss Mumtaz had a brilliant career in the famous Mary Wigman Dancing School and took her diploma with considerable distinction. She has now returned to India and is a teacher in a dancing school in the province of Bombay. Dr. Lele took his doctorate in Mineralogy. His thesis has been highly praised by the professors. He has also returned to India.

In the second week of November 1933, a meeting of the Indian Students' Association was convened by Mr. S. C. Roy to elect the office-bearers of the winter-term of 1933-34. Mr. S. A. Ali was elected as Secretary and Mr. S. C. Roy as Indian Representative to the Foreign Students' Union of the Dresden Polytechnic University. Mr. N. S. Bhagawan, who presided over the meeting, welcomed the new members Mr. K. P. Jha and Swami Jnanananda Giri on behalf of the Association. Mr. Jha, who has been recently elected as a Member of the Association of German Engineers by submitting an original thesis, is taking practical training in different engineering concerns. Mr. Giri is engaged in working on Indo-German Philosophy and writing books thereon.

A Ball is arranged every year by the Foreign Students Union in Dresden to help poor Foreign and German Students, studying in the Dresden Polytechnic University. This year, for the second time, the Indian Students' Association took part in the Ball.

Professor Reuther, formerly Rector of the Polytechnic University, and his wife, and Professor Meister and his wife and daughter were kind enough to help the Indians in making the Indian Section a success. Prof. Reuther, who had been in India several times and had the opportunity of studying Indian Architecture, built the Indian Section after the Indian style to represent true Indian character. Our National Flag, which was also placed there, added to the beauty and grandeur of our section. Twenty-six nations had their different sections, but our section was conspicuous and highly appreciated. The success



Indian Dinner Party with Mr. Subhas Bose

Left to Right : Mr. J. Giri, Mr. B. S. Sarma, Mr. K. P. Jha, Mr. S. C. Bose, Mr. S. C. Roy, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. S. A. Ali.

of our section was mainly due to the experience and hard labour of Prof. Reuther, to whom we owe our gratitude. We are also thankful to Mrs. Reuther, Prof. Meister, his wife and daughter. Some of the Indians were present in their characteristic national dress. We sold there chiefly eatables prepared in Indian fashion. Two of us got some pecuniary help out of the profit of the sale proceeds of the Indian section.

By the first week of April a meeting was convened by Mr. N. C. Chatterjee to elect the office-bearers for the summer-term. Mr. S. A. Ali presided. Mr. Chatterjee was elected Secretary of the Association and Mr. Roy, as previously, Indian Representative to the Foreign Students' Union of Dresden Polytechnic University. A resolution was passed in the meeting, that a memorandum should be drafted by Mr. Chatterjee to submit to the German Authorities for representing the grievances of Indians residing in Germany, on the lines adopted by the Indian Associations of Berlin and Munich.

Our Association had the pleasure to have the company of Sreejut Subhas Chandra Bose for a couple of days. Sj. Bose arrived in Dresden from Berlin on the evening of the 11th of April, 1934. We Indians, several Press representatives and some German friends attended the station to welcome him. Sj. Bose who was a bit tired, requested the Press representatives to meet him next morning. We arranged his stay in Hotel Europahof, one of the best hotels in Dresden. Next morning, after giving an interview to the Press representatives, Sj. Bose went, accompanied by some of us, to see the beautiful surroundings of Dresden. In the evening, Sj. Bose and some of the Indians visited the famous opera of Dresden. On the 13th an interview was arranged with the Mayor of Dresden, who sent Mr. Kipping, the City-councillor, to visit Sj. Bose and to accompany him in seeing some of the municipal works. Mr. Zorner, Mayor of Dresden, received Sj. Bose in the Town Hall and showed him round. Sj. Bose had a high appreciation of the Town Hall, which is known to be the best in Germany. Afterwards he visited the world-renowned Hygienic Museum.



Indian Ball in Dresden, 1934

Sj. Bose gave a lunch party to the Indians and a photograph was taken. In the afternoon he gave an interview to Prof. Reuther of the Dresden Polytechnic University to discuss about the situation of the Indian students here. In the evening he left Dresden for Prague. All the Indians accompained him to the station and gave him a hearty send-off.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHATTERJEE
Secretary

Lindenaustrasse 32
DRESDEN, GERMANY.
May 11, 1934

KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

The Palace Doll

The artist has depicted the petrifying effects of the stone-walls, and the still more rigid walls of conventions of the palace on human emotions.

This stately lady—a royal plaything—has all the outward display of beauty and grace of feminine form, enhanced by the craft of the weaver and the artisan. But the glow of youth and life is no more there, than in a waxen doll—such is the soul-destroying effect of unnatural bonds of royal life. Like the "Lady of the Shallot" her life is but a shadow and reality means death.

PROTECTION OF AFRICANS AGAINST INDIANS BY EUROPEANS

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

On the 5th of June last Reuter sent the following message from Pretoria :—

> An important step for appeasing British and Dutch racial prejudice has been taken by the amalgamation of the Nationalist Party, led by the Prime Minister, Mr. Hertzog, and the South African Party, led by General Smuts, embodied in an agreement wherein the leading principle will be Government of the country in the spirit of South African national independence.
>
> The maintenance of the existing relationship between members of the British Commonwealth is affirmed ; also co-operation with the other members of the British Commonwealth.
>
> The agreement sets forth, *inter alia*, that the Party stands for the protection of the European, the coloured and native populations against Asiatic immigration or competition but maintaining the existing rights of Asiatics now legally domiciled in the Union.

By 'Asiatics' are meant for the most part 'Indians'.

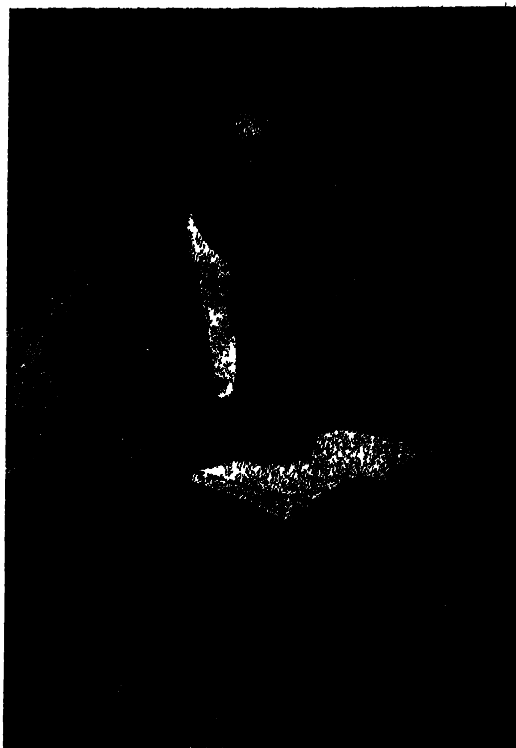
The last paragraph of the message produces the impression that in Africa it is the Asiatics, *i. e.*, Indians for the most part, who have enslaved, oppressed, and exploited or intened to enslave, oppress and exploit "the European, the coloured and native populations", and so the three aggrieved parties require protection.

It is not my intention to say anything in this article in defence or elucidation of the position of Indians in any part of Africa. I want only to give the reader some facts to enable him to judge whether the white population of Africa are protectors of the native Africans. The facts will be taken from a book named *An African Speaks For His People*, by Parmenas Githendu Mockerie, with a foreword by professor Julian Huxley, published this year by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, London.

Professor Julian Huxley says in his foreword that this volume is most definitely the personal production of the author, who is a Negro of the Kikuyu tribe. What he writes in this book is not, of course, applicable in every detail to the treatment of Africans by Europeans in all parts of Africa where Europeans are the rulers. But what Europeans have done and intend to do in Kenya is typical of their actions elsewhere in Africa.

Europeans have told the world public that they have introduced improved systems of administration. But professor Julian Huxley says :—

> "It is a surprise to most people to learn that many East African tribes were democratic in constitution, [which "provided full liberty for every citizen to express his opinion,"] and that the new system of rule by native chiefs, imposed by Government, is to them a step backward, while they regarded the native Government of Uganda, often held up as a model of indirect rule, as savouring of tyranny."



Parmenas Githendu Mockerie

But let me proceed to the book itself, which consists of six chapters on a Visit to Europe, Life in Kenya, Kikuyu Tribal Institu-

tions, Kenya under British Rule, Education, and a Social Survey in Kikuyu, with an appendix containing the Memorandum of the Kikuyu Land Board Association. There is no trace of emotion in what the author has written. It is a calm, clear and judicious statement of facts, leading the reader to believe that Mr. Mockerie is a truthful writer.

He, with another Kikuyu delegate, went to England "to represent the Kikuyu people before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa, which was sitting in London." The two delegates left Nairobi by train to take a steamer for England. At the Nairobi station,

> Among the crowd were a few Indians and a white detective. One of the Indians discouraged me while I was shaking hands with people on the platform by saying to me, "How can these poor people succeed in their struggle; don't they realize that only money talks ?" This made me think that the Indian was an enemy of our cause but I realized later when I arrived in England that he was trying to give me a hint. I replied to him that although money talks, the committee, which we were going to see, treat the representatives of the poor in the same manner as those of the rich. He may have had some experience of British politics in the past of which I had no knowledge.

This knowledge, which disillusioned him, the author acquired after reaching England, as narrated by him in the passages quoted below :

> After a few days' stay in London we learnt that the Joint Select Committee would not see any more witnesses on East African problems. The hint that I was given by an Indian at Nairobi Station that only money talks began to revive in my mind. To my surprise we received an intimation from the secretary of the Committee that the hearing of witnesses had been closed. Nevertheless we submitted the K. C. A's memorandum in which were embodied the wrongs from which Kenya Africans were suffering.

The author adds :—

> It is curious that when the memoranda which were submitted to the Committee from different individuals were published in the official Blue Book our memorandum was not included.

The future historian, depending on the infallibility of parliamentary Blue Books, will write that, though these Africans were asked to choose and send their own witnesses to the Joint Select Committee, they sent none—they did not even submit a written memorandum; whereas the fact is, the witnesses were not allowed to appear before the Committee and the memorandum submitted by them was not printed in the Blue Book! Thus is history made by imperialists! This memorandum is reproduced in the appendix at the end of the book. The extracts which I shall make from it will show why it was not thought prudent to include it in the Blue Book.

Some of the author's experiences in the journey show how even educated Negroes are treated in Africa and elsewhere by Europeans.

> On our way in the train we ordered supper and asked for a table to be provided in the dining-car for both of us. The steward told us that, as we were Africans (we were travelling second class) we were not entitled to use the dining-car, which was reserved for Europeans. He said that the meal could be brought to our carriage and we could eat it there. I said to him that we would not mind being served in the carriage, as the important thing was not the dining-car, but to see that our stomachs were not empty. I asked the steward how much we would pay, and he answered that our supper would cost us four shillings each, the same amount as that paid by the Europeans. He added that we would be served after them. It was very late when he brought the supper, and when I tested the soup it made me feel sick, as it was very cold, being what was left after the Europeans had been served ; and afterwards I could not fall asleep because I felt hungry, for although I had paid for the supper I did not eat it.

At Magadoxo, an Italian Somaliland seaport,

> We went on the shore and tried to get a taxi to take us about the town. We could only find one, which we tried to get into, but the driver told us that it was reserved for European passengers, so we walked on and came to a street which was guarded by policemen who prevented us going through it, because the only people who could go through were Europeans.

But he is fair to the Italians. He adds:

> I was pleasantly surprised at the relations between Europeans and Africans at Massawa, an Italian Colony on the Red Sea, where I found Africans mixed with Italians in Italian hotels ; this was the first time I had seen Europeans catering for Africans in their hotels.

Sometimes European Christian missionaries are more unbearable than other Europeans, because to racial arrogance a European missionary may add his "spiritual" and "theological" contempt for the heathen. The author unluckily met such a missionary in his voyage. Says he :

> On the boat we were well treated by the European passengers except by a missionary who had been in Kikuyu for sixteen years and was going to Italy for furlough. We had a little quarrel with him when he told us to stand up when a European was strolling on the deck beside us. We told him we were not acquainted with

some of the passengers, and if we stood up whenever a European was passing we should get tired before we got to our destination. At this reply he became very angry and began to rail against African societies, how they collect funds and organise themselves and become independent of the missionaries. Next morning, when I found he refrained from speaking to me, I reminded him of the Biblical phrase "Let not the sun go down upon your anger." From this time onwards we were friendly until we left the boat.

In August 1931, when Dr. Drummond Shiels, then Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, gave a lecture at Farnham in Surrey, it was pointed out during question and discussion time that, in Kenya,

> African societies were not free to hold meetings on political and economic matters unless the organisers had a written permit endorsed by a European officer, on which the nature, place and duration of the meetings was specified;

According to recent estimates the population of Kenya consists of 3,000,000 Africans, 15,000 Indians, 12,000 Arabs, and 17,000 Europeans. To the Kenya Legislature Europeans return 11 members by election, Indians 5, and Arabs two.

> The African community has no direct representation on this official body, although its direct taxation to the Central Government is greater than that contributed by the non-Africans.

In order not to exceed the space at my disposal I have to pass over much relevant and telling matter. I shall conclude with some extracts from the memorandum which the African delegates submitted to the Joint Select Committee but which has not been printed in the Blue Book.

The Kikuyu Land Board Association which sent Mr. Mockerie and Mr. Kenyatta to England to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee, is described in its Memorandum in the following words:

> Our Association is not only gagged but crippled and tied by hands and feet, for we are not only denied the freedom of speech and press, but we are also forbidden from holding meetings and even collecting funds to enable us to make our voice reach the ears of the civilised world.
>
> Our honest efforts for making the truth known to the outside world and especially to the British people is construed as seditious and revolutionary while in reality we are rendering a real service to the British people by acquainting them with the real feelings of the people whose destinies they have taken upon themselves to rule and control. It is nothing short of treachery and trickery to make misleading and unture statements in a flattering manner with a view to please the authorities in a manner which will win their favours.

"The Land We Lived In" is described in the Memorandum thus:

> In the days when, what is known as "Kenya Colony" was to the civilised world "Terra Incognita,"......we the Kikuyu people lived in this Country as nature meant all mankind to live.
>
> The land with ravines, the rivers, the forests, the game and all the gifts that nature has bestowed on mankind was ours and above all we had the FREEDOM.
>
> It is true our safety was endangered by the occasional inter-tribal warfare, raids by slave traders, pestilence and famine, but we often wonder if we are safe from such misfortunes today. We were nevertheless a free people in the truest sense of the word.

Then follows a description of "The Land We Live In", from which we reproduce a few passages below.

> Our land was never won by conquest, by the force of arms, nor even by peaceful penetration. There was a period when all the three nations, the French, the German and the British, sought to enter into friendly treaties with us. Some of the old Chiefs preferred the British and entered into friendly treaties, the copies of which we did not keep as we never doubted the word of the White Man, but all these treaties were forwarded to and approved by the Foreign Office. It was represented to us that the Union Jack was the symbol of Peace, Justice, Light and Liberty, and indeed these symbols can still be traced on the coins which were introduced by the Imperial British East Africa Company in the commencement We were told there would, as the result of the new friendship, be no more inter-tribal wars, no raids by slave-traders and that we will enjoy a perfect freedom and peace in our country.

But these simple-minded Africans have been disillusioned.

> It is true that the scourge of the inter-tribal warfare and slave-raiders' invasions have ceased in the sense we knew them before the British advent, but while the number of men who have been killed in the Great War, in which we were not in the least interested or involved, has probably exceeded the number who were killed in the local warfare for a preceding century and while we have enjoyed immunity against slave-raiders, we are expressing the true and innermost feelings of our people (which probably no chief will be frank enough to tell you, fearing that if they dare tell the truth it might result in their rank or position being reduced) when we say that it is felt that the whole nation has been enslaved in their own country without being removed along with any slave gangs, the only difference being that while the slave-traders provided the slaves with a home and were responsible for their food and upkeep, we have been robbed of our homes in our own homes and such endless restrictions have been woven round us by means of a series of foreign laws the multiplicity of which baffle even the intelligence of professional lawyers. We feel we are treated like wild animals brought into captivity for whom even the ordinary consideration of space for free movement according to the captured animals is no longer available.

As regards deaths from disease, the Memorandum observes:

While the Medical Department has done a lot to save us from disease and pestilence the number of our people who succumbed to the ravages of the Influenza of 1919, a by-product of the Great War, has probably exceeded the number of all the victims of local disease and pestilence for a whole generation.

The Word "Reserve" is next explained:

The term "Reserve" in reality does not mean a location which has been reserved for us but in practice means an unfenced detention camp out of which we dare not move with any degree of of freedom.

As for game and fuel, etc.

We cannot dream of touching the plentiful game which was once under our domain. If we dare touch a stick of fuel in the forests which were at one time ours, we have to pay the penalty, we have to pay heavy rents and taxes for remaining in a state of captivity on a fraction of what was at one time our own land, we have lost all the cultivation land which had been dearly bought by our ancestors from the Wandorobo.

Real slavery has been introduced in a disguised form.

We are forced by various circumventing influences to submit to a form of slavery in the shape of labour which is designed to be excluded from the sophisticated definition of slavery or forced labour, but which in effect means nothing but real slavery and forced labour.

All these and various other statements in the Memorandum are supported by extracts from statements made by British administrators and missionaries.

The fact that the native Africans have been deprived of their land "has been described by the British administrators themselves as 'Robbery of Land'." This is proved by extracts from the report on Native Land Tenure in Kikuyu Province.

The Africans have no hope of undoing this "Robbery of Land".

What could our helpless people do to challenge this glaring "Robbery of Land". They were at that stage hopelessly incapable, owing to their ignorance, of making any representation to the Imperial Government to counteract the activities and hunger of the European settlers for obtaining other peoples' land, they (the Kikuyu) were certainly neither then nor are they now in a position to regain their land by the force of arms.

The reason is obvious.

Had our land been thus robbed by any other native tribes armed with similar weapons as ourselves, the Kikuyu would certainly have given their lives for their property, but confronted by the people with the latest and most formidable weapons of precision and destruction such an idea was and is unthinkable.

The result has been complete distrust of the British Government.

But forcible misappropriation of land completely shattered to pieces the confidence of the Natives for the word of the Sirkari who had promised that they had come to our land as our friends and protectors.

No wonder then that the Memorandum says:

What was originally meant and promised to be a friendly State to the British people was proclaimed a protectorate and subsequently annexed as a "Colony" in 1921! Without any consultation with or information to the aborigines.

Regarding a War Time Pledge it is stated:

When the Great War broke out and the Government was in dire necessity of men, our people were asked to supply men. We were naturally not very enthusiastic in helping a Government who had deprived us of our homes and land in the past, and it was at this juncture that a definite pledge was given to the Wakikuyu by His Excellency Sir Henry Conway Belfield, on August 20th, 1914 (S. 211) *that there will be no more interference with our land in future.*

After this promise the Africans supplied men to the Carrier Corps. How was the promise kept?

As a final reward for the war services rendered by the Kikuyu community, the Land Settlement Commission, notwithstanding the definite assurance given by the Governor on August 20th, 1914 (S. 211), recommended that 83,000 acres of the Kikuyu Reserve Land and 20,000 acres of the Forest Reserve land between Kikuyu and Kijabe should be given to the European Soldiers who had served in the same War

Not only this, but while these [native African] men were on War service the hut and poll-tax was collected with great severity from their mothers and fathers.

Some paragraphs are devoted in the Memorandum to the subject of "Extermination of Natives", from which I gather that in May 1917 the population of the Kikuyu Reserve was 968,703. In November 1929, the population had been reduced to 708,394, showing a decrease of 260,309.

"Out of this decrease 27,096 are traced as having gone on European firms as squatters."

These figures clearly show that ..the number of Wakikuyu who have either perished or are leading a life of exile, being scattered all over Africa, is no less than 233,213. This staggering figure, showing the victims of the European invasion of our country, is enough to disintegrate any virile community, and serves as an indication of the complete annihilation of our people in the course of a short period if the process of driving us out of our homes continues by the diverse ways and means which have been at work heretofore.

LITHUANIA, THE MYSTIC LAND OF SONGS

By A. POSKA

[Editor's Note—The following telegrams appeared in the dailies last month.

RIGA, June 7.

The garrison at the Lithuanian capital, Kovno, attempted a *coup d'etat* to establish dictatorship under ex-Premier Voldemaras who was exiled from the capital in February last. Censorship prevents the ascertainment of details but a semi-official report says that some firing occurred at the night time but no harm was done.

RIGA, June 8

The insurrection has failed. Voldemaras has been arrested. It is likely that the Government will be reorganized and include some of Voldemaras' adherents, perhaps Voldemaras himself

A later telegram relating to Lithuania's ex-premier runs as follows

KOVNO, *June*, 18

The ex-Premier of Lithuania, Voldemaras was court-martialled for high treason and sentenced to 12 years hard labour for participation in the recent attempted military *coup d'etat*

So little is known of Lithuania in India that the article printed below from the pen of a Lithuanian scholar now in our midst will, it is hoped, prove interesting and instructive]

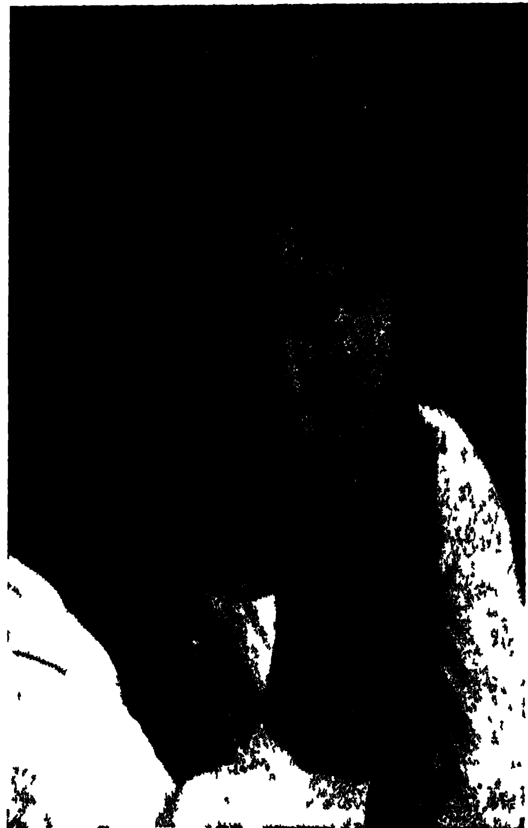
WHERE the Baltic in its bend on eastern shores washes out amber, there lies the mystical country of ever-sounding songs, Lithuania. In the past the country was entirely cut off from the rest of the world by impenetrable marshes and lakes from South-West, by thick endless forests and lakes from the East and North and by the Baltic Sea from the West.

Modern Lithuania lies between Russia, Germany, Poland and Latvia.

The *topography* is marked by low plains with some small hills covered by thick forests, marshes and turf-fields. The country is watered by the Nemunas and its tributaries.

The *climate* is semi-continental : with long rather cold and windy springs, short temperate summers, long dark, foggy and rainy autumns and chilly but bright winters. The length of day and night varies from 5 to 17 hours. Sunny days vary from 80 to 120 per year. Very dry or extremely rainy years are rare.

About three-fifths of the ground are cultivated—the rest are forests, marshes or lakes. The chief products of the country are rye, wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, vegetables and, especially, flax and linseed. Amongst the trees oak, birch, fir and pine are prominent in the forests, while pear, apple, cherry and plum trees in the gardens yield most delicious fruits. Of minerals alabaster, amber and salt are found, and there are, in some parts, very effective springs of healing, sulfuric iodized and other mineral water.



A new generation of young Lithuanian in national dress

The *inhabitants* are mesocephalic, of middle stature, strong built, with greyish blue-green eyes and light brown hairs : more phlegmatic

than sanguine in temper, inclined to individualism and endless optimism. Cultivation is the only occupation in Lithuania.

The *Language* is one of great antiquity, as many scholars have pointed out, extremely rich in expressions and affectionate and diminutive forms and most akin to old Indian and Persian languages still surviving in Europe.



Author's Village Home

The *Folklore* is very rich and peculiar for its mysticism-animism. The riddles and proverbs are marked by a philosophical outlook and show a keen appreciation of life and its problems. The songs are of extreme importance in Lithuanian life, and possibly Lithuania is the richest land in songs in the world.

As regards *art* wood carvings, wood architecture, linen weaving, knitting and embroidery are highly admired. In recent times, there has developed a style of painting which is fully Lithuanian in character. Lithuanians are great lovers of fine art: *everything bears ornaments and shows a very keen taste for pure art.*

The *Society* is entirely democratic: Lithuanians never recognized any distinction between themselves. No imported ideas of nobility and class has survived on Lithuanian soil.

The *Government* is a democratie Republic modelled on the Swiss and U. S. A. constitutions. The economic conditions, in spite of present depression are fair and the State budgets balanced with a surplus.

The *history of the country* on archaeological evidences tells us of the presence of man even in the last inter-glacial period. Some excavations of pit dwellings in early paleolithic age are not earlier than 6000—12000 B. C. It seems that Lithuania in this time was an island, only accessible by water from South-East, where abundance of big warship (petrified) relics are found in present-day marshes of Pinsk, Minsk and Mozurians.

The *history of the Lithuanian people* presents one of the confusing problems not yet grasped in true line of authentic speculations. Before the Lithuanians came into present-day Lithuania, there lived Northern Mongolian people, the Finns, in this land. Before the pressure of civilized Lithuanians, knowing uses of metal arts, Finns retired to northern Taiga, taking with them many improvements in stone-instrument making, stories and words. The retirement was very slow and peaceful—and even now in Finland there is very great respect for Lithuanians and deep sympathy. Songs and legends are common amongst both nations. According to Dr. J. Basanius Lithuanians came from Asia Minor *via* Balkans. The traditional mention of the Danube, mountains, vast steppes etc., also support this theory. The character of the nation is a bridge linking oriental mysticism with northern persistence and steadiness. Authentic written documents directly mentioning Lithuanians are of very late date, that is, from 10-11 century A. D. There are some allusions to the Lithuanians as Scythian cultivators in Herodotus and as the country of amber, in Homer but these have no historical value.

So the early history of the people is obscure from want of any documentary proof. But the great abundance of folklore and peculiar customs still persisting and not yet scientifically analysed, presents us with some idea of early life. Lithuanians must be

regarded as having lived in steppes, because the old Lithuanian was an extremely good horseman. According to rather late accounts of foreigners, a Lithuanian just a year and a half old could gallop on horseback. The horse and a young Lithuanian—so to say,—almost are one and indivisible unit, as evidenced by the songs and stories. The



The Resurrection of spring. The ice of the Nemuna river drives with them houses from distant villages

only occupation considered honourable is cultivation of land and even now a Lithuanian is ready to go to the end of the world to get some land of his own, when he loses it at home. The Lithuanian is very fond of learning, and thousands of them travelled to distant kingdoms for acquiring knowledge, rejecting material business (which is even today hated by real Lithuanians), as Lithuanian lore reminds us.

Abundance of religious songs and myths give us some idea of the early stage of Lithuanian creed, which appears to have been entirely animistic. To the old Lithuanians everything is alive, even the stone on the path suffers from the marching foot, and he associated on friendly terms with everything.

The Lithuanian mind in the past was not able to conceive the idea of the Devil—enemy of every thing good. To him every one can be hostile, if offended. Consequently, nearly every concrete noun is accompanied by its attribute or sacred name. There is no place of fear in Lithuanian psychology, as long as he is kind to every one.

Amongst later development of religion we find more concrete idea of one God in the expression of association with Nature. *Ugnis* (fire) takes offers to *Perkunas* (thunderbolt), who claims several hundreds of men, animals and houses (even now, in spite of mechanical precautions) and who is invoked in hymns as *Dievaitis* (son of God). There are half a hundred "gods" but those mythological personalities are of very doubtful existence and have no basis in Lithuanian folklore and are probably imaginative creations of early Christian missionaries. Their notice of spring and river worship, however, is based upon a foundation of facts confirmed partially by modern practice in today's Lithuania.



One of thousands of Kurgans where the buried bones of forefathers, and where sacred fire burned in olden days

The respect of the burial mounds, or Kurgans where the forefathers of the people found their last resting place, where in olden days eternal fire was kept burning, persists to this day. As evident from stories Lithuanians used three methods of disposing of the dead: common burning on pyre, ir

some cases hanging in the trees and burial. In connection with these funeral rituals are left, although recently Christianized, millions of wayside or cemetery crosses of very peculiar designs—from the point of view of architectural and carving art—the only adjuncts of this forgotten funeral ritual.

Even the unparalleled and eloquent legends concerning the life after death do not explain the enigma of their origin. Peculiarly oriental in character, with their very original ornaments and form of architecture, these homes for the souls of deceased ancestors, present the great problem of migration of symbols and diffusion of architectural modes. The oldest iron tops link them in design with



Typical farm in Lithuania with the cross in front of it expressin the religious feeling of the population

Buddhistic monuments of Taxila and modern iron tops of Hindu temples in Bengal and Orissa (as far as I can gather from pictures).

When the peaceful life in the thick forests, cultivated only in patches, was disturbed by invaders the Lithuanians sought refuge for their women and children, and deposited their wealth, in artificially made islands in the turf marshes and the lakes, approached by paths of stone or timber work hidden under water. the confluenee of two rivers *Dvinpa* was held to be a holy place where they built an artificial mound by joining at some distance the rivers by canal and the excavated earth was used for increasing the height of the mound. These mounds, or Kurgans, are commonly of triangular in form and some yards higher than the surrounding land, and eternal fire was kept burning and other religious rites were performed there. Formerly the eternal fire was kept under thousand-year old oak trees in sacred-groves. In later days when invasions became frequent the mounds were fortified by huge oak palissades, stone and burned clay works. A bloody drama of invasion from the West was enacted nearly every year. In times of war Lithuanian women heroically defended the homes, while the men fought in distant parts of the country.

In the early stages of Lithuanian society the "elder" was priest and offered incantations, dances and flowers to *Dievas* (Deity), asking for help, or in thanksgivings. In a much later period we find regular class of "vaidilas" (actors) with a chief *Krivis* (priest) and consequently "Krivi-Krivis" (priest of priests). Later we learn of the presence of priests and vaidilas in battle-fields with the *kankli*, a musical instrument, just like the Indian *Svara-mandala* " From the earlier period we hear of the Sun as daughter of God, and the "Perkunas" (Thunderbolt) as a son of God and serpents as messengers of God, etc.,

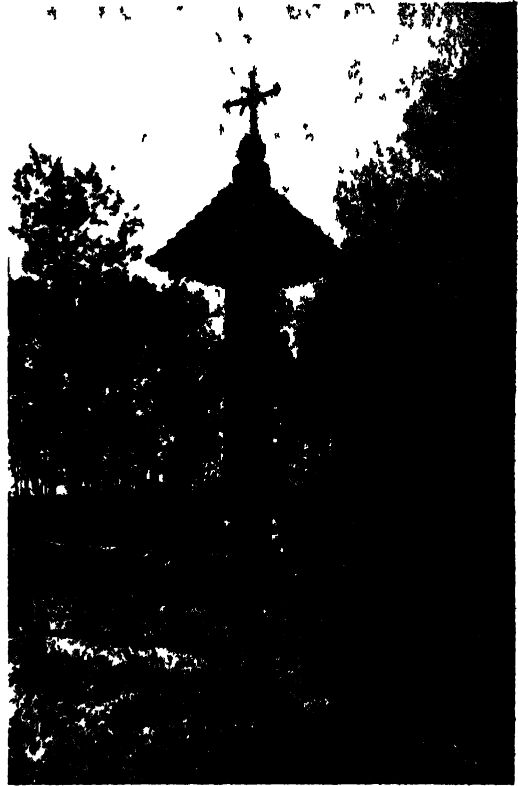
Slowly with the non-concentration of the life in mounds, authority of Krivis became predominant and pilgrimages to such centres of fire worship *ri*:., Parusne, Satrija, Rambynas Palanga, took place, increasing the popularity of Krivis.

Lithuanians in olden days lived in farms quite apart from one another but never so far that the bark of a dog could not be heard from one home to the other. In the districts people elected the "Seniunas" (elder ones) who judged in cases of dispute.

In war time the people of the country gathered in one of the mounds of holy fire and elected 'Karalius" (king, but literal meaning, chief warrior) who as soon as war was over retired with one-third of war spoil, while in peace time the chief priest or



Wayside cross—chapel containing inside Christian icons originated from old Lithuanian hero cult



Place for collecting human bones washed away by rain in cemeteries

"kunigas" (priest) was a king (Scandinavian *Kung*, German *Konig*, English *king*).

When continuous attacks on all sides started to subdue Lithuania, some of the *kunigaikstis* (son of priest, prince, duke) became more powerful and started to exercise their power continuously over the "Seimunas" In early 11th century A.D. Lithuania showed tendencies of becoming united, and soon the first Lithuanian life-long king Mindaugas (he who trampled on many) came into power and from his time expansion of the rule of Lithuanians began Mindaugas accepted Christianity and baptized his court along with the greatest part of Lithuania. But the European crusaders, Orders of Teutons and Livonians, started to attack Lithuania again seeking to subjugate Lithuanians. When the real intentions become clear of the goal of Christian Cavaliers, Mindaugas denounced Christianity and began a 500 years' struggle against its invasion by force.

Dare to begin everything that must be done! Therein lies the greatness and the characteristic of leadership Any one can dare to do afterwards

—STAMMLER

GLIMPSES OF INDIAN FOLK-SONGS

By Professor DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

INDIAN Folk-songs are a great national asset of India. Much of the kernel of the cultural heritage of India lies in them. They are the Elysian shrines of Music and Poetry with their doors open to the millions of India. Spontaneous self-expressions of the people as they are, in them we feel the joys and sorrows of the open-air life of Rural India. They help us to become more intimately acquainted with the people who work hard to obtain the necessaries of daily life.

In ancient India the life-currents of the masses always flowed in the interior, in the villages, where life still dances like a song, far away from the busy haunts of materialism. "Villages are like women," says the Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

> "In their keeping is the cradle of the race They are nearer to Nature than towns, and are, therefore in closer touch with the fountain of life. They have the atmosphere which possesses a natural power of healing. It is the function of the villages like that of women, to provide people with their elemental needs, with food and joy, with the simple poetry of life, and with those ceremonies of beauty which the village spontaneously produces and in which she finds delight."

Indian saints and philosophers always preferred village-atmosphere for their universities and ashramas. For most of the poets and singers, too, villages were the only centres of life. Court-poets and singers who led town-life were very few. While the court-poets and singers enriched the classical literature of India, the country-poets and singers did a sweet and sound service to Indian Folk-Literature by composing and transmitting innumerable life-lit lyrics and melodies which are still echoing in the village-atmosphere of India. The masses have treasured them up in their minds and give them out in the shape of what we call folk-songs.

Even today country-poets and singers are not rare in Indian villages. For each event of life they compose new songs, which become popular and traditional in the course of time. They sing both old and new songs and please the masses with sweet messages of the past and the present. With interesting glimpses of mytho-heroic traditions, the spontaneous rhythms of the collective weal and woe of the nation and with the various ideals of social life, the country-poets and singers enrich the folk-heart and 'when a man's heart overflows, he sings'.

As regards the external and internal form of most of the Indian folk-songs, their language is simple and easy, similes and metaphors quite homely, metres natural and rhyming, and the objects described or referred to quite familiar. Each song has its own beauty and charm. If one is a flow of tears, the other is a cup brimful of smiles ; if one is a dream of the past, the other is a spring-melody of the near future ; if one is a romance of love, beauty and youth, the other is a wail of ripe old age, awaiting death. Each song has its own rambling vibrations that entertain the children of the peasantry with a novelty of method.

Dancing, too, goes hand in hand with many of the Indian folk-songs and makes them much more pleasant and sweet. With the millions of simple, innocent and child-like sons and daughters of Mother India, singing and dancing is a passion, radiant with Love and Beauty. There occur refrains in most of the Indian folk-songs. They make the poetic light and shade all the more full, fresh and lively. It is only in these refrains that we find the truest expression of the Indian folk-songs and dances.

Indian folk-songs are India's precious 'gems of purest ray serene'. "The pathos, the fine poetry and the commonsense which are embodied in these songs of the people," says Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, "deserve to be preserved and popularized. I have no doubt that if a proper selection is made of them they will be regarded as a necessary part of the study of poetry at our universities."

Different languages are spoken in different parts of India. Each language is full of many varieties of folk-songs. There flows the Ganges of folk-songs in all parts of India and quenches the thirst of the thirsty with its sweet waters of Music and Poetry.

It is very difficult, no doubt, to reproduce in translations the original touches of rhythm, melody and local colour, which are the eminent characteristics of the folk-songs. The translations of Indian folk-songs from various Indian languages, given below, are neither very close nor too free. The writer of these lines has tried his best to reproduce the original matter and spirit of the songs.

A boatman returns home after many years and wants to please his sweet-heart with ordinary village-products—betel-leaves and nuts. Hear how she refuses to receive these love-tokens and sings :

Thy betel-nuts I will not take, O love!
Nor will I take thy betel-leaves.
Always a way-farer thou art, my love!
What love from a way-farer can I expect ?
Like an earthen pitcher is a way-farer's love
If once it breaks, O who can repair it, my love ?
Thy betel-nuts I will not take, O love !
Nor will I take thy betel-leaves.
(A Bengali Folk-song)

In the following song a maiden asks her father to choose a bridegroom for her and says what sort of bridegroom she would not like and what would she like to have :

Marry me not, O marry me not, O father !
O marry me not, to an aged man, O father !
No time shall I find to comb my hair—
Before widowhood comes to me, O father !
Marry me not, O marry me not, O father !
O marry me not, to a man in service, O father !
Orders of his master, O the orders of his master—
Will send him abroad, O father !
Marry me not, O marry me not, O father
Marry me not, O father, to a man of distant land
Offer my hand, O offer my hand, O father
Offer my hand, O father, to a shepherd of my sweet Motherland.
(A Goddi Folk-song from Kangra hills)

Here is a song, which well illustrates the heart of a love-lorn bride :

Feast upon my body, O crow !
And satisfy thy hunger :
Eat not—O eat not my eyes, crow !
For still I long to have a glimse of my love.
(A Hindi Folk-song from U. P.)

A village-swain is expressing his love for his sweet-heart :

Some sing street-songs and the others adore—
The river-bank-pebbles in their lore ;
There is a *Kacha* road in 'Utman Jaiee'
Really a life-giving thing to me,
A short path, a dirty way, no goal it has.
But the way of Paradise, the happy abode of my sweet-heart—
Springs out of this tiny path.
(A Pashto Folk-song.)

Here is a young bride putting her pathetic feelings into tune :

O none should tease me,
And none should trouble me :
I am but a friendless sparrow,
And far from here is my parental nest.
Far off are the mounds of my mother's village,
And far its pretty hills :
Far off are the transparent waters of my mother's village,
And far are its green lands.
O none should tease me,
And none should trouble me :
I am but a friendless sparrow,
And far from here is my parental nest.
(A Gujrati Folk-song.)

The bride seems to be sick of her mother-in-law's ill-treatment and her song touches pathos on the one hand, and motherly love on the other.

Here is a boatman's song :

O thou, my gem-studded boat !
At top-speed thou art going in the Airavadi :
Onward thou art going like a dancing girl,
And dancing waves of the Airavadi are following thee.
(A Burmese Folk-song.)

A village-swain is inviting his love for dancing :

Come, my love, O come, my bee !
Hand in hand shall we dance :
Believe me, my love, O believe me, my bee !
Hand in hand shall we dance.
(A Sawara Folk-song.)

Here is a shepherd's song :

On the top of that far-off hill
There stands a Jaru plant, my love !
Only two flowers—blossomed flowers there are on it,
One for thee and the other for me, my love.
(A Khondh Folk-song)

The following is a spring song :

Withered are the flowers—
Jessamine, Champa, Motia and Bela :
Nothing but dry blades of grass they are
As compared with the fresh flower of love.
(A Nepali Folk-song.)

Here are some cradle-songs :

Sleep, sleep, my child, sleep
Even the leaves—O even the leaves are asleep.
The bazar is asleep, O the road is asleep.
Sleep, sleep, my child sleep.
(A Bengaii Cradle-song.)

Weep not, my child, weep not
Smile and sing and go to sleep.

Sleep, sleep, my child, sleep
O my honey-sweet child, sleep.
(A Marathi Cradle-song.)

Here is thy swinging cradle,
And it is hung with silken ropes :
A Nurse from Kabul hath come
To rock, my baby, thy sweet cradle.
Sleep, sleep, my baby, sleep.
In thy swinging cradle, my baby, sleep.
(A Punjabi Cradle-song.)

What is my baby made of ?
O what is my baby made of ?
Whether of gold or of silver :
O what is my baby made of ?
To thy mother thou art as dear, my baby !
As the clove, she wears on her nose.
To thy grandfather and mother thou art as dear, my baby !
As the collyrium of their eyes.
To the strangers thou art as dear, my baby !
As a little gentleman, O as a little gentleman.
Come, my baby, beating and slashing—
(Anyone who disturbs thee in thy way.)
Come after touring throughout Bihar.
(And bring for us beautiful presents)
Bring for thy mother a mokhana cloth
And for thy dear sister, a pretty sari.
Come after touring throughout Bihar
And bring for thy paternal aunt a sari made at Jagali.
(A Bihari Cradle-song.)

The Bihari mother compares her baby with some of the objects dearest to her heart and in this way shows her love for her child. Again she mentions some of the articles of finery, which are very much affected by the women of Rural Bihar.

O thou art a sweet present of my gods, my baby !
O thou art a cherished boon of my prayers, my baby !
Live long, O live long, my baby !
When once to thy mother's lap hast thou come, my baby !
To offer flowers I ran to the temple of Siva,
The Lord was pleased and I got thee, my baby !
O thou art my ready cash, my baby !
O thou art my fragrant rose, my baby !
Live long, O live long, my baby !
When once to thy mother's lap, hast thou come, my baby !
(A Gujrati Cradle-song.)

A tiny lamp lightens the whole house,
The moon lightens the whole sky,
A tiny lamp lightens the whole palace
My tiny child lightens the pupil of my eye.
(A Telugu Cradle-song.)

It is sad that educated Indians know very little of their folk-songs. Living in towns, they have totally forgotten the weal and woe of the masses. In their own motherland, India, they are living like non-Indians. Glimpses of Indian Folk-songs will give them snap-shots of Rural India and her open-air life.



A Study in Rural Bengal (woodcut)
Artist—Mr. Narendra Kesari Roy

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

By IDA M. GURWELL

I. Brotherhood Assembled

THE World Fellowship of Faiths held in Chicago in 1933, was probably the greatest Conference ever held in the United States of America. Especially is this true from the standpoint of spiritual significance; its ramifications; and its sincere effort toward solving the problems that throughout the world confront mankind.

This great spiritual force organized in England in 1910 as the "Union of East and West," (for cultural unity); in the United States in 1920 as the "League of Neighbors," (for racial unity); and in 1924 as the "Fellowship of Faiths," (for spiritual unity); proves the World Fellowship idea has long demonstrated the power to cross Chasms of Prejudice through Understanding.

From a Parliament of Religions held during Chicago's First World's Fair, forty years ago, through successive stages has been propagated a new force, keeping pace at all times with progress. The present organization is an entity, sharing responsibility with practi-religious groups as well as economic, but with a truly spiritual background. The purpose of the World Fellowship of Faiths is to unite the Inspiration of all Faiths throwing the light of religious consciousness upon present problems thereby hoping to help mankind develop a new Spiritual Dynamic competent to master and reform the world.

The opening meeting was indeed picturesque. As colourful as Grand Opera with tones and personalities as varied. Leaders from almost every known religion were here assembled. Representatives from Buddhist, Confucian, Hindu, Jain, Jewish, Muhammedan, Shinto, Sikh, Tao, Zoroastrian, and Christian. Many less known religions found a place here too, each hoping to help the world through its contribution.

The theme of the opening meeting was "Peace."

At this meeting, in the presence of men from all lands, was presented a bronze plaque in commemoration of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact. In presenting the medal to the former Secretary, Mr. Kellogg, Prof. Charles S. Braden said,

> The Fellowship of Faiths link together the spiritual forces of the world which in their highest and best expression, have, almost without exception, condemned war and promoted peace. It is natural that in this the first World Fellowship meeting, on this day internationally known as the anniversary of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, we should wish to express in some public and tangible way our interest in the ideal of peace by presenting a medal to Mr. Kellogg, who in securing the signing of this pact has performed one of the most significant acts in the whole peace drama of the centuries.

There were fifty or more foreign delegates on the platform who seconded the resolution to make the 27th of August the anniversary of the signing of the Peace Pact, a day to be internationally observed as World Peace Day. An audience of twenty-five hundred people, enthusiastically and unanimously adopted the resolution. Greetings came from many eminent men who could not be present: Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Oliver Lodge of England, Romain Rolland of France, Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson of England, and others. Some of the messages were read. It is impossible to do more than give a part of these messages.

Mahatma Gandhi said.

> Fellowship of Faiths attainable only by mutual respect in action for Faiths.

Sir Oliver Lodge cabled:

> What Nations have to realize is the guiding and helpful power of the Spiritual World.

The message received from Romain Rolland of France is vibrant. His words blaze; his sentences flow with the force of spring floods. He says,

> There is no thought, real, living, complete, without action. He who acts his thought must in his action as in his thought, reach always toward the universal, toward the Truth and the Life, not of one alone, but of all beings. One is the more alive the more one embraces life—the more one's own well-being enlarges to become the well-being of others, and the duty of those most

alive, is to nourish with their substance those less alive. The sublime cry of Vivekananda—'My God! the suffering people'—is a fitting appeal to our energies. He who loves God let him defend Him among the millions of those who are oppressed by injustice and social inequality.

Rt. Honourable Arthur Henderson of England, President of World Disarmament Conference, Geneva, in his message gives definite thought to freedom, justice and progress, which are essential conditions of a truly civilized society. He says,

I pray that the gathering of the representatives of all faiths this year will mark the turning of the tide and bring about a revival and regeneratoin of the spiritual powers and agencies by which the civilization of all mankind will be promoted.

Then came the following greeting, in part, from Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahamad, Khalifa-Tul-Masih II, Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, Qudian, India:

I am deeply interested in the aims and objects of the World Fellowship of Faiths, for in these I see a fulfilment of the declaration made by the Holy Quarn 1350 years ago, namely, that there is no nation in the world to which a prophet of God has not been sent, and that unmixed evil can never find a lasting foothold in the earth. One who seeks the triumph of his own faith by finding fault with others, is woefully misguided.

Those, therefore, who strive to keep people acquainted with the truth, that every faith possesses some beauty in one form or another, render a meritorious service in keeping the standard of Truth erect. It is for this reason that I think the World Fellowship of Faiths is rendering a great service to the world, and it is necessary that the efforts of this movement shall be extended and helped in all parts of the world.

General Executive Kedarnath Das Gupta, of India, England, and America, opened the first meeting with an ancient Sanskrit invocation. Mr. Charles Frederick Weller, another General Executive, presided.

One of the outstanding individuals of this meeting, and a man who contributed his inspiration throughout the entire Conference was Raja Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh, a Prince of Nepal. His opinion of the World Fellowship of Faiths is quoted from his brief talk:

This first World Fellowship of Faiths will be recognized as the most outstanding event of the century. What the Economic Conference in London has recently undertaken in the field of practical politics and International Industry, this organization is undertaking in the basic field of human consciousness and conviction—those inner spiritual forces which determine the outward practical activities of individuals, races and nations.

The hour grew late. There was not time to hear even the brief greetings from all the delegates present on this the opening night, so these talks were postponed until later meetings, when all were given a chance to be heard.

What an assemblage! As the sessions continued throughout the weeks, two and three daily, jaded religionists were whipped into thoughtful and unselfish action through the rousing words of the speakers, and every mind and heart attuned to the significance of the Conference. No one could doubt that here were meetings of great importance, shaping the social and religious life of the future, and that the outcome could not be other than International in scope; and Universal in purpose.

II. Chaos and Cosmos

In introducing His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, India, who had come to America expressly to deliver the opening address of the World Fellowship of Faiths, Mr. Charles Frederick Weller, General Executive and Chairman for the evening, said:

The world has long known and honoured His Highness as one of the most progressive of India's Princes, ruling a great ancient Kingdom of more than 8,000 square miles, with a population of more than 2,000,000 people. He is reported to be one of the world's richest men. We are especially interested in the fact that he introduced compulsory education into his kingdom twenty-five years ago; that he has developed a special cabinet minister to promote moral education and training among his people; that he is a great philanthropist and social reformer; that while standing true to His own Faith as a Hindu, he built a mosque in his State for the Moslems and surprised the orthodox Hindus by his fellowship with the untouchables; that he thinks and feels deeply upon religion and holds, with the World Fellowship of Faiths, that a new Spiritual Dynamic must be developed competent to master and reform the world.

Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda arose amid colourful surroundings. The East and West joined in the Hindu Salute, repeating the words:

With my heart and my head,
I salute the soul in you.

On the huge platform were seated representatives from nearly every Faith, Race and Country in the World. In the vast audience of twenty-five hundred people, were eminent

men, citizens of the World. Dark-skinned brothers from other lands; devotees of the arts and students of higher civilizations; scholars registering from America, but hoping to gain as much worthwhile, worldwide knowledge as possible; sophisticated economic leaders (for the Prince is rated a very rich man); religionists broad and fine with an occasional one steeped in orthodoxy almost as solidified as the so-called traditions of the East. This vari-coloured assembly to a man, had come to receive the message of the East, and it must be admitted, the more curious, to know what a prince, a wealthy one, could possibly have to say about Religion in a Changing World, or for that matter Religion in any world.

After the salute, His Highness, opened the Convention with an address, "Religion in a Changing World." In this talk he proved his knowledge of the Chaos throughout the world, but that he too recognized the Cosmos emerging:

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me in calling me to open this great Conference. It is, I think, a tribute to my ancient Mother India, truly a Grandmother of Religions: and I am a Grandfather many times, perhaps I may address you in words which come out of a long life's experience.

This is a great time to be alive.

"Once more Mankind has struck its tents: humanity is on the march," said General Smuts two years ago; and every passing month makes the words more significant. But does mankind know whither it is going?

We are in an age of ferment and chaos--but also of transition and awakening. As Lord Irwin said to us in India, "We need a change of soul." This is true not only in India. Science has united the world, but it is divided socially, economically and politically. Can religion accomplish its spiritual, and therefore its cultural, unification? Or, to put this in a catchword, "Man has become smarter, can he become more decent?" Can he change the furniture of his mind to suit the new world in which he finds himself? Can he rise to a new scale of values? He can weigh and analyse the farthest planet—can he organize the one he lives on?

He needs religion to inspire and to instruct him—but if religion is not to be a hindrance it must put its own house in order.

May we not say that it needs first "decoding" —that the modern man may understand it, and then "debunking" that the modern man may respect it.

Every great religious movement starts by this transvaluation and translation into the vernacular. Buddha transformed Brahminism by emphasizing the human values, and by talking as the people talked. Today we need to re-define much. India has its superb definition of the Godhead—Sat Chit Anand—Reality, Mind, Bliss. But these words are used in so transcendental a sense that all human values become relative. We need to insist that the Absolute expresses Himself in Time and Space, that the world we live in is real, that the mind that knows it is of the same essence as the mind that planned it—the mind of a mathematician and a poet; and still more that our bliss is His bliss, our sorrow His sorrow. God is Reality then, and Mind and Joy; and the world is His garment—His thought, His means of expressing His joy in creation. We blaspheme Him if we call it Maya, Illusion: and I assure you we are not all Shankaras and mystics in India. We have our Materialists even, and many many Realists. If we have no Woolworth Towers and Chicago Fairs, we have Gwallior Forts and Delhi Mosques. If we do not worship the dollar, we talk much of pice. The real practical Indian mind has been perverted by over-subtlety, but our great laymen, Sakyamuni, Krishna, Gandhi, and our humble saints, Kabir, Tukaram, Tulsidas have given us what I believe you call horse-sense, and called us back to reality and to the human values These are the practical idealists of India.

Our Indian Ethic, great in its recognition of the four stages in life, and of a duty for each class in the community, has been stultified by the emphasis on Maya, by the selfishness of Brahmins, by the hardening of class into caste, and by the dominance of the priestly and the world-denying groups. Today Ethics are asking religion: "What can be more real than Goodness—more saintly than Service?"

The real mind of India is re-asserting itself, and "Shudra" is today becoming not a term of reproach but an honourable title and "Mahatma" implies friend of the poor: "our Great Soul" must be also "Great Heart".

Man must work for mankind *in* the world, not out of it: He must take his place gladly and frankly "at the festival of life", as our poet says.

To do a man's work in an unselfish spirit is to find God, says the Gita.

It is men of such spirit that have built up "This brave New World"; but through self-will—Trishna or Tanha—we are wrecking it, as Gita and Buddha insist.

The men of science, the doctors, the engineers, the social reformers, the religious seers, these are making all things new—fellow-workers with God; but selfishness, race-hatred, narrow nationalism and greed have thrown all into chaos.

Yet a new Cosmos is emerging: God is at work. He is a democratic King, and asks our help. He recognizes no hierarchy but that of

service. "He that is greatest, let him be the servant of all." He *is* greatest who serves most.

Democracy means also the emergence of the common man, and his rights, the demand of the backward peoples for a place in the Sun. And alike in East and West, tyranny and humbug are challenged, for they deny these rights.

We in Asia see that race-prejudice may yet destroy the Commonwealth, that caste has been so perverted that it has brought India low. Once a matter of economic division of function, it is now a network of taboos, and varying degrees of untouchability are the outcome. All Indian patriots—Brahmins and Kshatriyas leading—must roll away this reproach.

For today the emphasis is on personality, and caste which denies the right to every man to rise to his full stature, began with a ringing affirmation that from the Great-Being's own Person all the castes arose—for mutual service. This Purusha-Sukta is recited daily at every Vaishnavite altar; but poetry has stiffened into prose, and a divine sanction is found for irreligious and immoral taboos. Where the hymn says that Brahmins were the mouthpiece it has been interpreted to mean that they are the brain.

The hymn insists that Society is an organism —and as in the body, one organ is as important as another. Our present rigid caste-system (which has grown up partly as a natural growth but largely as an unnatural one) denies this, and it must go; we too desire that any boy or girl may rise to the highest rank. "Shall the foot say to the hand, or the brain to the heart, I have no need of thee?" There is no higher or lower - all are servants. All over the world religion is being challenged by the developing ethical ideals of mankind; religion that is un-ethical is a curse, not a boon. Yet religion is needed and will survive—for man is incurably religious. If there were no God, he would invent One. He is incurably inquisitive. If there were no First Cause, he would find One.

Religion is more than such quests. It is a cry for life, a yearning for reality, a demand for loyalty. Man needs a simple, strong, sincere and serene faith. He needs a rousing call to forget self, and to triumph over sense.

Christianity calls men to crucify the lower self. But it is paralysed by the snobbery and colour-bar of Christians. It can do much if it recovers its true fundamentals—Love of a loving God, and love of men who are brothers.

We in India affirm that all creatures are one; but we have lost our sense of proportion. We spare malarial mosquitoes, and plague-bearing rats, but we bear heavily on the human family, and do harm to millions of our fellow men. We must pray to be led back from the unreal to the real, from darkness to light, from exaggeration to balance. There is no God higher than the Truth, no Beauty without harmony.

What can true religion do? It is the pursuit of absolute values; and so it can insist that in an age of transition and chaos, certain values such as faith, hope, love, certain great principles such as partnership and self-sacrifice abide. Religion is also the quest for reality and life: It must get rid of shams, and the dead hand of tradition and taboo, if it is to live and to be real. Again it must express itself simply and clearly, so that the wayfaring man and the needy masses see it as bread and not a stone; it must remember the poor and ignorant.

Perhaps the greatest problems of our time are peace and employment. Can religion cut at the roots of war, greed, exploitation, and at the roots of poverty and unemployment? Can scientific and religious men organize this planet as a unity? Can he ration the raw materials of the world in the interests of our common humanity? If so, and only if so, can he achieve peace and set the hungry millions to work?

Our economic and political problems are ethical and spiritual problems. For man is spirit and cannot live by bread alone. What shall he give in exchange for his soul?

I quote these great sayings of Jesus, whom all religions honour: We can all unite in "The Lord's Prayer", in the Beatitudes, and in the parable of the Lost Son. And each religion knows that it too has a word in season, and a contribution to the well-being of personality and of humanity at large. We, in India, remember our ancient and ever-renewed quest for reality and light even when we remind ourselves that we must find it not in some vague Absolute, but in life here and now.

We remember our insistence on Ahimsa -non-injury, even as we re-define it, and realize that exploitation and frustration are themselves injury, and that the innocent is one who does good, not merely one who refrains from doing evil.

China, too, with her strong sense of human values, begins to remember the poor man, and to enlarge her idea of brotherhood: not only "all within the four seas," but all men everywhere are brothers.* Mandarins and Brahmins no less than capitalists and imperialists have forgotten this human brotherhood. In it lies the solution of most of our problems. We have a common fatherhood. Nature or God has made of one blood all nations, and the religions believe. He is making the world a neighbourhood; we must realize who is our neighbour. Jesus said that he who acts like one is a real neighbour. Buddha said that he who acts nobly is a nobleman. Confucius said that the true gentleman is at home in any society. Today we may learn from all. God is ploughing deep furrows, that the seed may make an effective growth. He is making all things new, that righteousness may flourish and war cease, and the world become one.

You are wise and far-sighted in organizing this Federation of Faiths: let each put its own house in order, and let each bring out of its

treasury things new and old for the healing of the nations. What better expresses the spirit we need than the saying of the Chinese Mystic twenty-five centuries ago: Activity without Assertiveness: Production without Possessiveness: Direction without Domination? This is very Christian, and we in India claim that we are by nature akin to the Christian ideal; we also acknowledge that Christ has challenged us to make our religion simpler and better.

You who call yourselves by the name of Christ may also learn from many who do not, not only from the august company of the great Teachers but from present-day Leaders of the Asiatic Renaissance. Let us humbly and in the spirit of partnership combine against the common enemies, Ignorance, Selfishness and Materialism. Religions may differ but Religion is one.

If we are servants of God's creation we are His friends and fellow-workers. In bearing one another's burdens we become partners in His Bliss.

To Him be the Honour and Glory.

III. By What Name?

One of the General Executives of the World Fellowship of Faiths is Kedarnath Das Gupta of India, England, and America. He held an important place in this Conference. His scholarly attitude, as well as the earnestness of his efforts to make the World Fellowship of Faiths a memorable success, was greatly appreciated by everyone present. His vision, his hopes, his plans were so unselfish in their aims and purpose, that we wish to feature Mr. Das Gupta's work in this article.

This man from the East has a wide knowledge of Religions. Through this knowledge, he compiled for use during the Conference, prayers from the eleven leading religions of the World, in addition to an Invocation and a Benediction. This could not help but foster religious study, and one can think of no work done by any member of the Committee that did more to bring about a better understanding of all religions.

We have been told that it is not prayer but the attitude of prayer that is important. One in comparing the prayers compiled from the great Religions of the world—those religions that have stood the spiritual test of centuries—from the view-point of the true religionist, and a believer in equal good to all peoples, might do well to observe the *distinctive resemblance,* rather than the *individual points of difference.* There appears to be little divergence in the greater, underlying principles of Religions. True the Christian religion divides honours with Christ, but God still remains the Father, which to Christianity means the head of the family. I think it was one of India's Great leaders, who in a tribute to Jesus of Nazareth said, "We can all unite in The Lord's Prayer, in the Beatitudes, and the Parable of the Lost Son." Emerson said, "Let a man believe in God and not in names, places and persons." Probably the truly religious can repeat the prayers of all Faiths as if they were his own.

In compiling these prayers, probably Mr. Das Gupta did more than he knew. He brought into unity the souls of those present, and created a theme for each meeting that, regardless of discussion of worldly and material subjects, kept those who participated spiritually attuned.

Many great leaders have said, "*Religions* may differ but *Religion* is one." There can be no monopoly on great truths. They come to us through various channels. That God exists for you in one form, impressing Himself upon your consciousness as a different picture than mine, is not so important. It would seem the important truth is: *That God exists.* I can think of no meetings I have ever attended that brought me so soulfully into the possession of this knowledge, which, it would seem, forms the basic truth of *all* Religions.

The prayers so devoutly repeated at many of the meetings of the Conference, did much to unite the inspiration of *all* Faiths.

We do not attempt to explain the meaning of the prayers. They are simple and direct. Each person probably reads into them the meaning that falls within his own religious experience. One does note similarity.

INVOCATION

Teach us, O Lord, to see Thy life in all men and in all the peoples of Thine earth.

BUDDHIST

All praise be to the Lord, the Holy One,
Perfect in Wisdom.
I go to The Enlightened One for refuse,
I go to the Law for refuge.
I go to the Brotherhood for refuge.

CHRISTIAN

Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be
Thy name,

Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth,
as it is in heaven.

CONFUCIAN

Oh revere! Oh revere! God is glorious.
Help me to bear this burden on my shoulders,
And show me the glorious virtue and conduct.

HINDU

Let us meditate upon the adorable light
of the Divine Vivifier.
May He direct our minds.

JAIN

Adorable to the Lord, the Destroyer of foes, the Supreme Ruler, the King of those who have attained Victory.

JEWISH

Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord
is One.
Blessed be His Name Whose glorious Kingdom
is for ever and ever.

MUHAMMADAN

There is no Deity but God.
All praise be to God, the Lord of all the worlds.
The Merciful, the Compassionate,
The Master of the Day of Judgment.

SHINTO

All ye men who dwell under heaven!
Regard all beings as your brothers and sisters.
You will then enjoy this divine country,
Free from hate and sorrow.

SIKH

The One Supreme Being whose name is Eternal
Truth,
The Creator, the Spirit, devoid of fear and enmity,
Immortal, Unborn, Self-Existent, the Enlightener,
the Bestower of Grace,
Glory be to Him.

TAO

To know the Eternal is enlightenment.
The Divine Way is the asylum of all things.
The good man's treasure, the bad man's last
resort.

ZOROASTRIAN

Blessed was the Thought, and blessed was the Word, and blessed was the Deed of the Holy One.
Purity is the best gift. Happiness is to him who is pure for the sake of purity.

BENEDICTION

From Unreality lead us to Truth. From Darkness lead us to Light. From Death lead us to Immortality.

Winged thoughts grew out of the strength of these prayers, and were like carrier pigeons flying to the furthermost corners of the earth. They were un-named as to Religion, Race, or Country. They came through the medium of thinking humanity to be hopefully used for the benefit of mankind.

[*Note* In the next article on World Fellowship of Faiths, written by Ida M. Gurwell for *The Modern Review*, she will write about the un-orthodox groups entering the Parliament of Religions, and tell of their importance, and equalizing influence. "Exit Orthodoxy" will be the title of the next article, "Hostess Chicago" and "To all Intent" being the concluding articles.]

SOVEREIGN BALM

BY VERRIER ELWIN

One night as in my little hut I lay,
With fever burning, lonely and afraid,
There fluttered down a tiny bird of day
Into my hands and on my heart was laid.

Its nest some snake marauding did invade;
And seeking safety, through the dark it came
To the warm light, and lonely and afraid
Put its cold heart to seek my comfort's flame.

And when I felt its quivering body near,
So great a peace enveloped me that I
Seemed distantly a loving Voice to hear;
'My child, what meaneth this anxiety?

Lo! not one tiny bird to earth can fall,
Not e'en a hair of all that I have made,
Without My knowledge who regardeth all,
And on My heart thou too art ever laid.'

RURAL RESEARCH IN TAGORE'S SRINIKETAN

By HASHIM AMIR ALI, PH.D.

Introduction

SRINIKETAN or the Institute of Rural Reconstruction established as a branch of the Visva-Bharati—the International University founded by Rabindranath Tagore—has played an important part in the field of rural research in India since the time when the need of such work was hardly recognized in other parts of this country.

The moment one takes a practical step in rural reconstruction, one realizes the paucity of data pertaining to the rural problem and the general ignorance prevailing with regard to our villages. And Sriniketan being one of the earliest experiments in that line it is easy to see how the need of rural research came to be appreciated by its workers long before it had gained the general acceptance which it now enjoys all over India. In fact Dr. Nagen Ganguli who, by his writings and speeches in London, persuaded the British Government to institute the Royal Commission on Agriculture began his career at Sriniketan as early as 1915 and long before Sriniketan had become a public institution. Later, when, by the help of finances from sympathetic English and American friends, Sriniketan became the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, others who took up the work felt the urgency of rural research to an equal degree and did their best towards collecting and publishing data of rural interest. This work has been carried on more or less according to the facilities available at different times throughout the chequered history of the Institution.

The earliest attempts at scientific analysis were those of a young Englishman, Arthur Geddes, who, in 1923, collected a considerable amount of data pertaining to rural sociology and presented it as a thesis called *Aus Pays de Tagore*, to the Montpellier University in the south of France. Unfortunately this work, being in French, has not come to be known to many persons in India. Another worker Mr. Advani, who was at Sriniketan at about the same time, was able to make a similar analysis of some villages in Sindh and he also obtained a doctor's degree from the same university. A little later came Dr. R. K. Das who is now employed in the League of Nations. He too was able to write up a book called *Production in India* from the data he collected while at Sriniketan. And after he was called away to his present more important position at Geneva, Sjt. Kalimohan Ghose, the Superintendent of village work, aside from his other duties, was able to collect and publish data pertaining to two villages, Ballabhpur and Raipur in the neighbourhood of Sriniketan.

In 1931 the need of a more scientific outlook in the analysis of village problems was again felt by those responsible for Sriniketan and two research fellowships were established by Mr. Elmhirst—one for economic research and the other for educational research. That same year came Dr. Harry Timbres, lent to the Institute by the Friends' Society of England, for research in rural health, so that during the last three years a considerable amount of data has been collected, some which has already been published while a great deal is ready for the Press. While much of it consists of detailed facts and figures there are many findings of general interest as well and it is the presentation of such findings by the economic research section that is the aim of the present paper.

The Scope of Rural Economic Research

Now rural economic research is of three kinds. The first kind consists of research in *agricultural production*. Since India at present is predominantly an agricultural country and her villages have come to depend almost entirely upon agriculture, this field of economic research becomes very important. Second is that branch known as the *Rural Survey*. It is considered by some, with considerable justification, that an analysis of production alone does not indicate the standard of living in the villages. And since this should be the most important aim of rural economic research, we should lay more emphasis on a more comprehensive analysis of the economic condition of *village families* and thereby get certain indices to help us in understanding the fundamental economic problem of village life. The third kind of rural economic research is difficult to label with a name. It is contended by some, that mere facts and figures pertaining to village economic life are not sufficient; they present merely the skeletal basis of rural society and are devoid of the human touch: what is needed is the analysis of village psychology, for after all it is not only economic conditions but the human conditions that we want to understand and for any rural work to be successful, it is that understanding which is essential. According to this theory a book like the Late Rev. Lal Behari Dey's *Bengal Peasant Life* throws more light on the rural problem of a hundred years ago than all

the rural surveys of the twentieth century are able to do on our present day rural problems.

It is difficult to say which of these three kinds of rural research is more important, for one can easily see that all three are necessary. The best thing to do therefore is to try and analyse village life in all these three ways and devote as much attention to each kind according to the facilities available for carrying it on. We shall now try to see what each of these three lines of research have led to at Sriniketan.

Research in Agricultural Production and Marketing

Since the most important agricultural crop for Bengal is rice, considerable attention was given to the economic analysis of that crop and the first three of the Visva-Bharati Rural Studies deal with rice alone. Then comes a study on subsidiary crops of the region followed by one dealing with the post-War fluctuations in agricultural prices.

Rice Yields and Malaria

The first study on rice is perhaps the most interesting. The analysis of rice yields recorded by Sjt. Jagabandhu Pal, a local zamindar, for the past 40 years have brought to light some valuable data and also indicated certain very unexpected tendencies. After working with several thousand figures for nearly six months, the maximum, minimum and average yields obtained for the crop have been established and it is found that even the annual average yield for a village varied from only 3.1 mds. of paddy per acre in 1915 to as much as 29.7 mds per acre in 1898. But while such fluctuations were noted between one year and another the general trend was neither upward nor downward. Subjecting these figures to statistical methods, the fertility of the soil seemed to be constant throughout the 40 years giving an average paddy yield of 16.2 mds. per acre,[*] and it was evidently the effect of some variable factors that caused annual fluctuations.

But which of the many factors were most potent in determining the yield of rice ? Naturally we expected the figures for rainfall, available for an almost equally long period to give us a correlation. But no ; neither the figures for the annual rainfall nor the figures for the rainfall of different months of the monsoon taken separately, none of them gave a significant correlation. Either the figures were not accurate or perhaps the amount of rainfall in Bolpur, two miles away, had little effect upon the yield of rice in Bahadurpur, the yields of which our study dealt with. Or, perhaps the yield of rice depends upon the rainfall of particular weeks of the monsoon only. Whatever the causes we could not establish a significant statistical correlation between rainfall and yield of rice in Bahadurpur village.

Then we tried to correlate the health figures for the past 30 years with the yield figures for that period, but with hardly any better results. The number of excess births over deaths, or the number of deaths in the region did not show any correlation with the yield of rice. But finally, the figures that did show a correlation with the yield of rice were those pertaining to the number of *Fever Deaths* in Bolpur Thana. In other words, it is not how many people die, but rather how many *people die of fever that seems to matter.* in connection with local agriculture. And this is plausible too, for, death in itself, unless it is extremely widespread, is not likely to affect agriculture An epidemic of cholera or small pox carries away a large number of people in a few weeks, but that cannot generally be expected to affect the general yield of land. What would affect the general yield, however, would be prolonged illness of a large proportion of the population continuously throughout the cultivation season, for this would tell upon the intensity of care and cultivation bestowed upon the crop. And this is exactly what the number of deaths from fever stands for. When many have died of fever in a particular year, we know that many more must have suffered over a long period, and agriculture must have suffered also.

Some people have before now tried to establish the correlation between malaria and agriculture. Dr. Bentley, the erstwhile Director of the Public Health Department of Bengal, was the foremost worker in this line. In his book *Malaria and Agriculture in Bengal* (1925) he has given many instances where a relation between the increase of malaria and the deterioration of agriculture is quite evident. For example he has shown the connection between the increase of population and the decrease of fallow land in the Dacca Division where there is no fever, and along with it he has shown how in Burdwan Division where there is excessive malaria the fallow land has increased and so on. But this study pointing out the influence of malaria on the *Yield of rice per bigha* over a period of nearly 40 years provides a more conclusive proof and a clearer indication of the deterioration of agriculture due to malaria in this Province. As far as economic research goes nothing more could be expected and it is left for statesmen and governments interested in economic development to realize how their efforts are handicapped by non-economic phenomena and to do their best in overcoming them.

Yields of Different Varieties grown in a Single Village

The second piece of research in agricultural production carried out by Sriniketan during the last two years consisted of finding out the yields

* The details of this piece of research work are given in ***Sankhya***, the Indian Journal of Statistics, Vol. 1. No. 2., and also published as Visva-Bharati Rural Study No. 1.

and other qualities of the different varieties of rice grown during a single year in a near-by village. The importance of such a study cannot easily be appreciated. The villagers generally think that they know all about the yields of rice and those to whom Government Forecasts and Reports are at hand cannot see of what use such a survey can be. And yet this study, based upon the measurements of yields from 109 plots, and dealing with 21 varieties adds a great deal of information to what was already known and even contradicts some of the data that were, so far, all that we could go by. For example, it shows for each variety the relative importance in a single village, the husking quality, the points to be considered in its evaluation, the market prices and finally the variations in yield. The average yield for the year in which the study was carried on, was found to be 12.39 maunds per acre, and considering that the average for nearly 40 years was 16.2 mds. per acre and further that large fluctuations from year to year are a common phenomenon, we surmise that this year's crop was, to use the village terminology, a twelve-anna crop.

But, taking even the average of 16.2 mds. per acre as the yield obtained in the region we find that it is far below that of several other places as shown in the following figures obtained from different year-books for 1931-33.

	Yields	
Spain	63.9 mds.	Rough Rice
Japan	36.3	Rough Rice
U. S. A.	21.2	Rough Rice
British India	16.2	Paddy
Coorg	21.5	Paddy
Bombay	18.2	Paddy
Bengal	15.2	Paddy
Chittagong	17.2	Paddy
Birbhum	13.8	Paddy

In other words while the figures obtained in these two studies more or less corroborate the figures for India as given by Government Crop Reports, they seem to be far below those of some other countries like Spain and Japan for which the figures given pertain to rough rice. Nor can we say that these high yields in those countries are likely to be due to particular varieties and other special facilities such as those of irrigation, manuring, etc., that are not available here; for even under our ordinary conditions of cultivation, in fact in this very year when the general crop was considered below the average, one of the plots yielded as much as 26.25 mds. of paddy per acre, and in the former study we had found that during 3 years 1906, 1922 and 1927 certain plots had yielded even as much as 54 mds. per acre. It is clear, therefore, that while there are enormous possibilities in the way of obtaining higher yields in our country, the average yield of our land is hopelessly low.

Here again the duties of the research worker in agricultural economics end. It is for economic botanists, officials of the Agricultural Departments and rural reconstructionists to see how yield could be increased. But one suggestion might be hazarded. If we could somehow give recognition to those who get large yields of rice—for example, by offering prizes and having annual lists of those cultivators who obtain the maximum yields in each district, etc.,—there is likely to be a greater desire to practise more intensive agriculture than merely the money value of a higher yield is likely to offer.

The Rice Industry

The third piece of research on rice deals with marketing, milling and export. One of the post-graduate students at Sriniketan has studied these phases of the rice industry as seen in the neighbouring town of Bolpur and by bringing together historical data, by determining the sphere of influence which a single industrial centre comes to have, by compiling figures for local consumption, trade and export of rice and finally by giving some details regarding the profits obtaind by rice mills in the area, he has not only been able to present in concise form a fairly thorough analysis of the situation but has also been able to evolve a method which could profitably be followed in similar analyses elsewhere. This study closes with an account of the influence of the rice mills on local economy and also brings to light certain social problems that are arising with the advent of machinery. It has too much of general information to be condensed here, but this too is published as the third in the series of Visva-Bharati Rural Studies.

Yields of Subsidiary Crops

Although rice occupies 95 per cent of the cultivated area in the region of the Visva-Bharati, the money value of the crop amounts to only about 84 per cent of the agricultural produce. The remaining 16 per cent of agricultural wealth is obtained from sugarcane, potatoes, wheat, pulses and some vegetables. Now, with the decline in the market value of rice, the problem of increasing the area under subsidiary crops and introducing new crops becomes all the more important. After having studied the various economic phases of rice cultivation, therefore, a preliminary survey was made for the subsidiary crops and their respective yields were obtained from Bahadurpur village. Aside from giving a general idea of the situation the study showed the great differences between the yields of different varieties of sugarcane. The Coimbatore and Java varieties used by some villagers yielded about 60 mds. of *gur* per acre and the local varieties yielded only half that amount. And yet year after year a large number of people cultivated, or perhaps had to cultivate, the local varieties and deny themselves an income twice as much as they get. This study too has

shown a distinct approach to the economic problem of village life.

Post-War Fluctuations in Agricultural Prices

The problem of post-War fluctuations in agricultural prices as applying to India as a whole and to the Indian provinces separately, has already been studied by others. But what seldom interests economists is the existence and characteristics of the same phenomenon as seen in smaller towns and rural areas. To study this side of the problem, therefore, monthly fluctuations in the prices of various agricultural commodities were obtained from several merchants in the town of Bolpur. But by themselves these figures would mean little. They have to be compared with similar fluctuations in the wholesale or retail markets in larger trade centres before they can become significant. Such a comparative study is being carried out in the Statistical Laboratory under the supervision of Prof. P C. Mahalanabis and will be published in *Sankhya*, the Indian Journal of Statistics as soon as it is prepared. Sriniketan, however, has done its share in the initiation of the study whatever conclusions it might bring out.

Rural Surveys

The second phase of rural economic research, we said, was covered by what is known as the rural surveys. Two such village surveys for Ballabhpur and Raipur had already been carried out before 1931, by Sjt. Kalimohan Ghosh, the Superintendent of the Village Work Department. Seven other village surveys have been completed since but the villages dealt with in these were selected to represent different types. Further since a rural survey, embracing all phases of rural life, would have been too ambitious a project and likely to end in nothing definite, it was considered more advisable to limit the scope chiefly to the analysis of economic data collected from each of the families in the selected villages, and try to ascertain if certain valid generalizations could be obtained regarding the economics of village life in the region.

For this purpose, two of the advanced students who had been given some training in research work were stationed in the selected villages and were asked to fill in the printed questionnaires only after they had themselves become more or less familiar with the people of the village.

Thus we obtained information pertaining to some 447 families distributed in five different villages and three small Santal *bastis*. Of the five villages, the first, Goalpara, is predominantly a Brahmin village; the second, Bahadurpur, is a village in which a fairly well-to-do zamindar resides; the third, though named Islampur, has not a single Mussalman and is in fact a predominantly Sadgop village; the fourth, Benuria, presents a decadent Kulu village; the fifth, Lohagar, is a Mussalman village and the sixth village economic survey deals with three groups of Santals inhabiting the same region. After all these were completed a seventh and last study was made by making a comparative analysis of the data obtained from all those preceding it.

These village surveys, aside from giving some fairly reliable information regarding economic matters such as assets, liabilities, incomes and expenditures of village families, have dealt with certain sociological data as well. The questionnaire was framed so as to get information regarding the number of people per family, the proportion of the sexes, the prevalence of child-marriages, the proportion of widows, the types of famlies, the relation between main and subsidiary occupations, the percentage of literacy among different age groups and other similar details.

When all this mass of data was taken up for analysis and the population classified into economic groups it was found that such groupings on a purely economic basis corresponded remarkably closely with the social groupings according to caste and religion. As soon as we saw what caste a particular family belonged to and noted whether that caste was among the high, middle or low castes of Hindu society or whether he is a Mussalman or a Santal, we could with a fair degree of certainty, indicate in what economic station his family was likely to fall. Considering this close correspondence, there was no way but to analyse village society not as a homogenous whole but as consisting of five heterogenous economic groups. The economic level of the high castes was higher than that of the middle castes. Third in order followed the Mussalmans also with a distinct economic level, but following closely the Nabashaks while the low castes such as Hadis, Domes, Muchies were far below with only Santals occupying a still lower economic position.

SUMMARY TABLE FOR VILLAGE ECONOMIC SURVEYS

General Information	High castes	Nabashaks	Mussalmans	Harijans	Santals	Total
No. of families	55	107	83	166	36	447
No. of people	228	399	373	713	143	1856
No. per family	4.1	3.7	4.5	4.3	4.0	4.2
Per cent of total population	12	20	20	40	8	100
Sex Ratio	111	108	110	101	107	106
Model size of famlilies	2	2	4	4	3	4
Percentage of children	31	33	41	35	34	35
" of child-wives	22	29	10	34	4	20
" of widows	41	43	20	20	8	28

	Castes	Nabashaks	Mussalmans	Harijans	Santals	Tota
Average No. of gainfully employed persons per family	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.6	2.0	1.4
Percentage of literacy	50	33	18	4	3	19
Percentage of literacy in school-age population	62	42	32	6.5	15	27
School age pop. (actual)	50	84	89	141	28	398
„ „ in schools	29	35	28	9	4	107
Economic Data						
Average assets (Rs.)	2823	1528	1083	73	76	970
Landless families (percentage)	18	13	25	87	92	49
Average value of land (Rs.)	2220	1310	1098	38	39	825
„ „ of livestock	97	59	38	15	28	41
„ „ movables	506	129	37	9	9	104
Average Annual Income	436	236	172	84	76	175
„ „ Expenditure	479	268	203	90	83	199
„ „ Deficits	43	32	31	6	7	24
Average Indebtedness	184	183	189	16	5	108
Percentages of indebted families	55	66	76	57	28	60

Now this is not a very remarkable discovery. Caste being in reality the outcome of occupational groupings, it is easy to see how certain occupations pay more than others. In any society, the trades and occupations and professions could be so classified as to give distinctly different levels of income. The difference only lies in this: In our villages we do not have to ask a man's occupation; we have only to know his caste or his religion and we know his economic position.

The extent to which the statement is true will be seen from the figures given in table form. No matter what item you take the figures differ for each of the five social classes according to caste and religion But these are only a few of the figures. The mass of other tables contained in the seven surveys show that even the cattle of the five classes have different evaluations; the high castes have the highest priced cows, the Santals' cattle are barely animals that manage to stand on their legs. There is difference even in the average price of chickens and ducks kept by one class and another.

While this discovery is not very remarkable the reduction of caste distinctions to a mathetmatical basis has certainly many and widespread implications. The scientific validity of these class distributions are being analysed by purely statistical methods, and if they are found to be mathematically invulnerable, it will mean that we shall henceforth have to think of five classes of village society instead of speaking about the village people in a generic sense.

And this is most important. For, no matter which of the practical phases of rural reconstruction you deal with you find difficulties arising out of this heterogeneity; help rendered to the village does not mean help rendered to all the five classes. In fact what is good for one class is bad for another. If you help the upper classes you make them stronger still against the lower classes: If you help the latter you undermine the power of the upper classes. You try to improve agriculture, but—comparatively speaking—of how much good is that to the Harijans and Santals, when nearly 90 per cent of them have no land? You introduce co-operative credit societies, but how much can the lower classes benefit by them when they have no security to offer? You succeed in establishing co-operative dispensaries—a very necessary and creditable piece of work—but how many from among the Harijans and the Santals can afford to become its members on an equal standing with the others? It is these and other similar questions which people dealing in rural reconstruction should at least keep in mind even if no answers are available for them in our present order of society.

Then there is another problem of sociological interest. The Mussalmans of these villages are converts from among the local inhabitants. From what class of Hindu society have they come? If from the high caste and Nabashak groups, then their conversion has evidently caused a little deterioration in their economic position. But if they were really the low caste Hindus who accepted Islam as a means of raising their social status they have certainly succeeded in a more concrete and lasting sense; for now their economic level is far above those of their former caste brethren. Finally, whether the trend has been one way or the other where is it going to lead? Or has the trend come to a halt long ago? These are interesting questions and restricting our remarks strictly to the villages analysed we might mention that Lohagarh, the Mussalman village, is the only one of the five villages studied that shows any vitality and potential growth. Some of the others present a stationary aspect while Benuria, the village which a century ago thrived on its oil-pressing industry, will probably cease to exist before the present century has come to a close.

These then are a few of the findings from the Village Economic Surveys carried out by Sriniketan. They will be published in the form of Visva-Bharati Village Studies

Nos. 6-12 as soon as the purely statistical analysis is completed by Prof. Mahalanobis and, we hope, add something to the very meagre data that we have at present, regarding economic aspect of village life.

Studying the Village Mind

But as has been pointed out studies of agricultural production and rural surveys of the kind dealt with do not exhaust the methods of rural analysis. We are beginning to realize that psychological factors affect economic conditions perhaps just as much as economic conditions affect the psychology of the people. In order to see all the economic bearings of the village problem, therefore, we should also try to analyse the village mind.

The only possible method of getting at a picture of this abstract phenomenon is to portray the thoughts of the people as conveyed in their conversations and revealed in their gestures. That is why Lal Behari De's book *Bengal Peasant Life* and several other Bengali novels whose scenes are laid in the villages really shed more light on village problems than barely statistical analyses. For these stories deal with human beings as such instead of with skeletal abstractions such as those of the economic man, etc.

Still, our present problem being rural *economic* research, such stories do not serve our purpose all in all. What we need, and have in fact tried to do, is to modify the same method to our purposes. All through tne last three years, the students coming in contact with the research section have been asked to write about their villages trying to portray not only the economic but the psychological aspects as well. They had to write either about some villages or about some village personalities. Besides this, the advanced students who went to collect data in the villages were asked to keep diaries, noting in them whatever conversations or incidents there might be of interest. And finally, the village of which Lal Behari De wrote in such detail seventy years ago and gave such a beautiful picture was traced and visited more than once. Tara Krishna Basu, who has played an important part in all of the research work, herein mentioned spent nearly a month in this village and brought back notes that were not only of human interest but showed a picture of village life which is in some aspect more vivid than what is generally found even in good fiction.

All these notes together have been presented in three volumes entitled *Glimpses of Village Life and Problems*, and are awaiting arrangements for publication. It is in these that an attempt has been made to portray the village psychology.

Miscellaneous Studies

Among the few remaining studies, only one needs to be mentioned. As has been said in the beginning there is a great lack of data pertaining to the rural problem. Nor has any method of rural reconstruction been developed sufficiently to obtain general acceptance. That being so, and being closely in touch with an institution whose object was to carry out rural reconstruction, the research section did its best in collecting all possible data pertaining to the region of the Visva-Bharati as a whole with a view to formulating a method and programme of rural reconstruction that could be followed in most other places where rural reconstruction is being attempted. With this aim in view a study of some four hundred type-written pages with many charts, diagrams, tables and maps has been prepared and presented under the title of *The Analysis of a Rural Problem.* This book analyses the rural problem of the region from geographical, historical, economic and cultural standpoints. It embodies considerable information pertaining to education, local self-government, co-operative societies and health work sponsored by the Government, and finally outlines a programme of rural reconstruction, through the Union Boards, which according to the author, Sriniketan should adopt in order that its effects might be real and lasting. And throughout the study its usefulness as an example for similar analyses elsewhere is continuously kept in view.

Conclusions

This then is a very brief account of the rural research engaged in at Sriniketan. In other spheres of activity—where precedents exist and one has merely to follow the trodden path to keep himself from straying on to dangerous or barren grounds—one can go very far. But it is the pioneers in every field whose lot it is to work the hardest, achieve the least and bear the severest of criticism. It is through their mental pain and anguish that ideas take shape. When the work of Sriniketan, either in its research aspect or its reconstruction aspect, is reviewed and when the contribution of Rabindranath Tagore to this phase of Indian life is measured it has to be remembered that both Tagore and his institutions are pioneers in the field of rural reconstrnction in India.

The faith which is to be effective will syawla be a difficult faith, and a difficult faith will always make great and heavy sacrifices necessry.

—P. M. Oliver

PROBLEM OF ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA

By MANUBHAI PRANJIBAN VAIDYA, M. A., B. T.

THE Adult Educational Movement is inextricably interwoven with the whole of the organized life of the community. Whilst on the one hand, it originates in a desire amongst individuals for adequate opportunities for self-expression, and the cultivation of their personal powers and interests, it is, on the other hand, rooted in the social aspirations of the democratic movements of the country. In other words, it rests upon the twin principles of personal development and social service It aims at satisfying the needs of the individual and the attainment of new standards of citizenship and a better social order. To teachers interested in the all-round education and resultant progress of the country, the problem of adult education is not a new one; it is not a fad. But the layman will perhaps gape with wonder at adult education,—education for mature, experienced men and women. He is wedded to the belief that education or schooling is meant only for young, tender kids. But in the nineteenth century, a powerful democratic wave spread over Europe, and it was realized that equal opportunities should be given to all for self-expression. The disability due to accident of birth or rank was waived aside; education did not finish when a young boy or girl left the portals of the school or college. It was felt necessary to continue education even in adolescent or adult period in order that general level of culture might rise. Bertrand Russell, referring to the different ideals of education in his book *Education and the Social Order*, says

> The first ideal considers that the sole purpose of education is to provide opportunities of growth and remove hampering influences. The second holds that the purpose of education is to give culture to the individual, and to develop his capacities to the utmost. The third holds that education is to be considered rather in relation to the community than in relation to the individual and that its business is to train useful citizens. Of these theories, the first is the newest while the third is the oldest."

To remove the hampering influences of old, outworn customs and prejudices, to develop the individual's capacities to the utmost by presenting opportunities, and to train useful citizens by teaching useful subjects to as many of the population as possible, it will be evident that some scheme for adult-education is imperative. If there is any country in the world which stands badly in need of adult-education, it is our motherland India. India stands first in the column of illiteracy. The latest figures for literacy in India are given below, and it will be shockingly clear what tremendous block of illiteracy stands in our way to progress and Swaraj.

Literacy is defined as ability to write a letter and to read the answer to it. The total number of literates in India are:

	1921	1931
India	22623651	28131315
Provinces	18651541	22727571
States	3969110	5403744

Now let us compare the population of India at three censuses, and view the progress or otherwise of literacy in light of population.

	1931	1921	1911
Males	181828923	163995504	161338693
Females	171058855	154946926	153817461
Total	352837778	318942430	315156154

Indian States like Cochin, Travancore, Baroda, and Mysore, are more advanced in literacy than British India. Even in Travancore State, the population has increased by 27 per cent. and the proportion of literacy has fallen from 24.2 per cent. in 1921 to 23.9 per cent. in 1931, though in India it has risen from 7 per cent. to 8 per cent It seems that of the 35 crores in India, only 8 per cent. is literate. Here we are not discussing the strength of the rural population against the urban one, as well as the problem of female literacy; we reserve for a later stage Below is given the number of literates per mille (=thousand) for persons aged five and over

	per mille (1931)
Travancore	289
Cochin	
Burma	368
Baroda	209
Bombay	108

From the above figures, we can see that illiteracy in India is so huge that it requires immediate and strenuous efforts to combat ignorance. If democracy means the government of the people, for the people, by the people, the people must have correct perspective and right political consciousness. G. B. Shaw, in his famous drama *The Apple-cart* writes that while one day he was passing by the Trafalgar Square in London, he saw hordes of people running in a particular direction. Nobody knew the the cause of that hurry and popular excitement. Shaw feared, some terrible mishap must have occurred. But he found to his great surprise that one cow was scared and that people were madly running after one another without

knowing the cause. The elector must know his interests. We are all clamouring for Swaraj, but we need not forget that it is right education which can lead us to the power of self-determination. And it is not education of the young alone but education of the adults also which can stop wastage and carry the country forward.

Thus we see why education for adults is demanded; we have also to know the benefit and scope of Adult-Education before we discuss its methods. We are all teachers. We are keenly interested in the unfolding and expansion of the child's innate powers. This is Child's Era. Attempts are being made on all sides to foster the spirit of freedom in education. We want to respect the individuality of the child. Our efforts in this direction can bear fruit when the home co-operates with the school. May I ask all of you about the nature of co-operation lent by parents to us in our noble task? I fear the answer will not be an encouraging one; the Indian parent has neither the will nor the leisure to look after his child. There are many many exceptions; but the fact remains there. We proclaim at the top of our voices that fear should have no place in child-rearing, and in spite of it, a good many homes still cling to the old custom of the rod or harsh, bullying words. The home undoes what the school does. And here arises the need of adult education.

Let us now take the question of 'wastage' in education. The Educational Report of India helps us a great deal. We know that the number of literates in India was 281,31,315 in the year 1931, and in the same year the number of primary schools in India was 201,381 and the number of pupils was 9,362,718. Thus 74 p. c. of pupils are in primary schools. Generally we mean by literacy the completion of the Primary Class IV. The number of class IV pupils, in British India in 1931 was 998,097; of these 20 per cent will surely leave school and forget what they might have learnt. Here comes wastage. The trouble taken on this vast number is lost; a great deal of man-power is wasted for nothing. There should be continuation-schools and classes to stop the above wastage. Similar is the fate with education of girls, and it is due to early age of marriage, obstinate prejudices and apathy of the people for female education. Report on Education in India says the total wastage involved is about 90 per cent. in case of girls. This is simply unbearable. Let the public be educated; how can ordinary schools stop this rot? It requires intensive propaganda.

Here some one may argue that we should let the seniors severely alone, and concertrate our energy on the budding, rising generation of India. That is partially true. We cannot ignore the present parents and citizens; we have to convert them to our view.

It will be interesting to have some idea about methods and orginazation of adult education movement in other countries.

The World Association for Adult-Education was started in London in 1919, with the purpose of dispelling the melancholy belief that grown men and women have nothing left to learn, and to diffuse throughout all countries, and in every section of societies, the sense of wonder and curiosity, and gift of mutual sympathy and companionship which add so much to the meaning of life. The following figures will give us the idea of expansion of the movement in England.

(1) *Workers' Educational Association.* There are special institutions for workers. There is no rule that coolies should be deprived of education. There is nothing like "Once a coolie always a coolie". Opportunities are given to all to assert themselvs. 2367 is the number of branches of this Association. Nine lacs of people are its members; 38730 pupils had availed themselves of its classes.

(2,3). *Young Men's Christian Association* and *Young Women's Christian Association.* 27000 boys and 69000 adults are the members of Y. M. C. A. 33500 females are the members of Y. W. C. A. Lectures, vacation-courses, radio-programme were arranged. Y. W. C. A. had opened 271 classes for teaching 3 R's only; one -forty classes for (practical) education *i. e.*, domestic science, book-keeping, sewing.

(4). *Women's Association*—It has 1250 branches in villages. Regular classes are held for teaching sewing, cooking, hygiene, poetry, history and music. Members number two lacs and a half. This Association takes a very leading part in village-reconstruction.

(5) *Co-operative Societies*—Social and economic subjects are discussed in meetings; neither the school-buildings nor teachers remain "idle" during vacation; lectures, object-lesson gatherings, religious activities, industrial exhibitions, lantern lectures, baby-weeks, and other items are displaced.

(6, 7). *The British Broadcasting and Dramatic Associations*—A good dramatic performance can reflect as well as mould life; the radio contains, every day, something for the people. In 1930, there were about 185 well-managed radio centres. B. B. C. (British Broadcasting Corporation) is called the *People's University.*

Now, to turn to India. The Educational Report of India says very little about adult education in India. The report devotes some fifteen to twenty lines to it. In 1931, the Adult Education Class at the Teachers' College, Saidapet, continued. There were classes in the Government Arts College, Coimbatore. The report says, non-official agencies in the field were more active than before and their activities included the imparting of instructions in three R's, reading of vernacular papers and library books, lectures delivered on

health, sanitation, etc. The report alludes to Seva Sadans. In Bengal a comprehensive scheme for the improvement of Adult Education was sent up to the Government, and it was proposed to enlist the services of central co-operative and rural banks.

Any scheme of Adult Education in India should provide for villages. India is a land of villages. The total urban population of India comes to 38,985,427, *i. e.*, 11 per cent. of the total population. The number of places in Rural Areas in 696,831, and the total rural population of India comes to 313,852,351. Figures will surely show that efforts made to educate city-dwellers touch an infinitesimal minority of the total population in India. Real work lies in villages. "Go to villages and uplift them"—must be the message for graduates in India. The latest Census Report says that two-third of the villages in India have no schools at all, and that 500,000 villages in British India have 200,000 recognized schools. This is the plight of elementary primary education in India. Let the Adult Education Movement in India take stock of the situation and embody two broad lines, one with an agricultural bias for villages, and the other with an industrial bias for cities.

The Village Uplift Scheme of the Government of Bombay and Rural Reconstruction Scheme of Visva-Bharati are worth consideration. In Bombay Sir Frederick Sykes has inaugurated the vigorous campaign of village improvement. In the Panjab, a rural reconstruction department has been recently organized. The writer in *The Times of India* of December 2, 1933, has drawn particular attention to the importance of education and the Co-operative movement as instruments of rural progress in his able article on "Rural Reconstruction." The inability of the average cultivator to make the best of his opportunities is due mainly to the lack of moral discipline induced by abject fatalism of his outlook on life. The only hope of a radical change in his outlook lies in a more rapid educational advance. Every section of the public should work in harmonious co-operation to raise the level of rural moral and material welfare. There should be improvement of agriculture through research and experiment. The agricultural schools and colleges have a special function in training men for the work of improving agriculture. Let the conservatism of the agriculturists be overcome first; improvements should not be expensive. But what is wanted is propaganda. The campaign has to be designed and carried out by a specialist who understands the psychology of the villagers and knows the ways of appealing to their self-interest. By means of pamphlets, articles in vernacular newspapers, posters, cinemas, lectures and dramas, the message of enlightenment and progress should be given to the villagers.

To remove the huge block of illiteracy a programme as shown below is necessary. (1) Women's Associations, (2) Servants of India Societies, (3) Purity Leagues, (4) Night Schools, (5) Seva Sadans, (6) Co-operative Societies, (7) Dramas, (8) Cinemas, (9) Radio Programmes (10) Fairs, (11) Red Cross Societies, (12) Workers' Educational Associations, (13) Trade Unions (14) Libraries, (15) Travelling Libraries, (16) Child Welfare and Baby Weeks, (17) Educational Conferences, (18) Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions, (19) Seva-Mandals for Bhils and untouchables, (20) University Extension Lectures, (21) Vacation Courses, (22) Special Literature for Parents and Children. These twenty-two ways of approach to adult education have just figured on the Indian horizon; on their expansion depends the future of adult education, nay, the future of India. Women's Associations such as Hindu Stri-Mandal of Bombay, should be scattered in all towns and cities of the country. It is up to educated ladies of the place to organize and to attract their illiterate sisters. The courses should cover knowledge of three R's, cooking, domestic economy, first aid, home nursing, and subjects for general culture.

The Servants of India Society is also doing useful work; it can open still more centres for the education of backward classes. To turn to Purity League, it should be carefully noted that sexual immorality cannot be dealt with solely by prophylactic measures. Social hygiene is not entirely a matter for the doctors. The League should plan lectures on eugenics, alcoholism, venereal diseases and the hygiene of food and work. The importance of night schools is recognized everywhere, the more the number the better it is for India. Vocational subjects as well as literary ones should be included in the course. Seva-Sadans are meant for homeless widows who can learn some useful arts there. Dramas, cinemas, and the radio appeal nowadays, very powerfully to the public mind; and an educationist should not let go this powerful agency of influencing the public. Let there be better films and plays.

It is up to the Red Cross Society to educate public opinion in matters of hygiene and sanitation. Baby Weeks be celebrated at intervals in different districts. Here, one is reminded of the remark made by the Census Commissioner Mr. Hutton, regarding the importance of birth-control. The problem of birth-control is still a controversial topic; but it is necessary for clinics and Red Cross Societies to impart instructions to those desiring it. We have very few Workers' Educational Associations; it is for public-spirited rich merchants and mill-owners to start schools and hospitals for children of the labourers and for the labourers themselves. Libraries must be up-to-date, there should be separate sections for males, females and children; a nice catalogue-system be introduced. The Baroda State has achieved satisfactory progress in this field.

Neither the buildings of university, the college or the school, nor their staff be allowed to remain idle. Classes for the continuation school may be held there; professors and teachers can give lectures on varied subjects to the public Last but not the least, publicity bureau is required. It should issue bulletins on adult education, enroll members and prepare the necessary literature both for adolescents and adults

I have chalked the general outlines of the scheme of adult education and it is for the teachers and the Government of the country to rise to the occasion, and fill in details. Teachers are builders of nations. What is wanted is spirit of service and sacrifice. Let us all imbibe that spirit and contribute our humble mite to dispel darkness of ignorance from our dear, old India !

* A paper for the All India Teachers Federation at Karachi Dec. 1933

NAZI FOREIGN POLICY

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IT is not easy to define and explain the aims and objects of the Nazis. One declared object does not always seem to be consistent with the other. Hitler and his followers claim to be nationalists as well as socialists. The word 'Nazi' itself is an abbreviated form of 'National-Socialist'. But it is extremely controversial whether it is at all possible to combine successfully in one system these two different ideologies, these two different attitudes towards life. To the Nazi intellect, however, the two doctrines do not seem to be at all inconsistent with each other. In fact, the theorists of the 'totalitarian state' take pride in the combination of these two apparently antagonistic political and economic creeds. But if the theory of Hitlerism contains in it, according to some at any rate, certain inconsistencies, it is and has been quite difinite on two questions. The aim of the domestic policy of Hitler seems to be the establishment of a racial state and that of his foreign policy the revision of the Treaty of Versailles. The two objects are by no means independent of each other, for, as we shall presently see, the German recial state cannot be established without the revision of the Treaty of Versailles.

So far as internal politics is concerned, the Nazis are very particular about the establishment of an all-powerful racial state. Curiously enough, however, their German or Aryan race includes in it every German-speaking person, if he or she does not happen to be a Jew. The Nazis talk of the Aryan race but they know that they cannot always afford to follow the principle very strictly, as their own not very tall, black-haired and brown-eyed "Fuehrer", according to their own conception of the 'Aryan' type is any thing but an "Aryan". What they mean is to unify all the German-speaking peoples, including those belonging to the neighbouring States and to bring them under one strong, highly centralized, dictatorial government.

The aim of Nazi foreign policy is the revision or, to be accurate, the total annulment of the Treaty of Versailles. In fact, all Germans are of one opinion on this question. They call it a "dictated peace". And dictated it certainly was.

The main penalties imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles were of three kinds :

Firstly, Germany had to admit that the whole blame for the World War lay on her shoulders, and therefore she had to pay heavy reparations to the Victors.

Secondly, in order that she might never be in a position to repeat the 'crime against Civilization', Germany was disarmed.

The third penalty, for which the excuse was either the alleged mismanagement by Germany of her Colonial Empire or the

adherence to the principle of self-determination was that Germany had to hand over not only her colonies and overseas possessions to the Victors but a considerable portion of her European territory, principally to France, Belgium, Denmark and Poland.

As regards the responsibility for the war Art. 231 of the Treaty of Versailles says:

> The Allied and Associated governments affirm and Germany accepts, the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and danger to which the Allied and Associated governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the War imposed on them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

The Germans resent this article perhaps more than any other of this Treaty. They call it in their own fashion "Kriegsschuldsluege" or the war-guilt lie. And any demagogue can kindle the popular passion by a simple reference, however irrelevant it might be, to this 'lie'.

As regards the responsibility for the war it is now generally believed that Germany cannot alone be held responsible for it. Historically speaking, many of the states, if not all, which took part in the struggle share the blame. But the Germans are convinced that in 1914 they were not aggressors in any sense of the term and that they were fighting in self-defence. The mobilization of Russia and France which came before their own is regarded by them as a clear proof of the innocence of their Government. They think that the mobilization of these two countries forced their Government into the declaration of war.

Now if the Germans were not responsible for it, why should they be forced to pay the costs of the war to the Victors? The Germans naturally resented huge sums of money going abroad every year until 1932. They regarded this payment as wholly unjust and tyrannical, as not only the generation that took part in hostilities had to pay the penalty but two successive generations had to suffer. The Reparations have played an important part in arousing German discontent and therefore in strengthening political extremism. People outside Germany differ about the part which they have played in bringing about the economic crisis from which the world is suffering today, but the German Nationalists have no doubts on this point. From the very beginning they have not only pointed out the injustice done to the German people, they have also emphasized the disastrous effect of such payments on world-economy. Dr. Schacht in his remarkable book, *Das Ende der Reparation*, published in 1929, developed this thesis, and today when as a result of the advent of the Nazis to power he has returned to the Reichsbank as its president, he holds the same view. Dr. Schacht said in that book that Germany would never be in a position to pay huge sums of money prescribed by the Young Plan and if she did, it would mean the ruination of the whole economic order. The Nazis with Dr. Schacht hold that the present economic crisis is primarily due to the payment of huge sums of money as "war-tribute". Happily, however, Reparations today seem to be a thing of the past. They are, let all friends of peace and economic recovery pray, gone never to return. The Reparations disappeared but only after they had done their part in creating great misunderstanding between Germany and the Victors, especially France.

Another penalty imposed on Germany was the reduction of her armaments. The German army was reduced to 100,000 men, her navy was practically gone, and she was forbidden to possess an air fleet for war purposes. But the declared aim of the authors of the Treaty was the reduction and limitation of armaments of all countries and German disarmament was intended to serve as an initial measure for general disarmament. Now Hitler, who represents the views of all Germans on this question, says that it was only on a promise of subsequent disarmament that Germany undertook to disarm. Germany regards it as legally binding on other nations. She takes it as a contract between parties. Germany completed its disarmament in the years immediately following the Great War. After having fulfilled the conditions of the Treaty she now demands of other parties to keep their pledge, and to translate their declared object into practice. But in fairness to the Allies it must be pointed out that German disarmament cannot be regarded as one part of the

contract, the other part of which is disarmament of other Powers. Germany, however, gives quite another interpretation to the whole thing and demands general disarmament. But as there seems to be no response she insists on the principle of equality of armaments. Either reduce your own armaments or allow Germany to re-arm : this is the attitude taken up by the Nazis. Germany is not prepared to watch the strength of her neighbours growing every day while she is bound by the Treaty. The German people perhaps resent the disarmament of their country more than they did the payment of Reparations. Reparations meant a big material loss to the country ; but disarmament means much more. For through disarmament the very existence of the Fatherland is considered to be at stake. Disarmament means that the country of a very proud people is at the mercy of its highly-armed neighbours. The Germans can never appreciate the French point of view on the question of disarmament. The insistence of France on "Security before Disarmament" is regarded as a clear proof of French insincerity. The two possible rivals of France according to the French themselves are Germany and Italy. But France is superior to Germany and Italy. Even the combined strength of these two countries is much inferior to that of France. Apart from her own strength she has got a number of powerful and devoted allies—mostly neighbours of Germany. The fact that none of the probable opponents of France, not even a combination of these opponents, is her equal is a sufficient guarantee of her security. To the German it seems that the insistence of France on security before disarmament has absolutely nothing to do with security. If it is security, it is not the security of their State but the security of their domination.

And now we come to the territorial losses of Germany as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. Firstly, Germany was deprived of her colonies and overseas possessions. This was done because Germany was alleged to have mismanaged her colonial empire. Secondly, she had to hand over the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to France, Posen, West Prussia, and Upper Silesia to Poland, Sleswick to Denmark and another district to Belgium. This meant more than 60,000 sq. miles. Then the left bank of the Rhine came under the occupation of the Allied Forces for a period of 15 years, but thanks to British efforts the occupation came to an end five years earlier. Again the government of the Saar was entrusted to the League of Nations for a period of fifteen years, after which period the future of the country was to be decided by plebiscite, the people having three alternatives before them—either a return to Germany or incorporation with France or the continuation of the government of the League. Another treaty, the Treaty of St. Germain, prohibited a union between Germany and Austria.

All these provisions are naturally very distasteful to Germans. But the Nazis do not seem to be very sorry for certain territorial losses. It is true that the Nazis are demanding the return of their pre-War colonies, but at the same time it should be remembered that Herr Hitler, like Bismarck, is not at all enthusiastic about colonial expansion. In the racial state of his conception there is no place for colonies. And if he and his lieutenants are asking for a return of the colonies it is not because they are very keen on their return but because German public opinion demands it. At any rate there can be no doubt that Hitler and his chief lieutenants are much more particular about their Eastern territories than about their colonies.

Just as the Nazis are not very particular about the return of the colonies so they are not very keen on the return of Alsace and Lorraine. Somehow they seem to have reconciled themselves with the loss of these provinces. But they are very definite with regard to a change in their Eastern frontiers, which means the return of all those districts which they consider to be German to the Fatherland, and a union with Austria. They are also very particular about the restoration of the Saar. This question will, however, be settled next year by means of a plebiscite and no one need have any doubts about the result. Although the population of this province is predominantly Catholic and it also happens to be a centre of Socialism and Communism—creeds which are being persecuted in Germany—yet it is unthinkable that a

majority of these people will decide in favour of a union with France or even in favour of a continuance of the *status quo*. It is a good news in this connection that France and Germany have after all agreed on the procedure and arrrangements of next year's plebiscite.

But decidedly the most difficult of all the problems is the revision of the Eastern frontiers in favour of Germany and at the expense of Poland and other States. An incidental but for Germany very important result of the resurrection of the Polish State was the separation of Eastern Prussia from the main land. This was due to the creation of the Polish Corridor in order to provide Poland with a sea port. The Germans bitterly complain against this gross injustice. They cannot allow their Fatherland to be torn into pieces like that. Again, Germans are a growing nation and therefore expansion is necessary. If, however, colonial expansion is considered to be undesirable (because the Nazis are afraid of a deterioration of German "Kultur" and want to establish a compact racial state) then the only other direction in which Germany may expand is towards the East. The Nazi Eastern policy is responsible for the strained relations between Germany and her neighbours, including Russia.

The other thorny problem is that of Austro-German Union. The consolidation of the German Nation cannot be regarded as complete without this union. The Nazis seem to be determined to accomplish it, whatever the cost.

About two years ago almost every German and every Austrian regarded such a union as very desirable. Austria's position as a result of the Great War was rendered impossible. She lost 7/8ths of her teritory and more than 87 per cent of her population. What is perhaps worse is that of her present population of 6,400,000 over two million people live in the capital. Austria with her present meagre resources—she has no outlet to the sea—is not in a position to support such a huge capital, which although decaying is still one of the most important towns on the Continent and is, perhaps, from cultural point of view, only next to Paris. The one solution of the problem which appealed to both the German-speaking peoples was an Austro-German Union. Both the peoples form one linguistic and cultural unit and may be regarded as one nation. The people of both these countries were strongly in favour of such a union before Herr Hitler came to power. And if the schemes of union (including that of Economic Union of 1931) did not materialize, it was because other Powers, especially France, would not permit it.

But since the establishment of the Nazi regime in Germany things have changed. Now Austria, under the strong government of Dolfuss, rejects the idea of union. Every important political party of Austria, Nazis excepted, is now opposed to it. The Catholics and the Socialists are naturally afraid of a Nazi regime. Then there are Austrian Nationalists who want to preserve the independence of their country, for otherwise they apprehend, it would become a dependency of Protestant Prussia. But they know that they cannot avoid a union with Nazi Germany without the support of some powerful State. They have actually found such an ally in Italy. France does not want to see the influence of Italy grow in Central and Eastern Europe—she has her own schemes—but as a lesser evil she would rather tolerate an understanding between Italy and Austria than see Austro-German Union accomplished.

Hitler is aware that the ideal of his 'racial state' which means Austro-German Union and expansion of the Fatherland towards the East is unattainable without the help of some of the more important Powers. He knows that inside Germany he is at liberty to do what he likes—he can persecute the Jews, he can suspend the republican constitution, he can dissolve all political parties and even religious sections, he can suppress freedom of speech and freedom of the Press—but in foreign policy he would be helpless without powerful allies. The countries whose help Hitler seeks most are Italy and Great Britain. The Nazis consider France as their natural enemy with which there can be no permanent understanding. A conflict with Poland, Russia, Czechoslovakia and even Austria also seems to be unvoidable because of the Eastern Policy of the Nazis. In order to combat such a formidable combination Germany must have some allies. To Hitler Great Britain and Italy seem to be such allies. Italy is a "natural" ally of Nazi Germany not only

because of the common belief in one political philosophy (!) but also because France happens to be their common enemy. Hitler in spite of the declared policy of national consolidation gave up the cause of the German-speaking people of Tyrol for the sake of this friendship.

The Nazis consider Great Britain as another natural ally of theirs, firstly because of the racial affinity, which they forgot during the Great War, and secondly because they think that England in order to secure a balance of power in Europe would welcome the recovery of Germany. The Nazis argue that Great Britain has always been the enemy of the strongest power on the Continent. Before the Great War it was Germany, now it is France. And in order to crush the power of France Great Britain would naturally welcome an alliance with Germany. Again, Germany is one of the best markets for British goods and therefore her recovery would be economically beneficial to Great Britain.

For the sake of British friendship Hitler must also denounce Indian political aspirations. The position of Hitler as regards India is somewhat this: Germany may sympathize with Indian political ambitions either on humanitarian grounds or for political reasons. In the first case if India were really oppressed by a foreign nation Germany would have been justified in sympathizing with her. But she does not seem to be oppressed. If Indians were really an oppressed people they would have stood up against British authority during the Great War. Oppressed peoples do not help their masters when these are in great danger. So it seems Indians are not an oppressed people, and on grounds of justice Germany need not sympathize with their political ambitions. But sometimes people have to make and keep friendships for political reasons. India as a political ally, however, is of no good. England, more than any other country, is in a position to help the Fatherland. Many a problem of German foreign policy can be solved if there is co-operation between these two "Aryan" peoples. So, as a matter of policy Germany in order to please Great Britain should denounce Indian political aspirations even if they happen to be the declared aim of British policy in India!

Hitler's aim is friendship with Great Britain and Italy. And he was absolutely sure of such friendship before he seized power. But things do not always happen according to calculations. Italy would never allow an Austro-German union which in future is bound to become a source of danger to her frontiers. The attitude of England is still ambiguous. Before the Nazi regime was established there was a widespread sympathy for the German cause in England. But the persecution of the Jews and the militaristic ambitions of the Nazis have brought about a change in the attitude of the English people. There is another thing which cannot be ignored in this connection. It is true that France has come out of the Great War as the strongest power on the Continent and therefore it may be that Great Britain is jealous of her power, but it is equally true that France with her colonies forms an almost self-sufficient economic unit. She is not a very serious competitor of England in the markets of the world. Germany, on the other hand, although today a second rate power, is such a competitor. In 1930, for instance, the exports of Germany exceeded those of England. In these circumstances Hitler's calculations about Italian and British friendship seem to be rather optimistic.

The Nazis have not yet been able to secure the friendship of these two countries. On the other hand, their rise to power has caused certain unexpected changes in the foreign relations of many European countries, which may prove dangerous for Germany. Russia's relations with France, Poland and the Little Entente are now far better than they used to be. Now there is a regular understanding between France and Russia similar to that of the pre-War *Entente Cordiale*. France has forgotten and forgiven Russian desertion of 1917, and the repudiation of debts.

Similarly between Poland and Russia there exist much better relations today, because Hitlerism is their common enemy. Even the rivals in the Mediterranean, Italy and France, have come nearer each other. It is in the common interest of both the countries to

prevent Austro-German union. Italy does not mind if the Eastern frontiers of Germany undergo a change in favour of the latter. An Austro-German union, however, she would not allow under any circumstances. But France is very particular about the Eastern frontiers of Germany. Poland cannot be allowed to be weakened and Czechoslovakia must remain as it is in order to check any territorial ambitions of Germany. Again, as we have already noticed, Hitler's coming to power is responsible for the strained relations between the two German-speaking peoples, who had been allies for more than half a century. It is no exaggeration to say that about three years back no one could foresee such an estrangement between these two States.

Hitler certainly knows, which perhaps his followers do not, that today Germany stands isolated in the world. She is more isolated than she was in 1914. For in that year she had at least one faithful ally, *viz.*, Austria. Today even Austria has deserted her. Whether or not in 1914 Germany was really "encircled" by enemies, today she is. The Nazis had counted on British and Italian support, as against France. The opposition on the part of France was of course always expected. A German can never foresee a future in which these two countries might live in peace. Every peace with France means but a truce. It is the firm conviction of almost every German that France will never be prepared to see the Reich prosper. Comparing the attitudes of Great Britain and France towards Germany Hitler says in his "*Mein Kampf*":

> England does not want Germany as a world power, France does not want Germany to be a power at all.

With the French there can be no permanent understanding. In every hostile or unfriendly act of every Power German eyes see French influence working. The enmity of France is one of the most fundamental political beliefs of every German,—man, woman and child. The writer of this article, while talking of bad weather—a familiar topic of conversation in Europe—was really surprised to hear from a young boy of fifteen that the nasty wind was coming from France and "what else can we expect from that quarter".

Hitler, as we have seen, had counted on the support of England and Italy as against France. But that support does not seem to be forthcoming. War, however, according to him, is inevitable. Germany will have to fight one day so that justice may be done to her. But Germany is not prepared to go to war just now. A war at present without the support of England and Italy will certainly mean the destruction of the newly made Third Reich. In order to avoid an immediate danger of war Hitler is now trying to conclude treaties with her neighbours. There is already a treaty in existence between Germany and Poland. Too much importance, however, need not be attached to it, as there are fundamental differences between the two countries. Von Papen's visits to Italy have turned out fruitless. Now another agent of Germany, General Goering, this time, is trying to make friends with Jugoslavia and Bulgaria. Both these countries have some ideological affinities with Hitlerism, being now governed dictatorially. Both the countries, however, are too much in need of French support and there is no doubt that they would prefer it to that of Germany.

The only natural ally of Germany at the present day seems to be a far-off island, and that is Japan. This alliance, however, may prove to be of some value only in case of a Far Eastern conflict; otherwise Japan's help cannot be expected.

If there is one conclusion that can safely be drawn from the foregoing pages it is this: The widespread sympathy with the German cause that was to be found in many a country before the establishment of the Nazi regime has disappeared and has given place to suspicion, if not to actual hostility. Today Germany is almost without any friends abroad.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION: Vol. I (Second Edition) *By Bhagavan Das, D. L. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1932.*

As early as 1909, a series of four lectures on the laws of Manu was delivered by Dr. Bhagavan Das before the 31th annual convention of the Theosophical Society, and published in book-form next year by the Theosophical Publishing Society. A new edition was called for by 1918, but in the years since India had been so full of noise and movement, that Dr. Das was forced to put off *Manu* again and again and at last consented to publish the bulk of the portion that had been already printed off, in a new form and with many additions, though regretting very much that numerous other notes that had been prepared meanwhile could not be utilized in this volume.

Dr. Das first of all explains the basic principle of Manu's code of Life. The Spirit's Entrance into matter and Retirement out of it have a rhythmic swing which are recognised in all systems of thought and religion and are known here by their ancient names, Pravritti and Nivritti, caused by the interplay of the Self and the Not-Self. The three ends of the first half of life are Dharma, Artha, Kama, interpreted in modern terms they are (i) duty, character and active function; (ii) wealth and possessions; (iii) pleasures and sense-enjoyments. These ends are interdependent. The second half of life has its corresponding ends, - bhakti, yoga-aishvarya, and moksha. Dr. Das explains caste as the four vocational classes. The primary debts of life and their repayments, the special appetites or ambitions and the corresponding prizes, the three special ways of livelihood and stages of life, arise out of the three aspects of consciousness and the three qualities of matter.

All these are, however, based on the two primal factors of the world-process, the Self and the Not-Self, each with three attributes and their Interplay. But the problems of life have also to be understood with reference to the World-Evolution; it is the want of this adaptability which is the source of all India's later degeneration. Dr. Das passes in review the different root-races and declares that Manu's laws are for the third and later races, the first two races which have no sex-development being exempted from the operation of any laws in the modern sense of the word. The excellence of Manu's Code is that it provides a basis for all subsequent system of Social Organization and though future civilization may profess to supersede it, the main outlines hold good for all times to come. As a matter of fact if we consider modern problems we shall find that the same old ideas are recurring in new forms, even in the "progressive" West. A spiritual communism rather than an artificial socialism is the aim and purpose of Manu's laws,

Dr. Das then discusses the problems of education in detail. Manu gave it the first place in his scheme of life, and the attitude is significant. Education in the different lines, in the four primary items,—hygiene and sanitation, good manners and morals, tending the fires (culinary and sacrificial) and religion,—is of supreme importance, and Manu may be studied even today for practical guidance. There is a crying need for changing the details but the reader will surely gain if he consults the code for theoretical guidance, and in respect of permanent principles.

The treatment of the questions is throughout full and the author's abundance of illustrations and analogies carries the reader with him; the elucidation of the time-honoured principles is done with enthusiasm which is catching, and the book will provoke thought in those who seriously set about to study the science of social organization. The next volume is expected with eager interest, because the reader feels sure Dr. Das will apply his profound studies, wide experience and enthusiastic outlook to the solution of many-tangled problems that defy solution now.

GOETHES FAUST: *C. Jinarajadasa, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras 1932.*

Written in the centenary year of Goethe's death, the book dwells on what it understands to be the central point in the best known of his writings, a point generally ignored or misrepresented. The writer thinks that like most great men Goethe himself was unconscious of the message of his book, which embodies one of the greatest principles of occult life.

The glittering concourse of events in the second part of Goethe's Faust can be reasonably explained only on the assumption of the gospel of reincarnations to be true, and that leads us to the belief that redemption comes only through service suffused by the glow of Knowledge, Love, Life and Beauty.

A CHEERFUL ASCETIC AND OTHER ESSAYS: *James J. Daly, S. J., Professor of English, University of Detroit. The Bruce Publishing Company, New York, 1931.*

Father James J. Daly, S. J., is a distinguished writer and critic on the other side the Atlantic, and the general reader had been so long left in ignorance of the quality of his writings. In the present volume, published as a number of the Science and Culture Series under the general editorship of Father Joseph Husslein, we find Father Daly's different essays brought together from different magazines where they had been first published, and the attempt deserves appreciation. The reader is treated to the Catholic point of view which one is so apt to miss in the study of English literature. But in *the intolerent Emerson* one cannot help feeling that the writer has gone a little too far (though undoubtedly Emerson deserves snubbing) and that the tone of this essay is not in keeping with that of the rest of the book. Barring such particular limitations, Prot. Daly's writings abound in delicate shades of thought and expression, rich in humour and understanding. The volume will be thoroughly enjoyed in the reading.

THE RED-RIPE OF THE HEART: *T. B. Krishnaswami, M. A., B. L. Illustrated by Friedrich H. Rawleder. B. M. Press, Mangalore, S. K., British India.*

A number of prose poems unified in mood and sentiment, breathing intense love, ecstatic, "youthful, unthinking, romantic" ! The illustrations, thoroughly Indian in design and expression, have an interest of their own, and the language combines gracefulness and an impassioned ring. The book may be expected to be popular with a section of the reading public, delighting in fantasies and rhapsodies.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

NAZARETH OR SOCIAL CHAOS: *Vincent McNabb, O P., pp. 98, pub. Burns' Oates and Washbourne Ltd. Price 1s. 6d.*

Many and various are the cures advocated for remedying the present depression, and the social ills from which society is obviously suffering. In Great Britain where the majority of the population are living in towns, and where the hand of Time has softened the harsher realities of the past, it is naturally for people to start a "back-to-the-land" campaign. The ideal of the yeoman farmer, cultivating his own land, independent in thought, because he was also economically independent without being burdened by too great riches has always been an attractive picture. Father McNabb is a strong, and skilful exponent of this idea. Unfortunately, whilst it may be true that men are often greedy, and selfish, it is doubtful whether greed and selfishness are the root causes of the present depression. Whilst this book may be useful to some people in Great Britain, it is not likely to be of much help to people in India where the conditions are utterly different.

CONVERSIONS TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH —*edited by Maurice Leahy, pp. 127, pub. Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd. Price 3s. 6d.*

Most people who are born in any particular religious organization remain in that organization for the whole of their lives, but a minority change. In this book a dozen fairly well-known people in Great Britain try to state what it was that led them to join the Roman Catholic Church. None of them have anything startling to say and one has the feeling that their advance towards Roman Catholicism was both gradual, and natural. Unless one happened to be personally interested in any of the writers, or especially attracted to the Roman Catholic Church there is little of interest in the book which lacks the inspiration which has made Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* and St. Augustine's *Confessions* books of universal appeal.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

ORISSA UNDER BHAUMA KINGS: *By Binayak Misra. Published by the author. Viswamitra Press, Calcutta. Pp. 98. Price Rs. 3.*

Many Oriya gentlemen have now directed their attention to historical and archaeological research, the most notable of these is Mr. Binayak Misra. By his contributions published in the various research journals, he has already established himself as an able and impartial scholar. In his present publication Mr. Misra has not only been able to live up to his old reputation, but has also demonstrated what a painstaking worker he is. His book deals with one Orissan dynasty—the Kara-Kesaris, or the Bhauma kings, who ruled over certain portions of modern Orissa in the 8th century A. D. The printing and binding is good, but unfortunately some printing mistakes have been overlooked. The book is also provided with an index and is illustrated. The plan of the work is simple. It is divided into two parts. The first part deals with stone inscriptions and land grants so far discovered. Altogether fourteen epigraphs have been dealt with in this section. Most of these have already been published, but Mr. Misra is to be congratulated on having successfully cleared the mire of Rajguru and others. Four new records, three from Talcher and one from Angul have also been dealt with. The most noticeable feature of this section is the revised readings of the dates suggested by the author. The second part consists of notes on Chronology, extent of the Kara kingdom, Revenue and Administrative systems etc. A mass of miscellaneous evidence has been gathered in these notes and historians, archaeologists, and economists will derive considerable benefit from them. In these notes the author has made an attempt to present as faithful a picture of the times as is possible to do under the circumstances. It is of course impossible to expect everyone to agree with all the views expressed by the author, but these differences of opinion in no way lessens the intrinsic merit of the book. On the whole Mr. Misra is to be congratulated on bringing out successfully such an important treatise.

A. C. Banerji

SIN AND SUCH: *By Jack Woodford. Palais-Royal Press. Rue de Beaujolais Paris. 1.*

The book is one of the series of 'unconventional' books which the Palais-Royal Press has made it its business to publish. We do not know the aims and objects which have prompted the publishers to under-

take such publications neither are we convinced that any useful purpose is served at all by such books. The author of the volume under review was determined to be tremendously realistic with the result that he has been led sometimes to describe scenes which are revolting to all sense of shame and decency.

There is hardly any plot worth the name in the story. It is only a series of 'affairs with women' each one of which serves as a peg to hang the author's pompous arguments against all conventional standards of moral ideas and customs, specially against the Institution of Marriage and what is generally regarded as Sin. The book reveals an attempt of the author to be highly pedantic and his intense desire to show off his familiarity with the modern currents of psychological thinking; it is full of the free use of such words as Undermind, Unconscious, Sublimation, etc. and almost all the characters of the book seem to be 'psychasthenic' individuals.

One is tempted to agree with what Aunt Nelia said in a discussion of Arts and apply her statement to the present volume, *viz.* that this 'art' of the author is merely an excuse for sinning.

CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY: *Vol. 2. No. 3. March 1934. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. London.*

This is one of the issues of an International quarterly journal devoted to Psychodiagnostics and allied studies. We have elsewhere (Indian Journal of Psychology) discussed the extreme usefulness of such journals for furthering the studies of the various problems of life from the purely psychological point of view. The contributors to the present number (Pavlov, Saudek and others) are all world-renowned scientists and each of them has something new to say in the present issue about the problems with which they have dealt. The studies of Childrens' Music by Platt and of their Pictorial aptitude by Seeman are very valuable, while the study of Moods by Fisher and of Handwriting by Saudek will interest a larger number of persons than the technical psychologists. The biological study of the personality of Charles Dickens by Fantham is altogether a new venture and we hope that the writer will in the near future take up the study of other well-known personalities by this method.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

SCIENCE IN THE CHANGING WORLD *Edited by Mary Adams. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street. Pp. 286. Price 6s. Net.*

This little book is a collection of popular broadcast talks on the scientific problems of the day by such eminent men as Thomas Holland, H. Levy, Julian Huxley, John R. Baker, Bertrand Russell, Aldous Huxley, Hugh I'A. Fausset, Hilaire Belloc, J. B. S. Haldane, and Oliver Lodge. The editor states in the preface that this is the first time that an attempt has been made to maintain a continuity in broadcast talks spread over a pretty long period of time. We might call the book a broadcast symposium in a popular style. The book gives in a concise form the latest information on such topics as the aim of science, our place in nature, the economical, scientific and humanistic trends of our civilization, eugenics and biology. In the chapter on "What is Science Prof. Levy has given incidentally certain very interesting descriptions of an aero-dynamics laboratory and has shown the complicated nature of the organization necessary for any scientific research. Prof. Levy has given a very suitable rejoinder to Jeans, Eddington, and others who have misread the philosophical implications of the principle of indeterminacy which looms so large in modern physics. Prof. Levy's views on indeterminacy is perhaps the sanest that I have come across. Superstitions and prejudices of scientific men have been very ably exposed by Prof. Levy. The discussions on the missing link and the evolution of mind will no doubt be appreciated by the lay reader. Aldous Huxley refers to Tolstoy and Gandhi and discredits the slogan "return to nature." The problem of civilization has been examined both from without and from within. Some of the lecturers have stressed the importance of the external factors in moulding our civilization while others have indicated the importance of inner psychological factors. The book can confidently be recommended to the lay reader as a very useful and instructive one.

A THEORY OF LAUGHTER: *By V. K. Krishna Menon, M.A., George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Museum Street, London. Price Rs. 5. Pp. 187.*

The author has critically examined the different theories of laughter proposed by Hobbes, Bain, Baillie, Bergson and McDougall. He has exposed the inconsistencies of the current theories and has pointed out the core of truth that is to be found in each. The author has proposed a theory of his own basing his views on McDougall's conception of the nature of instincts. According to the author laughter is the process of demobilization of surplus instinctive forces after the goal has been realized. The author points out that persons do not really laugh *at* a situation but people feel impelled to laugh only *in* certain circumstances. He has discussed the nature of humour and wit and has given us an analysis of the pleasure we feel in witnessing a tragic drama. Some of the Shakesperian characters, such as Falstaff, Hamlet, Othello, and others have been studied by the author from the standpoint of his own theory. There is no doubt that Mr. Menon has hit upon one aspect of the mechanism of laughter and humour. But the author would not have rushed into print, had he studied Freud's *Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious* along with the books he mentions as he would have found himself forestalled by Freud long before.

THE NEW HEALING: *Wilfrid A. Streeter—Methuen & Co. Ltd., London. Price 7s. 6d. net. Pp. 257.*

Mr. Streeter has given us a very interesting account of the art and science of osteopathy which is popularly known as bone-setting. Bone-setting as a profession has found many advocates in different parts of the world although the regular medical men with their hide-bound conservatism have been slow to recognize the merit of this art. There has been, however, no lack of popular support for the bone setter. The famous controversy regarding Barker, the bone-setter, whom the medical profession persisted in calling a quack and on whom the Kinghthood was conferred by the King as a recognition of his services has been recalled in this book. The main tennets of osteopathy have been clearly indicated by the author in the latter part of his book. The book is well-worth a perusal by medical men as well as the laity.

...... *By Dr. Henry E. Sigerist. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Museum Street, London. Price 12s. 6d. net. Pp. 340.*

It is a well-known fact that the great majority of medical men know nothing of the historical and cultural background of the healing art. The work under review is meant to give the medical student "a much-needed survey of the course he is to follow and of the goal to be attained." The book is an excellent one and treats of the structure of man, the function of different organs, the relation between mind and body, the general nature of disease, its theory and causation, mortality, prophylaxis, the personality of the physician, and other problems from the historical standpoint. It is to be regretted that the author who seems to be so well-posted in the history of medicine knows nothing of the antiquity and achievements of the Ayurveda. Many of the discoveries which the author attributes to the Occident are to be found in the ancient Indian system of medicine. It is time European scholars dealing with the history of the different arts and sciences paid more attention to Indian records.

THE SEXUAL SIDE OF MARRIAGE: *By M. J. Exner, M. D., George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 252.*

The author has sought to give an insight into the factors that make for successful marriage and he has laid particular emphasis on the question of sex. In the words of the author "the purpose of the book is to provide as clear as possible a sailing chart to enable those who are contemplating marriage to avoid the shoals and to help those who find themselves already among them to discover a way out." The book although meant for the lay reader will also no doubt be appreciated by the medical profession. The chapter on sexual mal-adjustment is specially good. By a careful analysis of the data obtained by numerous workers from married couples the author has been able to make out a strong case in favour of marriage. The author is against the too wide spacing of children.

LIFE IN NATURE: *James Hinton George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 10s. 6d. net. Pp. 291.*

James Hinton who was born in 1822 and who after a chequered career qualified himself as a medical man wrote many books on philosophical, religious, social, medical and surgical topics. Hinton died in 1875. The book under review is one of Hinton's best works. Although Hinton had his training as a scientist he had the vision of a poet. The book deals with the problem of evolution of life, the morphology of living beings the vital forces, the law of form and many other problems. There is a learned introduction by Havelock Ellis. Throughout the discussion there is to be discerned a spiritual outlook so rare among the scientists of the present day. The book may be read with profit by those who are interested in the general problems of Biology.

A TREATISE ON BIRTH-CONTROL: *By An Eminent Doctor. Published by Mrs. A. Mathews, Contraception Inquiry Office, Kuthi Athode Travancore. Pp. 172.*

We wonder why the author of this book felt shy to announce his name on the title page although the book has been professed to be written by an 'Eminent Doctor,' the internal evidence shows that he is neither eminent nor a medical man. The usual sex topics are to be found in this book discussed in a popular style. I am sorry I have no word of praise for this little volume.

G. BOSE

GERMAN

DAS BRITISCHE ERZIEHUNGSWESEN IN INDIEN: *By Dr. Gerta Hertz. Published by Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. Berlin, 1932.*

The book under review is one of the most thorough and comprehensive treatises on the history of education in India. Though the special subject of the book is the British system of education only the authoress has efficiently and elaborately dealt in the first part of her book with the old Indian systems, Hindu as well as Mahomedan, in all their various aspects The second part of the book is devoted to the Education system under the East India Company. The conflict between the methods and ideas of the Christian Missionaries on the one hand and the outlook of the British Conservative politicians regarding the object of the education of the natives on the other, has been very ably depicted. The authoress next shows how the liberal view-point, gradually came to stay in spite of Macaulay and others of his way of thinking. How the efforts of the Indian educationists and politicians of wide ideas influenced and modified the occidental view-point has been demonstrated with a thoroughness, characteristic of all German scholars. In the last part of the book the organization of the various types of modern schools and their financial basis have been delineated. How the Universities in the different provinces were founded, and how the number of high schools and elementary schools, technical and industrial schools, special schools for girls and for depressed classes, etc. gradually increased, have all been described, bringing the history up to the year 1929.

In conclusion, the authoress maintains that the British education system in India has been more powerfully influenced by political rather than by purely pedagogical considerations, and this is responsible for the creation of a small class of educated Indians who are for the most part neglectful of their own culture and traditions and are even inclined to look at these with disdain. She calls them the "Babus" or the "Brown Englishmen". She, however, notes with great satisfaction that the purely Indian ideals which were neglected and suppressed so long by the foreign system of education are beginning to reassert themselves. This movement has been greatly furthered by the new orientation of the Indian National Congress.

It is impossible to do full justice to the book in a short review. One cannot but admire the industry and patience of the authoress who has ransacked all possible sources of information, in order to give a thorough and systematic presentation of the British educational system in India. The most remarkable feature of the book is the clear demonstration of how personalities and political situations have throughout dominated the evolution of the British ideas of Indian education.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

DEUTSCHE LITERATUR: *Reihe Klassik, Vol. 2, Philipp Reclam Jun. Verlag, Leipzig.*

"Deutsche Literatur" is a monumental collection

of German Literature, published by Philipp Reclam Jun. in Leipzig (Germany.) We possess already excellent editions of the works of German writers, poets and philosophers with interesting introductions in which the editors try to visualize the personality. The present collection follows quite a new plan. It is concerned with the historical development and cultural progress in the ceaseless flow of the German mind. The entire collection will consist of 250 volumes. The plan is, however, not a rigid and inflexible one. It is amenable to changes when these must needs be made.

The present volume (second volume of the Classical Period) is a breviary of the humanistic outlook on life during the German Classical Age. You find herein some of the most important works of German Idealism which trace and explain its growth out of the ideas of the Reformation Period. The doctrine of toleration is symbolized in Lessing's "Nathan". His famous essay "On the Education of Mankind" is the clearest manifesto ever written in favour of the principles of a free theology, and of course against dogmas of every kind.

The creative genius Lessing is followed in this volume by the receptive genius Herder who influenced the development of the mind of the young Goethe, the greatest genius of Germany, in Strassburg so considerably. Herder's speech "On the Death of Lessing" is a dithyrambic hymn, an Adonais in prose, celebrating the great qualities of Lessing as a philosophic thinker and critic. Herder's Dialogues on "God" and his lecture on "The Immortality of Man" enlarge on the great importance of Spinoza regarding classical Humanism and unveils the human aspect in the conception of "The Immortality of Man".

Prof. Ermatinger's introduction sets forth the chief points in this volume in a way that reflects great credit upon the learned Editor. His notes at the end made for a better understanding of the book.

DIE DIONTUNG STEFAN GEORGES: *By Ernst Morwitz. Berlin (George Bondi Verlag). 1934.*

The book of Ernst Morwitz on Stefan George is a very valuable short commentary on the poems of the great German lyric poet, who was gathered to his fathers in Italy only a few months ago. When I asked German Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbels in July 1933, as to who was the greatest poet of modern Germany, he replied at once, "Stefan George !"

Stefan George was a poet in the best sense of the word. He was the high priest of poetry. His poems are instinct with a wonderful rhythm. He is a master of architectural style in poetry. It is no exaggeration when I say that his fancy "peoples with golden dreams the stagnant air."

Morwitz paves the way to a better understanding of Stefan George, especially for the younger generation of today. He gives us a very interesting analysis of Stefan George's works and explains his poems from the viewpoint of a critic of art, initiating us into the depths of George's poetic genius.

Other useful books for the study of Stefan George's poetical works are "Die Ersten Buecher Stefan Georges" by Eduard Lachmann, "Stefan George und die Blaefter fuer die Kunst" by Friedrich Wolthers and "Stefan George" by Friedrich Gundolf (Georg Bondi Press, Berlin).

P. TARACHAND ROY

DIE GOLDBEWEGUNGEN NACH FRANKREICH IN DEN LETZTEN JAHREN—*Sudhir Sen, pp. 152, Bonn 1933,*

The more one reads certain well-known economists the more one is driven to the conclusion that though they may be very great economists, they are very poor writers of English. It is a pleasure therefore to read an economic study which is soundly reasoned, and clearly written. The book deals with the monetary problems of Germany, and their relation with the gold question. It is not a book for the general public, but is invaluable for anyone who wishes to understand the practical workings of the monetary system in a big country. Dr. Sen has shown himself to be an exceptionally able writer, and a vigourous and clear thinker, and it is to be hoped that his future studies will be of the same high standard.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

SANSKRIT—HINDI—ENGLISH

RIGVEDA SAMHITA *with the Bhashyas: By Sayanacharya and the Marmanusarini Byakhya with notes and annotations by Pandit Durgadas Lahiry. Edited by Vedaratna Pramathanath Sanyal Sarma.*

The book under review is intended to be the first volume of the Hindi version of the Rigveda, edited by Pandit Durgadas Lahiry in Bengali.

The Hindi portion of the book including the general preface is mere translation of the corresponding portion in Pandit Lahiry's own edition.

The arrangement of the portion in Sanskrit is faulty. While the texts given, comprise the first 19 Suktas, there are Sayana's commentaries on 9 of them only. The commentaries, too, instead of being printed separately along with the Riks concerned, have all been printed together, much to the inconvenience of the reader.

The Marmanusarini Byakhya, which constitutes the most important feature of the book, is Pandit Lahiry's own exposition of the Suktas in simple Sanskrit and aims at bringing out the spiritual significance of the Riks. The exposition is interesting but not convincing, being not backed by authoritative texts.

As for example, we are not told how अग्नि could be made to mean ज्ञानदेव in defiance of all tradition.

The get-up of the book is excellent ; the printing is on the whole satisfactory, but instances of orthographical errors are not rare.

ISAN CHANDRA ROY

SANSKRIT

SABDARATNASAMANVAYAKOSA OF KING SAHAJI OF TANJORE (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LIX*), *Critically edited with an introduction and index by Vitthalram Lalluram Shastri, Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, Baroda. With a Foreword by the General Editor, Dr. B. Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D. Price Rs. 11-0-0.*

Lexicographical works of which there is a fairly good number in Sanskrit belonging to different priods are not only of immense linguistic interest but a

thorough analysis and study of them is expected to throw much welcome light on the cultural history of India and her provinces. But such a study of them may be possible only when the texts of them are critically edited and published in a useful form together with necessary indexes. And hence the authorities of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series deserve the hearty congratulations of the world of scholars on bringing out, in rapid succession, two old lexicographical works—the *Kesavakalpadrukosa* and the work under review. There is some doubt with regard to the authorship of the present work as only a prose version of it and none of the two MSS. on the basis of which it has been edited refers to the name of the author. But this does not in any way make the work the less interesting.

Proper care has been taken to make the work useful and handsome in every respect. The text is given in neat bold types and there is an exhaustive index of words both of those the meanings of which are given as also of those that are used to indicate these meanings. There are only a few omissions of entries in it: under the word देवताभेद (*devatabheda*) reference should be given to p. 347, line 17 as to other pages. A cursory glance through the pages of the book brought to notice several interesting facts. Of local and comparatively later deities of the Hindu Pantheon the dictionary mentions Marici, Vatu, Cāmundā, Bherunda, Śāsta, Śitalā, Sunsiti, Śarabha, Āsuri, Sundari, Prishataka, Viśālākṣī and Jambhala. Tarā is referred to as a Buddhist deity (p. 255, l. 6). The word Goraksa occurs but it is not mentioned as the name of the Yogin well-known among the followers of Nathaism. A number of geographical places specially places of pilgrimage, and a number of standard literary works are given here. A closer scrutiny is expected to bring to light many other important facts much useful to scholars.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

KAVYA-PARIKRAMA—*By the late Ajit Kumar Chakravarti. Visva-Bharati Book Depot, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. 2nd Edition, 1933. Pp. 179. Price Re. 1-8.*

It is a misfortune for Bengali literature that the writings of so illustrious a writer as Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore have not attracted the attention of worthy critics. Most of the so-called critical works in the market are full of eulogistic effusions but their authors do not give any evidence of critical acumen or intimate insight into the artistic workings of the Poet's mind. Under the circumstances, the present work by a close follower of Tagore holds the field. We welcome this second edition of the book in an enlarged form which was long overdue. We are only to add that this exquisitely written book of criticism has been accepted by the lovers of Bengali literature and the Poet. No student of Tagore literature can afford to miss this really helpful work which unfortunately does not cover the whole field. In this edition there are two prefaces by Prof. Khagendra Nath Mitra and Dr. Kalidas Nag.

RAMES BASU

FRENCH TRANSLATION OF BENGALI

LA POUPEE DE FROMAGE: **(*Khirer Poutoul*)** *of Abanindranath Tagore adapted from the original Bengali into French; by Andree Karpeles and Amiya Chakravarty; published by C. A. Hogman, 150 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris.*

Madame Andree Karpeles is a renowned French artist who spent her early days in Bengal and who visited Santiniketan later in life, drawing spontaneously inspiration not only from the master-artists of Bengal but also from the simple sublimity and grace of our village-folk. She had already published a remarkable volume, *India and her Soul* an anthology of contemporary Indian thought, much appreciated in Europe. She has published also a translation of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's *Fire Flies* and of Abanindranath Tagore's *Essays on Art and Anatomy*. And now *Khirer Poutoul*, so well-known and popular in Bengal, has found its beautiful French incarnation, thanks to the devotion and enthusiasm of Madame Karpeles. She is a born-decorator and in every book that she publishes we feel the impress of her genius in illumining the text with flashes of decorative design that fascinate us. No wonder then that she hypnotized, by means of this magic doll of the Bengal village, one of the greatest story-tellers of our age, Selma Lagerlof of the Swedish Academy, who has written a charming preface to the volume. Selma Lagerlof has explored, more than anybody else, the world of super-naturalism hidden behind the folk-tales of her land and she has paid a great compliment to our Indian storry-tellers when she has said that they allow the super-natural element to disturb the simple progression of events only in case of extreme necessity, and even then Hindu super-naturalism might work through any beast or bird or even a long-tailed monkey and not necessarily through the all-powerful and irresistible *fairy*, more or less abstract and super-human. Through this story Selma Lagerlof could feel the exquisite grace and refine expressions of the royal court of India. Above all, she admires Indian wisdom because "it places goodness and fidelity high above youth and beauty."

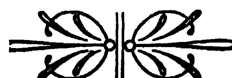
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GUJARATI

MANJARI: *Published by Ramu Thakkar, and printed at the Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur. Cloth Cover, pp. 214. Price Re. 1-4. (1933).*

This is a collection of fifteen short stories, bearing on various domestic and social subjects published at different times in the weekly, *Phul Chhab*. They are very interesting to read, and many of them are told in a very affecting way. We specially commend the story, sarcastically called, "The Happy Prostitute," narrating the life-history of a Hindu girl, widowed at the age of fourteen, and her trials and her fall, till ultimately when she became a convert to Islam and a concubine of Musalman traders, all this because of the rigour of society which would not allow re-marriage, the result being her being driven on the streets. It is a scathing commentary on our ways.

K. M. J.



THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

VII

SUBARNA woke up early in the morning. She was accustomed to early rising. Besides, the noise of the awakening of the great city, began much before the morning and woke up people who were new to the metropolis. Some such sound woke up Subarna, and she sat up straight in her bed. On first opening her eyes, she did not recognize her surroundings. Everything seemed strange and new to her. The next moment memory returned and she knew where she was. Slowly she came out of her room, on the open terrace and stood looking down on the streets beneath. It was already full of people, and vehicles and cars of different types. Subarna had never seen such things. She had never dreamed that there were so many kinds of people in the world. She had not much leisure in her old life to pass in dreaming and imagining. Oppression and fear crushed her, and her heart had dried up. She toiled like a beast of burden, and suffered silently like one. Her life held nothing but toil and suffering.

Suddenly, within a few days the walls of her prison house had broken down. Subarna did not know what to do with such perfect freedom. She felt herself lost and at her wits' end. Her mind too had become crippled through slavery and she could not even think clearly and coherently. She was a girl of fourteen, but she was ignorant of the world like an infant. On the other hand, she felt herself to be an old woman. She had no joy in life, she was afraid even to hope for better things. She was like a bird which had been set free from its cage after years of captivity and did not know how to use its freedom.

For about half an hour, she stood thus looking down at the streams of people beneath her. Then she returned to her room. She rolled up her bed. She was not accustomed to sitting idle in the morning but here she had no work. She peeped into her father's bedroom, he was still sleeping soundly. Subarna had a small bath-room, attached to her room. Usually there was no water to be had there. But there was an electric pump below, with the aid of which water could be pumped up to the second floor. The servants had seen to it today, knowing that the people above would need water. Seeing drops of water dribbling from the tap, Subarna went in and washed her hands and face at it. Then she gathered all the clothing she had used in the train and took them to the bath-room. She began to wash them, much more at ease now, because she had found something to do.

She was wholly engrossed in her work, but her father's voice made her look up with a start. "What are you about?" asked her father. "Why are you getting wet so early?"

"I am washing all the soiled clothing, used in the train, father," said the girl.

"Oh there will be lots more of clothing used in travelling, after this," said Pratul. "How much will you be able to wash? I shall send them to the laundry. Come away from that damp place."

Subarna could never leave her work half done. She wrung out the clothes she had washed and came out with them. "Where shall I hang them up to dry, father?" she asked.

A servant had come up with a large tea tray "Give them to him," said Pratul. "Surya, take them and hang them up somewhere."

The servant put the tray down on Pratul's table. Then taking the bundle of washing he went away to hang them up. Pratul called Subarna to him and asked, "Have you washed your face? Come and have your tea then."

Subarna looked at him, rather astonished. "But I have never taken tea, father," she said.

"Very well, take something else then," said her father. "Don't stand there like that. Come on."

Subarna had to come and stand by her father, though she had long since lost the habit of taking breakfast in the morning. She had to serve food to every one in her husband's house, before she could touch anything herself. It was generally in the afternoon that she took her first meal. Her mother-in-law did not believe in letting young wives have too easy a time. She hated these modern new-fangled ideas. Her own childhood and early youth had been passed under the tutelage of a very strict mother-in-law, and she was taking it out of poor Subarna, as a sort of reprisal. She believed that this sort of training bore good fruit in the long run Women could lead easy lives when they grew old, but certainly not in their youth. What was the use of having mothers-in-law else?

Pratul drew up a chair for Subarna and said, "Sit down. Now, what are you going to take? Here are bread, butter and eggs. Can you eat these?"

Subarna turned up her small nose in disgust and asked, "Is the bread made by a Muhammadan, father?"

Her father became grave and said, "That is possible; but you must give up these prejudices now. I won't force you to take them on the first day, but try to change your notions. But tell me now what you want to eat. There are some sweetmeats and fruits. You can have them. Shall I order more sweats for you?"

The fruits and sweetmeats were on the same tray with the eggs and bread. Subarna had objections to taking these too. But she felt that her father was angry. So she drew the plate of sweets slowly towards herself and began to eat them, though tears were starting to her eyes.

When she had finished, her father asked, "Shall I order some milk for you? You did not take tea."

Subarna smiled. Did her father think she was a baby or an invalid? "No, no, father", she said. "I do not want anything else. I have taken quite enough." She began to put back the dishes on the tea-tray.

"Let them be, let them be", said Pratul. "The servant will see to these. I am going out now and may be late. What are you going to do all this time? It is difficult to remain alone in this lodging-house. Will you come with me?"

"Yes, father", said Subarna, "I shall feel very much afraid, if you leave me alone. The servants will come up and go down all the time. If there had been a maid servant, it would have been otherwise."

"You have reminded me of a good thing," said her father. "I shall try to engage a maid-servant. I won't have to take you along everywhere with me, then." As the servant came up for the tea-tray, Pratul turned to him and asked, "Can you get a maidservant today? She will remain with my daughter the whole day, and do whatever work there is to do. She may go home at night."

Surya began loading the tray with the plates and cups and answered, "I can do that, Sir. I have a person in mind, I shall see whether I can find her in the market. How much are you going to pay her?"

"First bring her, then we shall see about the payment", said Pratulchandra. "Get me a paper. Can you read, Subarna?"

"I can read Bengali, father," said his daughter, rather shyly.

"Bring a Bengali paper too," said Pratul, handing him some money.

The servant went down. "I could have swept the rooms, if I had a broom," said Subarna.

"The servant will do that," said her father. "We must go out very soon. I think I shall have to buy new dresses, shoes, stockings and everything of the sort for you. I wish I had somebody, whom I could consult. I don't know anything about these things, neither do you. I really don't know what to do."

"Then don't buy anything now, father," said Subarna. "First consult someone. Don't spend money needlessly. Don't buy *saris* for me, I have got lots and lots. Mother never wore any of her good *saris*, and they are all quite new."

"All right, we won't buy *saris* then", said her father. "Let me see to the other things. I will have to go about quite a lot these first few days."

The servant brought up two papers, one English, the other Bengali. Pratul pushed the last one towards his daughters, saying, "Read this. You will know all about foreign countries".

Subarna began to read the paper, but she understood very little. She had never heard of these countries, and she did not know what the events mentioned meant. Still she went on as she was ashamed to show her ignorance. After a while she asked, "Have you got any story-book father?"

Pratul was glad to know that his daughter had a love of learning. "I have not got any," he said. "But the gentlemen downstairs must have got some. Let me see," with these words he went down.

Pratul had the largest collection of books amongst the lodgers, but there were few Bengali books in it. Even those few were not fiction. The other gentlemen did not have much to do with books. They read only the sporting columns of the papers and the cinema notes. Two or three were fond of English novels, but they lent these books to their friends, and as is the custom, they were never returned. So none had any books in their possession. Pratul came back after a long search with some old Bengali magazines and a work of Rameshchandra Dutt. "Turn these over for the present," he said, "when we go out we shall get some more books."

"Oh, these will do splendidly, father," said Subarna. "What's the use of more books?"

Pratul was rather taken aback at this lack of ambition on Subarna's part. "These few can never do," he said, "you must study regularly now. You are quite a big girl. Did not you read any more after you left your mother? She taught you only the rudiments."

"I did not, father, I had no time," said Subarna. "I never dared to touch a book there, for fear of my mother-in-law. She would abuse me so. She said it was inauspicious and a woman had no business to get learned. She used to say, "We have no learning, but are we not human beings?"

"I cannot say that she belonged to a high order of humanity," said her father. "But let that pass now. Bolt the door from inside and read these, while I go out. Don't be afraid, I shall come back within an hour."

Subarna was really feeling afraid but she did not dare to object. As her father went out, she bolted the door from within and sat down with the books. But she did not like reading for long. She put them by, and opening her mother's trunk, began arranging the things

within. Tears rushed into her eyes at the sight of the dresses, hallowed by her mother's memory. She put her head down on the trunk and began to weep.

Suddenly there was a knock at the door. Subarna sat up in consternation. Who could it be ? She was very much afraid of the servants. She had heard fearsome tales about these Calcutta servants in her village home. She believed them to be capable of every kind of crime. She peeped out through a hole in the door. She saw the servant standing with a woman. The sight of a woman restored her courage. She opened the door and said, "Father has gone out a little while ago".

"I saw Raju's mother in the market, so I brought her along at once You sit down here, and wait for the gentleman, while I go and finish my marketing. Else the cook will kick up a row."

The servant went down. The woman named Raju's mother came inside. Seeing that Subarna was going to bolt the door again, she stopped her, saying, "Don't do that young miss, I shall sit with you and you won't need any bolts or bars. Is this the first time you have come to Calcutta ?"

Subarna sat down on the bed and said, "Yes, this is the first time. Did you use to work here before ?"

"Yes, I did for a time", answered the woman, "but it is difficult for a woman to work in a gentleman's boarding house."

"Why ?' asked Subarna, rather alarmed. "are not they good people ?"

"Oh, I did not mean to suggest that," said the woman, biting her tongue in protest. "They are quite all right, but they wanted a man to fetch and carry for them. So I brought Surya here. He is also from my village."

"In which village do you live ?" asked Subarna. "Is it far from our village ? My father's house is in the village of Jamral."

"No, my dear," said the woman, "we don't live in that part. Our village is very far from here. We have no railway even, and have to walk. Our legs feel like coming off. The rich people, of course, use horse carriages or palanquins."

Subarna was getting to like Raju's mother. She also was from a village and felt a certain affinity with the woman. The city people were strange, even her own father. Subarna did not dare to speak to them. She did not know what to say. She knew they were not interested in the same things. Subarna, too, did not like their talks. She knew only the simple life of the village, which she had left for ever. Perhaps she, too, would become like these city people in time. The thought gave rise to mixed feelings in her heart. Would she, too, scorn her simple childhood then ? It held much sorrow and suffering, still she felt pain at the thought of parting from it. This life was hallowed by her mother's memory. She could never scorn it. There could be no love anywhere to match a mother's love. But she felt a bit of pleasure, too, at the thought of the new life going to begin for her. She would be a real human being and not a slave. She would not have to submit to oppression all the time. She had begun to understand that her life of slavery had deprived her of many rights and privileges, which a human being should enjoy.

Pratul came back after a while. Seeing Raju's mother, he asked, "So it is you ? Did not you work here before ?"

"Yes, Sir," said the woman, "for what work do you want me ?"

"There is not much work to do," said Pratul ; "but you must remain here with my daughter all the time and do whatever work there may be. I have to be out pretty often, and there must be somebody with her."

"Certainly, Sir," Said the women, you can have her safely with me. I am working as a servant because I am poor, but I come of a very respectable family. How much shall I get ?"

"I shall not keep you very long," said Pratul. "But, for the few days we are here, you will get eight annas a day."

The woman had not expected so much. So she remained quiet. As Pratul sat down to write some important letters she took Subarna to the other room and began to talk to her. The servants had done all the work of the morning, so there was nothing to do just then.

Pratul had no intention of keeping Subarna in Calcutta for long He did not want her there, because Calcutta was too near and her husband's people might start trouble again. They had sent her away in anger but they were sure to want her back after a while. Pratul was a fairly rich man, and Subarna was his only child. He knew very well that Shribilas would want his wife back pretty soon. But Pratul had taken a vow never to send his daughter to that house of butchers again.

VIII

Subarna had been in Calcutta nearly a week. She had gathered quite a lot of experience. She did not gape at the sight of trams and buses any longer, and she had got accustomed to the sight of strange people, strangely clad. Though Raju's mother was nothing but a maid-servant, yet she knew the manner in which the girls of the city dressed and did their hair, as she had worked in many cultured families. Subarna was learning these things from her, though as yet her knowledge was far from perfect.

It was evening. Pratul was shaving in his room, and in the other room Subarna was getting her hair dressed by Raju's mother. She was to accompany her father to the house of a friend of his. Pratul wanted to consult his friend's wife about Subarna.

Raju's mother finished her work and said,

"I have done my best, but it is not very pretty. The girls of the Bose family do their hair very nicely. They don't tie them in braids either."

"But does not their hair come down ?" asked Subarna.

"Not at all, why should it ?" said Raju's mother. "They use such a large number of hair-pins. Those pins too are of many kinds, some are made of celluloid, some of tortoise shell. I did not pay much attention then ; else I would have learnt it all perfectly."

"Have you finished ?" asked Pratul from the next room.

Subarna got up in a hurry and said, "Yes, father, I have nearly finished." She ran into the bath-room to wash her face.

She came out soon, but did not know which *sari* to wear, and how to wear it. Pratul had bought her many new things, but she did not know how to use them. Raju's mother solved her problems for her. "You dress as best you know, my sister Nobody puts on these English shoes now, they all wear those up-country *nagras*. You also do likewise. Then try to learn from the girls of the family you are going to visit."

So Subarna dressed up simply and started with her father As she was going down the stairs, her father said, "Speak, when you are spoken to and don't remain silent, as you did the other day. The rules of your mother-in-law do not apply here. Everybody speaks here."

Subarna was really afraid of speaking She had been taught that a young wife must not speak, even if she is struck seven times, she could never talk freely before people. She had suffered much for not knowing where to speak and where not to speak If she answered her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law, they used to strike her and if she did not answer any of Shibila's questions, he also gave her a slap or two. Between these two parties, poor Subarna had nearly forgotten how to speak.

They started in a hackney carriage. Subarna looked at the large buildings on both sides of the road and the big shops. What a number of beautiful things ! She wished she could carry them all away. She had got some pretty things for her own now, and she was beginning to understand the joy of possession for the first time.

The carriage entered a narrow lane from the main road. Pratul called out to the man to stop on the right. The carraige stopped before a small two-storied house.

The front door was closed. Pratul knocked and a small boy in Khaki shorts opened it. As he saw Pratul he said "Father has just gone out."

"But aren't others at home ?" asked Pratul. "Where is your mother ?

"Oh, mother is in the kitchen," said the boy. "Please come in."

Pratul told the coachman to wait and climbed up the stairs with Subarna.

There were only three rooms on the first floor, but these three appeared to be quite crowded. Every room was used as a bedroom, as well as a dining-room. But the flat was neat and clean on the whole.

The boy conducted them to a small room and asked them to sit down. There were two or three chairs and large wooden bedstead, covered with a printed counterpane. Pratul took one of the chairs while Subarna went and sat on the bed.

The mistress of the house came up in a hurry to welcome the guests. "Please make yourself at home," she said to Pratul, "my servant has run away, so I am trying to do everything singlehanded."

"We have come at the wrong moment," said Pratul, "we must be frightfully in the way."

"What a thing to say," cried the lady in protest. "Is not anyone to come to my house, because the servant has run away ? I have just put the rice on to boil, and my little son will look after it. He is a very bright boy and helps me a lot.

"This is my daughter Subarna," said Pratul. "I want to talk to you about her."

"Oh, is this Subarna ?" asked the lady. "You said she was about fourteen but she looks like a child of eleven. Our Amitâ is of the same age but she looks quite grown up"

Subarna got up at a sign from her father, and bowed down to the lady. She patted her on the head lovingly and made her sit down again. "Sit down, my dear," she said, "there is not a single girl in the house for you to talk to. I have got boys only, and they make me so wretched."

Pratul Chandra smiled at her words and said, "You have said something strange for our country. Everyone here wants sons, nobody likes to have daughters."

"That is entirely due to circumstances," said their hostess. They don't want them, because they have to suffer quite a lot on their account. Otherwise a daughter would be most welcome, at least to the mother. I have got four sons, but the house is like a barrack and not like a home. They are out the whole day, and the place remains empty and I feel like flying away somewhere else. If I feel a bit unwell, there is no one who can bring me a glass of water or sit by me for a while. My youngest boy has not yet taken after his brothers, otherwise things would have become impossible long ago."

"You should give lectures on the subject at public meetings," said Pratul. "It might make our countrymen change their views."

"Where is the time for me ?" asked his hostess with a smile. "I am too much occupied with my housework. And every day either the servant or the maid runs away. If I had a grown-up daughter, I would have had some leisure, and my home would have looked

beautiful, too. I feel rather envious of you. If I could, I would take away your beautiful daughter."

Subarna was listening to her with wonder. She had never heard such words spoken. She never dreamt that anybody could really desire daughters. From her infancy upwards, she had heard that girls were useless, they came only to torment the parents. It was glad news to her that even daughters were desired, that there were persons who missed them. Subarna felt her heart bursting with reverence for this lady. Why had not God given her a daughter? She remembered her own mother. She had loved Subarna tenderly and had made much of her, yet she, too, had never a good word to say about daughters in general. She too had said that a girl was born only as a punishment to her parents. She loved Subarna, because she was her own child, but she, like others, thought that a daughter was useless. Subarna's aunt, too, had sung to the same tune as long as she had stayed with them. Subarna regarded this lady with amazement mingled with awe. She could never have thought before that there could be such a woman, who actually desired female children.

"If I could, I would at once give her to you," said Pratul. "It would be a great relief to me. I am nothing but a stupid bookworm and know nothing about children and how to bring them up. I want to give her the best of educations. So that she could be perfectly independent, might never have to look to others to support her. But I don't know where to keep her and how to arrange for her education. I am at my wit's end."

"It is really a matter for thought," said his hostess. "Your daughter is too big now to be put to school with small children. She must make rapid progress. I think you had better engage a private tutor for her. After she has made some progress you can put her to school."

"Very true," said Pratul. "She cannot afford to waste any more time. I can get a private tutor for her at once, but where am I to keep her? I don't want her to be in Calcutta for various reasons. I want to keep her in a place, where she can forget everything that has befallen her. I must stay in Calcutta as my work lies here, but I must keep Subarna out of Calcutta. This is a problem which admits of no solution."

Shashadhar Babu, the master of the house, returned at this juncture. "I know some guests have honoured us, when I saw Khoka in charge of the kitchen," he said as he entered. "Is this your daughter?"

This time Subarna got up herself, and bowed down to the gentleman. "Sit down, my dear, sit down," he said. "What is your name?"

"Srimati Subarnaprabha Guha," replied she, with her head bent.

"You are a very modern person," said Shashadhar Babu, "why has your daughter got such an antiquated name?"

"I did not give her that name," said Pratul.

"As you want to change every thing, belonging to her old life, why not change her name too? If you did so, her husband's people would not know her, even if they heard her name."

"That's a good idea," said Pratul. "I had already decided to omit the Guha, and call her Mitra again. I might as well call her something else in place of Subarna. What name would you like, child?"

Subarna felt inclined to laugh. How funny her father was. Can a name be changed for another like dresses? Still if he wanted to change her name, she had no objection. She had no great love for her name. "Give me whatever name you please," she said.

"Then I may give the child a name," said their hostess. "I like the name Suparnâ very much. I had decided to call my daughter Suparnâ if ever I got one Since I did not, I make a present of the name to your daughter."

"It is a good name," said Pratul. "Nobody will be able to identify Miss Suparnâ Mitra, as Mrs. Subarnaprabha Guha. That is settled then. Now for a place, where she could be safely kept."

"I have a place in mind," said Shashadhar Babu's wife. "You know the people, too, quite well. But it is rather far off."

"I don't object to that," said Pratul, "rather I like it to be far off. What place are you referring to?"

"I was thinking of Delhi," said his hostess. "You can keep your daughter in my cousin's house. There is Amitâ, she will be a good companion for your child. It is convenient in every way."

"Yes, yes, it would be a very suitable arrangement," said her husband. "As you want your daughter to be self-reliant and independent, Delhi would suit you very well. It is a place where the rougher virtues will be more easily developed than in Bengal. Here girls are bound to get rather namby-pamby. I think it is due to the atmosphere. Our Amitâ has already become quite an Amazon. She knows fencing and she can use the stick too. She can drive a car as well. She is a very intrepid young person."

"I want my daughter to be just like that," said Pratul. "If your cousin Taran Babu consents to take my daughter in, I shall be very much obliged. But as he is a widower, and already burdened with the care of a daughter, I doubt whether he will agree to the proposal."

"He will agree for that very reason," said Shashadhar Babu's wife. "He will be glad to get a companion for his child. Amitâ is left too much by herself, and her father is grieved about it. If ever he has to leave Delhi, he does not know what arrangement to make. It is difficult to leave a grown-up girl absolutely alone. If Suparnâ goes there, they would be quite

comfortable like two sisters. The house is fairly large, and they have got servants enough, so there is no chance of inconvenience. And there is facility for every kind of education there Later on, she can go in for any career she chooses."

"I have thought of that," said Pratul, "I think the medical line would suit her best. Women can earn more in that profession. If she can pass her I. Sc., I will put her in the Lady Hardinge Medical College."

"You must write to Taran Babu today," said Shashadhar, "I shall also write to him. I think he will agree. Then, all you have to do is to pack up and start for Delhi. Suparnâ will see a lot of new places on the way."

The name Suparnâ seemed yet strange to the possessor of the name. Still she submitted to this change with a good grace. It was not a worse name than Subarna, rather it sounded sweeter in her ears. If she was to become a new person in every way, she might as well have a new name.

After some more conversation, Pratul got up to go. But his hostess would not let him off, without treating him to some light refreshments. "The child has come to my house for the first time," she said, "she must not go away without taking something."

The youngest boy was sent out to get some sweetmeats. Tea was made at home, and everyone did full justice to the good things. Then the guests took their leave. Suparnâ bowed down to Shashadhar Babu's wife of herself. She had taken a great liking to the lady. She had heard that educated women were very wicked. They sat in chairs all day long, dressed as Memsahibs, they ate pork and beef, and such other things. Now she believed these to be wicked lies.

Coming back, she gave Raju's mother a detailed account of her visit. "It is a good arrangement, sister," said the woman. "You will receive education and become a doctor. We have got a lady doctor living in our quarter, she earns heaps of money. She does not care a straw for any man. On the other hand, many men play the sycophant to her for her money"

(To be continued)

THE POINT OF VIEW

(A Review)

BY SAROJ KUMAR DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

The Editor is to be congratulated upon the successful compilation of a delightful anthology from the writings of the late Dr. Paul Carus. It is easy to prepare an anthology from the works of a prolific writer of the eminence of Paul Carus; but it is not so easy to compile an anthology designed to elucidate *the point of view* of the writer in question. The title of this volume* is thus a very happy selection and is the most fitting memorial to the versatile genius of so distinguished a thinker.

In tracing the genealogy of this volume the Editor refers incidentally to Dr. Paul Carus who was of the opinion that, "before attempting any full exposition of principles, a man should define his terms" (*Preface*, viii). That this is an essential pre-requisite of clear thinking and resolute acting, none can gainsay; but it is a prescript more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Accordingly, this injunction gives us a foretaste of "the point of view" of Dr. Paul Carus. As a matter of fact, in assessing a man's contribution it is "the point of view" or "the vision," as William James would say, of the man that counts in the long run. The thoughts of a man that are hailed as genuine novelties in one age are destined to become commonplace utterances in the very next. But along with the absorption of thoughts in the flight of ages, what we do not witness is a corresponding dissipation or disintegration of view-points that have well-marked individualities of their own. These are the legacies that posterity will not willingly let die. That is just the reason why the Platonic point of view has come to stay as a classical inheritance of mankind, while his teachings about 'fixed stars' or 'future retribution' have become matters of antiquarian research. Dr. Carus is thus assured of an immortality devoutly to be wished for by a thinker; for he himself believed that 'a man lives in his ideas,' and consequently, "by having an aim that is rooted in eternity, we need not mind the transiency of life." (*Preface*, xi).

We are further informed by the Editor that 'Dr. Carus did not call himself a philosopher. He preferred to be considered a theologian; and although he was often accused of being an atheist, he insisted, that he was an atheist who loved God.' (*Ibid.* viii). This self-criticism or description is as accurate as it is informative, and forms the key-note of the inspired utterances and aphorisms which have been strung together in this volume.

It is in the fitness of things that the main key is struck in the very first section—'God! Man's Highest Ideal' wherein is announced his basic faith—"The God-conception which I deem true might be called nomotheism [which 'recognizes God in the uninformities of nature'] or cosmotheism or also monotheism, but I would prefer to call this conception henotheism (*henos i.e.*, one) but I object to deism, pantheism and atheism." (P. 9). But he hastens to

* *The Point of View.* An Anthology of Religion and Philosophy selected from the works of Paul Carus. Edited by Catherine Cook. The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U. S. A. 1927. Pp. xi+211.

add that 'a personal God-conception is untenable. God cannot be an individual being as we are. That man is made in his image does not justify the pagan habit of making God after man's image' (p. 13). This leads to the kindred topic of 'Soul and Man' (Sec. II). Defining the soul 'as the form of the organism,' he tries to solve the intricate problem of the relation of the soul and the body in an epigrammatic style: "While body is the soul as it appears, soul is the essence of the body as it is in itself." (P. 23). But, then, 'our soul is not our own but mankind's' and modern psychology has been steadily abandoning 'the ego-centric standpoint' (p. 25). In strict keeping with this modern outlook, he scouts the fallacy of imagining 'that there is a certain "I," an ego who does the thinking.. There is no ego that produces thoughts, but thinking takes place, and in the process of thinking, thoughts are shaped.' (P. 35). In this context 'happiness' is 'compared to a fraction, the denominator of which consists of our wants and desires, the numerator of their satisfaction' (*Ibid.*) Accordingly, 'by a man's personality we mean a man whose character is clearly determined and well defined.' (Sec. III 'Unity and Personality'.) In Section 'IV Metaphysics,' Dr. Carus in the manner of the positivist warns us against the 'fatal error of metaphysics' which proceeds from 'the reification or hypostatization and substantiation of names' (p. 41). Thus 'metaphysical philosophy conceives the world as a duality; it assumes the existence, first of substance then of predicates with which substance is endowed' (p. 43). With a Lockean emphasis Dr. Carus holds that the 'source of knowledge is inner as well as outer experience; observation as well as introspection' (p. 47); and, further, 'a sensation cannot properly be called true. It is simply a fact,' (p. 48). 'Mind and Morals' form the subject-matter of Section VI. With his characteristic simplicity he believes mind to be 'an appearance of truth'—'an incarnation of God' (p. 51). And 'morality is nothing but the rigidity of the formal laws applied to practical life especially to the relations between man and his fellows.' (p. 55). So viewed "the 'must' of science and the 'ought' of morals condition and explain each other" (p. 54). Hence 'the mystery of being is revealed only to the man who actually *lives* a moral life' (p. 55). Section VII which deals with 'Religion, Theology and Ethics' bristles with so many pointed assertions. Premising that 'Religion refers to the entire man.' Dr. Carus holds that 'every religion is or should be a conviction that regulates man's conduct, affords comfort in affliction and consecrates all the purposes of life' (p. 60). Now, he thinks that 'the dogmatic religions of today are still under the spell of paganism'; for, paganism 'is nothing but a literal acceptance of a symbol or a myth where we ought to seek for the truth that is conveyed to us in the form of a parable' (pp. 66-67). In his opinion "even Christianity, the highest, the noblest, and the most human of all religions, is not yet free from idolatry. Sacrifices have been abandoned, but prayer, adoration and other institutions still indicate the pagan notion that God is like a human being, that he takes delight in receiving honors, and that upon special considerations, he will change his decrees and reverse the order of nature for the sake of those whom he loves." (*Ibid.*) Regarding ethics his idea is that it 'must be based on facts and must be applied to facts,' and consequently 'is always the expression of a world-conception' (p. 71). 'Christ, Christianity and Creeds' form the topic of Sec. VIII. According to him, 'creeds are symbols of faith, not absolute truth'; and Dr. Carus defines his own creed as follows:

"Whereas, divine revelation is the unfoldment of truth;

Whereas, God speaks to mankind at sundry time and in divers manners;

Whereas, Jesus Christ spoke to us in parables, and the Christian confessions of faith are, as their names imply, symbolical books;

Whereas, religion is a living power and life means growth;

Whereas, that is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and finally

Whereas, centuries of unparalleled growth have added much to our better comprehension of religious truth;

Therefore, be it resolved that we, the duly elected representatives of this church, declare:

"That we regard all former Confessions of Faith and other formulations of belief in ages past contained in the symbolical books as venerable historical documents which were from time to time, on certain occasions, and for specific purposes, composed by the legitimate and legally appointed representatives of our church,

"That we justify the spirit in which they were written, but deny that they were ever intended to bar out from us the light that a higher spiritual development and the general advance of civilization and science would bring,

"That we bear in mind that the symbolical books are symbols, and that we have learned that a freer scope for their interpretation in the light of the maturest science of our age will do no harm to the essential doctrines of our faith."

This is, indeed, the *Magna Carta* of religious liberalism destined to redeem us from the tyranny of credal and dogmatic religions of today; and we feel ourselves drawn by an elective affinity to this prophet of the Church Invisible.

The remaining six sections of the book deal with such topics of unflagging interest as 'Immortality and the Continuity of Life,' 'Ideas and the Ideal,' 'The Devil and the Idea of Evil.' 'Science and Nature,' 'Monism' 'Form and the Formal Sciences,' 'Philosophy', 'Truth and Love.' It is a pity that we cannot afford to quote *ad libitum* from these sections those characteristic flashes of insight with which the book abounds. As typical examples we select the following gems: 'Your idea of the Devil is your best interpretation of your idea of God' (p. 112); 'Monism is not merely a denial of dualism; on the contrary it is a recognition of dualities and their reconciliation in higher unities' (p. 134). 'The philosophy of a nation is important for it foreshadows a nation's fate' (p. 153). and 'we learn from India's fate how important are our basic-religio-philosophical convictions. The once greatest nation, foremost among all peoples on the earth in learning, literature, science, wealth, war-like power and religious enthusiasm now lies in the most wretched state of helpless dependence. Their one-sided monism led to a dualism and taught asceticism as the highest virtue.' There is at least a refreshing candour about this ætiological analysis of India's 'fate'!

To conclude with his prophetic insight: 'the philosophy of the future will be a philosophy of facts, it will be positivism; and in so far as unitary systematization of facts is the aim and ideal of all science, it will be monism.'

LONDON LETTER

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

MY AMERICAN VISIT

I have just returned from the United States of America and was interested to find there that the recovery from the recent severe Depression is definitely under way. President Roosevelt I regard as one of the greatest living statesmen. He is not afraid to make bold experiments and he is big enough to admit that some of his experiments are not a success and to begin afresh on other lines. There is no doubt he has the whole country behind him. This does not mean that all the big financial people in New York, and especially in Wall Street, entirely approve of him. These millionaires are constantly in a state of fear that some policy that the President may inaugurate may hit them personally, however good it may be for the country as a whole. Wall Street and New York, however, do not really represent the United States; and when Wall Street squeals at some line of policy ordered by the President the plain man further West is inclined to say immediately that the President must be right merely because Wall Street disapproves of his action. It is of course an enormous country with no internal tariff barriers, so that its natural recovery is as certain as anything can be on this planet.

I have stood on the top of the highest sky-scraper in New York, over a hundred floors up, and I have visited Washington and have seen the Supreme Court, the Senate and the House of Representatives in session. After Paris I think Washington is one of the most beautifully planned cities that I ever have seen. You see no sky-scrapers there, but nothing could be more exquisite than some of the buildings, like, for instance, the Shakespeare Memorial building. The parks and gardens, too, were a joy to see. I have no words to express my appreciation of the great hospitality that was showered on me on every hand during my stay in the United States.

I went out in the White Star liner *Majestic*, the largest liner in the world, and came back in the Cunard liner *Berengaria*, only slightly smaller. These ships are great floating palaces with swimming baths, daily cinemas, concerts and dancing on board. They are both ships of well over 50,000 tons and even while it is blowing pretty hard it is difficult to realize that one is at sea.

ENGLAND EXPORTS ARMS AND FIGHTING MEN

On coming back to England I find that Disarmament is occupying the attention not only of our own but of world statesmen. How much real wish there is to disarm it is difficult to realize. We in this country continue to export arms and ammunition to anyone who is willing to buy them. Our armament-makers even advertize tanks for sale in German newspapers, although by the Treaty of Versailles these are forbidden to Germany. But, worse still, as was brought out by questions in the House of Commons only ten days ago, we not only sell arms but we even supply men. One hundred ex-officers and ratings of the British Navy sailed about a fortnight ago for South America to man two destroyers recently bought by the Columbian Government. They have signed on for two years and, although none of them are actually on the active list, the First Lord of the Admiralty admitted that some of them are Reservists of the British Navy. They have been sent out to the Columbian Government, with the consent of the British Admiralty, because otherwise, as the First Lord of the Admiralty explained: "I should have been depriving a lot of men of work." (*Hansard*. Vol. 289. No. 96. Col. 1945. 17th May, 1934). There is of course a chance that at any time war may break out again between Columbia and Peru and we seem to be back at the time when Great Britain is prepared to supply mercenary fighters to any part of the world which is prepared to pay for them—whatever the merits of the fight in which they may be engaged. We not only export arms now, but we are prepared to export experts to use these arms.

THE FASCIST VIEW

We are not of course by any means the only nation supporting preparations for war. Signor Mussolini, in the Italian Chamber of Deputies last Saturday, intimated that £33, 000,000 would be spent during the next six years on strengthening the Italian Air Force and Navy. How far the world has strayed from the idealism of President Wilson that led to the formation of the League of Nations for the purpose of preventing another world war can be realized from the words of Signor Mussolini's speech:

> "War is for man what maternity is for woman I do not believe in perpetual peace. It is detrimental and negative to the fundamental virtues of man, which only by means of bloodstained struggles are revealed to the full light of the sun."

That speech was made only two days before the representatives of the various nations were to meet at Geneva to discuss Disarmament. Comment would be superfluous.

INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION.

Another question hardly less important is the future constitution of India. The Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament has now been sitting for a year and it is understood that the Chairman is to submit his proposed draft report to them today. The discussions on that draft are likely to continue until July. Mr. Baldwin has promised to submit the Report to the Conservative party before it comes before Parliament.

When Parliament is opened again by the King about the end of October the chief business that will occupy it for the remainder of the year, and probably for the first half of next year, will be the new Government of India Bill. It is not unlikely that this Bill will not go so far even as the Government White Paper. The White Paper itself has been rejected all over India as outlining an inadequate constitution with safe-guards on every page.

India's Chancellor of the Exchequer will have to find all the taxes necessary to provide for the working of the Constitution, but he will not have control of the spending of more than about 20 percent of the revenue. Foreign Affairs and Defence are entirely in the hands of the Governor-General without any Indian control. If the die-hard element in the Joint Committee has any success in whittling down the meagre provisions of the White Paper, no one can foretell what the results in India may be. Sir John Thompson, who has only recently retired from the Government of india, and who has spent forty years in the Indian Civil Service, and has held some of the highest positions in that country, said in a recent speech as reported in the *Manchester Guardian* :

> "There is a tremendous difference between giving less than they ask for and less than they think they have been offered. The one will produce disappointment ; the other fury. Everyone who knows India knows that there has been little peace in the country for the past twenty years, but if less than the White Paper is given to India I am convinced that we shall have to face something more vehement than we have ever known before. Trade will again have a setback. Great mass movements will revive and we shall be plunged back again into a furnace of turmoil seven times hotter than we have known."

Those of us who know something of India know how true these words are.

Sir John Thompson refers to Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Lloyd, and other die-hard Conservatives as allies of the Indian National Congress. He would like to see the Government's White Paper proposals go through in the form of an Act of Parliament because, as was clearly pointed out by Labour speakers in the House of Commons when the White Paper was under discussion, Labour does not regard the proposed White Paper constitution as adequate for India. Sir John is perfectly right when he says :

> "And consider another set of probable consequences, another morass in which we may find ourselves landed if the Die-hards have their way and the bill that is to be produced is rejected. It is quite on the cards that that would mean that the next India bill would be a Labour bill, and the Labour party, if they find this India question still unsettled, are bound by their declarations to go a good deal beyond the White Paper. What are you going to do about it ? Astute Indian politicians are beginning to build on the prospect and to pray for the success of the Die-hards, simply because they believe, and believe with reason, that with the White Paper out of the way they stand to get better terms from the Labour Party in a few years' time. That is what I mean when I say that the Die-hards are the allies of the Congress."

At least the Labour Party would try to make the Indian Constitution such that Indians could co-operate and work it without sacrificing their self-respect.

SWALLOWING PRINCIPLES

During the last General Election Mr. Ramsay MacDonald assured his constituents that the formation of a National Government would not mean the surrender of important principles. If there was to be any partisan manoeuvring, he would not be their man. So he said.

The Prime Minister apparently does not consider the wholesale clapping on of tariffs to be partisan manoeuvring although it means his swallowing at a gulp the whole of the Free Trade principles which he had advocated all his life.

The latest partisan pill for him to swallow is the repeal of Mr. Snowden's Land Values Tax although this had the unanimous approval both of the Labour and of the Liberal Parties. The Tory Party of course has always been opposed to a Land Values Tax -and even in the recent years of the Depression, Land speculators have reaped a golden harvest. Land within a comparatively few miles of the House of Commons has risen in value from about £300 to over £3000 an acre.

The Prime Minister, in reply to protests, says that the Land Values Clauses have been in suspense for years "largely owing to amendments which Mr. Snowden had unwillingly to accept from both Liberals and Conservatives. . ." It sounds therefore as if Mr Ramsay MacDonald had agreed to the repeal of this tax not in response to the crack of the Tory whip, but because the tax did not go nearly far enough ! . . . Um !

Mr Ramsay MacDonald is never tired of telling us how united every section of the country is behind the National Government. How absurd this claim is has been shown by the tremendous fall in the Government vote in every by-election. But a much more striking comment on their own awareness of their lack of support in the country is before us at present. There is a by-election in Merthyr Tydfil owing to the death of Mr. Wallhead.

The Government recently sent a Commissioner to Wales who was supposed to be able to convince the people how good for them a National Government is. Amongst other places he visited Merthyr Tydfil. Now that the by-election is on, not only is a Labour Party candidate standing, but there is also a Liberal, a Communist, and an I. L. P. candidate. The only Party that does not dare to put a candidate in the field is the one represented by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's so-called National Government! And the interesting thing is that, although all four candidates differ among themselves, they are all united in their opposition to the National Government which has no candidate to state its case.

Can it be that they are beginning to realize that the country is not really behind them? Rumour has it that they have realized it for a considerable time and are only too well aware that the day of reckoning they dread is near.

May 29, 1934.

FINANCE AND INSURANCE

Sir George Schuster's Farewell Speech

The Farewell speech of Sir George Schuster at Bombay on May 5, is important from several points of view. In it, Sir George has sought to defend his own financial policy which has been widely criticized as following the 'old-fashioned traditions of sound finance'. Sir George believes that "despite experiment being tried in many countries, the final results would show that old-fashioned methods are the best." We would not enter into controversy whether it is so or not. In the next place, he reviewed at some length the decisions arrived at by the Provincial Economic Conference which met under his Chairmanship in April. In the last portion of his speech, Sir George referred to the "Economic revolution" the world is at present undergoing, and its possible reactions on India. The enormous improvements in the methods of production have led to the inevitable result that consumption has lagged far behind production. The difficulty of marketing is one of the important factors which has led to the tendency towards Economic Nationalism. This latter is not an unmixed evil according to Sir George, who explains that it might be both necessary and beneficial "if used in this phase of increasing production in order that each country might plan for itself a new order in which purchasing power would be better distributed, so that instead of having the great masses of population unemployed, those that were employed might have more lesiure." This puts in a nutshell the case for Economic Nationalism. Whether the great claims made on behalf of this new ideal are justified, it is yet too early to see. So far it has led merely to higher tariff-walls and increasing ill-will among nations. It might be we are passing through a difficult transition period to a new order which will be more stable than the present one. The case of India is in this matter happier than other advanced countries, since overproduction is no problem at all so long as we have such a low standard of living. What Sir George means is perhaps—"Raise your standard of living, and everything will be all right.' The difficulty is how to do that.

Many of our economists will no doubt agree with Sir George when he says, "the course of world development does indicate the need for a policy for India which must be something different from past policy in its being more consciously planned and in its general orientation. We have to take account not only of increasing restriction but also of the increasing uncertainty of external markets." With this in view, Sir George says that there ought to be four cardinal features in the Indian policy.

1. Development of the internal market and improvement of the standard of living in India.
2. Utilization of every possible advantage offered by those external markets in which India's position is secure. Sir George here refers to the Empire markets and recommends an extension of the Ottawa agreements.
3. Improvement of India's competitive power in all markets by increasing efficiency of production and grade and quality of produce.
4. Special Trade agreements to secure maximum security in the markets of other countries.

Some of these were dealt with by the Provincial Economic Conference, a bare summary of the decisions arrived at being given below. Planned Economy is a novelty in India and the success of the scheme outlined would possibly lead to greater and more comprehensive "planning" in future.

The Decisions of the Provincial Economic Conference

The immediate steps which have been proposed are as follows:

(*i*) Development of marketing. Central and

Provincial marketing officers will be appointed who will also conduct marketing surveys, including surveys of animal husbandry products. Special "Commodity Committees" will be appointed on the lines of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, in the first instance with regard to tobacco and oilseeds. The work of Grade Standards will be given special attention. A Dairy Industry Institute will be appointed and provincial dairying committees have been proposed. The Central Marketing Officer has already been appointed.

(*ii*) Co-ordination of Agricultural Production throughout India. A Conference of Directors of Agriculture and Land Revenue Officers will discuss the details of the Crop-planning programme before the next cold weather. Special attention will be given to the problem of overproduction of wheat and rice. To develop overseas markets, Trade Commissioners will be appointed in addition to those who are already appointed *e. g.*, at London, Hamburg and Milan.

(*iii*) Appointment of an expert officer to report on the functions of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank. For measures relating to agricultural debt relief by legislation or otherwise and for the policy of establishing Land-Mortgage Banks, Provincial Governments would be responsible. The expert officer has already been appointed. He is Mr. Darling, I. C. S., who has already achieved fame as a Co-operative expert.

(*iv*) Productive schemes of capital Expenditure. The Provincial governments have been asked to supply concrete schemes which might be expected to be productive. Particular attention was directed to Road Development The possibilities of Irrigation, reclamation of water-logged areas and of electric power schemes were also discussed.

(*v*) Establishment of a Central Bureau of Industrial Research. It would be attached to the Indian Stores Department. The Government has decided to give a grant for sericultural research and another for the encouragement of the handloom industry. The main functions of the Bureau would be to collect and disseminate industrial intelligence, conduct industrial research, assist industrialists with advice, provide for industrial standardization and to organize industrial exhibitions and conferences.

The Crop "Planning" Conference

It is remarkable that none of our costly Government Conferences produce anything of real constructive value. The delegates go to these conferences to confer, that is, to talk and not to decide. This is inevitable when the "experts" themselves do not know what exactly they are going to do. Like its parent, the Provincial Economic Conference, the Crop-planning Conference has also ended without the evolution of any concrete "plan." The costly palaver of experts has once more produced nothing constructive.

In course of the deliberations, it was discovered that there is no overproduction of rice. It is recommended that before contemplating schemes for the expansion of wheat production the Provincial Government should consider the world situation with regard to the crop. The conference has also come to the conclusion that there is considerable scope for the increase of production of linseed and groundnut. The other important matters considered are the possibility of increasing the growth of Cambodian cotton in Sind and of the expansion of dairy farms and dairy products. As regards the latter, it has been decided to refer the matter to the Tariff Board since it involves complicated issues.

Such are the important conclusions reached, but as regards "planning" itself probably further Conferences will have to be called. It has not been decided by what proportion the production of either linseed or groundnut is to be increased, nor again in what basis the contemplated increase is to be allocated to the various sources of supply. It may be that what the Government understands by "planning" is entirely different from what others understand by the term. This would explain why the demand side of our rural economy has not been considered at all. The problem of marketing including the problems of transportation is at least as important as the problem of controlling the supply. The problem of marketing has however received very scanty attention while the problems of transportation have been severely left alone. It was expected that the problem of Jute would receive some attention but as a matter of fact this has not even been touched upon.

The 3½ p. c. Conversion Loan

The new 3½ p. c. 1947-50 Conversion Loan was announced on May 31 and the list was opened for subscription on June 5. It will be closed when Rs. 32 crores have been subscribed or in any case on June 20. It is issued at Rs. 98-8 per cent, to be repayable at par, and subscriptions may be paid either in cash, Treasury Bills, by 4½ p. c. Bonds 1934 due for repayment on September 15 or by 4 p. c. 1934-37 Loan notified for repayment on August 16. Interest will be paid on the Bond and the loan till the end of July.

When the budget was framed, it was anticipated that the 4½ p. c. Bonds (of which Rs. 13 crores are outstanding) could be paid off without recourse to a loan. But after that it was decided to redeem the 4 p. c. 1934-37 loan for which Rs. 19 crores would be required. It seems therefore that the proceeds of the new loan would be utilized to redeem both of these.

It is also important to note that some way

must be found to make up the remittance made to the Secretary of State in excess of the programme. In addition no less than 17 crores of rupees becomes due in June on account of Treasury Bills. It is possible that these will be met from the already slender and cash resources of the Government, but an issue of Treasury Bills on a large scale in near future seems to be inevitable.

Up to June 9, only Rs. 22.19 crores were subscribed and it seems that the total would not exceed Rs. 26 crores unless for some last moment decisions.* This would be unfortunate since the preparation in this case was most elaborate.

All attempts were made to strengthen the gilt-edge market but the psychology of the market did not respond. Probably the market remembers the 1933 episode and is afraid that after the new loan is fully subscribed the Government will do nothing to sustain the price of the gilt-edge. The Intermediates have been suspended since April 26, and the sale of Treasury Bills from June 9. The former means a decrease by about a crore every week. The discount on the treasury Bills has gone down from Rs. 2-5-10 p. c. on April 26 gradually to only 0-15-6 p. c. on May 26. In spite of all these the price of the gilt-edge did not advance beyond 89-4 and that too only temporarily. By June 13, it again weakened to Rs. 88. During the week ending on May 2 there was an addition to the currency to the extent of no less than Rs. 3 crores, yet the gilt-edge showed but poor response rising temporarily to 89 but weakening immediately afterwards. At the same time, the Imperial Bank of India has announced that it is prepared to make advances repayable by instalments spread over a period of fifteen months to any approved applicant who wishes to subscribe for the new Loan. We do not know how far this will attract investors, but let us hope for the best. This is the first financial operation of the new Finance* Member and if his expectations are not fully realized it must be, at least to him, a great disappointment.

The Silver Act in the U. S. A.

The Silver Bill has been passed by the Congress. It recalls the Silver Agreement reached on July 20, 1933 at the London Conference by the representatives of sixty-six countries. U. S. A. has been the first country to ratify the agreement. On December 21, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation that the newly-mined silver in U. S. A. would be coined and that the monetary reserve in silver would be substantially increased. This proclamation is of great economic importance since this is the first time after a long period that silver is receiving some attention from the currency authorities outside India and China.

On February 1, an amendment to the Gold Bill to provide for free coinage of silver was defeated in the senate by only two votes. Silver thus came within an inch of being reinstated to its former position as a monetary metal. The price of silver suddenly moved upwards as a natural consequence but gradually receded to its former level.

This defeat by such a narrow margin lent great hopes to the Silver Groups of the Congress. The favourable views of the President towards Bimetallism are well-known and the Silver Group seemed to hope that the President would readily agree to any proposals it might put forward. This, however, was not to be as the latter events showed for the President refused to play into the hands of the silver protagonists. On February 17, the Scrughan Bill was submitted which proposed that the treasury should purchase at least 25 million ounces of silver each month for six months and thereafter 10 million ounces monthly until either the ratio 16 : 1 or a total of 1000 million ounces was reached. An alternative proposal was that the treasury should purchase 1 million ounces monthly until the price-level of January 1926 was reached. In either case the treasury was required to issue silver certificates in exchange of the silver purchased. The Bill was considered by a committee of the House of Representatives under the Chairmanship of Filsinger which recommended that 50 million ounces of silver should be purchased every month by the Treasury in exchange for certificates deemable in gold until the total of 1000 million ounces was reached. In the middle of March, however, the Coinage Committee lent its approval to two other bills of which one authorized the Treasury to pay 25 per cent. above the market price for payment in silver against agricultural imports,—while the other recommended the purchase of 150 million ounces of silver at the market price within four months after the passage of the bill and a further 250 million ounces within a year or until the price level reached the 1926 average. The Administration however refused to support the Bill as it was afraid that stocks from the hoards of the speculators and from foreign centres would flood the market. Mr. Morgenthau however promised the Senate when the two bills came before it (April last week) that he would forward a list of one thousand names of hoarders of silver.

In the first week of May, the President made an important declaration in course of which he said that his objective was to secure world action regarding silver and that he was willing to increase the proportion of silver in the reserve to 30 per cent. of the total metallic reserve, as also to nationalize the silver stocks on the lines of the Gold Act.

After this declaration, the silver Group led a deputation to the Whitehall and as a consequence,

* The total amounted to Rs. 25.1 crores on June 20.

the present permissive bill was introduced. This bill makes important concessions to the Silver Group no doubt but being of a permissive character has no mandatory effect so that the Administration has full discretion when to act under the legislation. The President has thus virtually kept all the powers to himself in reserve.

The Bill authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to take over the nation's monetary stock of silver at the discretion of the Administration, to purchase any amount of silver at price up to 50c. per ounce on stocks held on May 1. He is also empowered to sell silver either if the market price is higher than the monetary value (50c.) or if the monetary stock exceeds 25 per cent. of the total. The Secretary of Treasury is authorized further to investigate, regulate and prohibit the acquisition, import, export or transfer of sliver and to make necessary regulations the transgression of which would be attended with heavy penalties. The newly-mined silver in U. S. A. would be purchased at 64 cents, per ounce, that is, at a much higher price than the market rate.

The Secretary of Treasury is to decide when the Act would come in force and also the purchasing price of silver. There is no obligation imposed on him. The Secretary may issue silver certificates against the silver purchased but even here there is no compulsion. It thus seems that so far as silver prices are concerned, a period of uncertainty lies ahead. So far, there has been no reaction on the silver market, the price at New York remaining steady at 45c. per ounce.

The Treasury has now about 7.75 billion dollars worth of gold, so that the maximum silver reserve would amount to 2.58 billion dollars in value. The value of silver already in the reserve is about 690 million dollars, so that a maximum of 1890 million dollars of silver may be purchased under the bill. At 45 cents per ounce, this is equivalent to 4.200 million ounces.* 4,200 million ounces is twenty-one times the annual world production ot silver which is 160 million ounces, and one hundred and seventy-one times the annual production in the U. S. A.

As the total volume of currency in circulation in the U. S. A. is about 3,600 million dollars (Gold and Silver certificates, F. R. and F. R. Bank notes), the Act if followed to its logical end would enable the authorities to encrease the currency by 6,700 million dollars by issuing gold and silver certificates alone and more by issuing notes. But it is most unlikely that inflation would be resorted to in near future. It is also doubtful whether silver certificates by themselves would have any inflationary effect at all since the demand for currency under any particular set of conditions is fixed.

By accepting payment in silver, it might be possible for America to enable her debtor countries to make debt payments with the least disturbance to their monetary structure. But as it is, the Act is one of "domestic subsidization" and most of the silver purchases, if made at all, must be effected in the home market. Thus, the effects of the Act on other countries like China and India are likely to be negligible. On the other hand, if silver is allowed to be imported from other countries, the price of silver is bound to rise leading to serious dislocation of the Chinese currency, for with the rise in the price of silver her exports will fall and imports increase. She may even be forced to go off the silver standard, which is the last thing desired by the silver group. The effect on Indian finances could be too indirect to be of importance. Besides, the higher price would lead to increase of supply without a permanent increase of demand. This means that when the artificial increase of demand ceases, catastrophy would follow on the wake. It would therefore be unwise for the administration to allow the silver price to increase except very gradually.*

SAILENDRANATH SEN GUPTA

DISABILITY BENEFIT—THE LATEST DEVELOPMENT

Insurance aims at achieving the greatest good of the largest number at minimum cost. This explains why brains are unceasingly at work devising schemes calculated to widen the scope of protection that may be afforded by life insurance methods. The Disability Benefit is one of such schemes and an out-standing development of this century. The Canadian Companies introduced a disability clause in 1911 and it was soon adopted in U. S. A. But competition in both the countries led to a too large liberalization of the benefits offered which inevitably resulted in considerable losses. A movement then started for the modification of the Clause and in 1932 majority of the life offices accepted the recommendations of the Canadian Life Insurance Offices Association by (i) withdrawal of income form, (ii) extending the waiting period to six months with respect to the waiver of the premium benefit, (iii) and restricting the interpretation of the word disability.

In the U. S. A. also the general experience has been none too happy and the attitude of the American Life offices towards the disability benefit has undergone a considerable change owing to the increase in fraudulent claims, too liberal an interpretation of the agreement by law courts and recent adverse effects of the depression. In 1930 certain limitations, usually referred to as Standard

* We see no point in assuming a price of 1.29 dollars per ounce only because it is one-sixteenth of the pre-Gold-Act value of gold. Sooner or later the Silver stock will have to be re-valued at the market rate.

* The Bill has recieved the signature of President Roosevelt on June 20, 1931.

Disability Provisions, have been introduced according to which (i) the waiting period should not be more than four months, (ii) the income payments must not exceed one per cent of the face value of the policy, (iii) the income benefits commencing with one per cent and increasing with the duration of the disability should be discontinued, and (iv) disability benefits should not increase if disability occurred after age 60 except in a few special forms of policies. But even the "Standard Benefits" could not prevent the losses from going up and in 1932 further radical changes were introduced. Since then the income form of benefit, which proved so embarrassing to the life offices, has suffered a heavy decline and so far the existing system is working well.

In Italy the waiver of the payment of premiums is most widely in vogue. In some cases temporary disability pension is assured in addition to the waiver of the premiums. Much less in use is the form which provides for the accelerated payment of the sum assured in case of continuous total disability.

The British Actuaries do not encourage the mixing up of disability benefits with life insurance. Thus the disability benefit has a chequered career in different countries, and it was a subject of interesting discussion in the recent International Congress of Actuaries at Rome.

British Life Insurance in 1932

1932 had not been after all a bad year for the British Life Offices. That is the impression one is likely to gather after a perusal of the "Assurance Companies Returns, 1933", just issued by the Board of Trade. The British Companies write foreign business as well but the 'home' business is much larger in volume and in 1932 it was more than eleven times as large as the foreign business. Of the companies established outside Great Britain but doing business in the United Kingdom the Sun Life of Canada headed the list in point of new sums assured. In 1932 the total of the new sums assured was £151,117,345 and the figure below will illustrate the development since 1913 which has been taken as the "base year". The "peak" was reached in 1930 and the decline in figures since then is explained by the exceptional business conditions. The average sum assured per policy is also on the increase and in 1932 it rose nearly to £347.

The growth of the premium income has also been remarkable since 1913. The "peak" here was reached in 1929; it was coming down since then but gave a "look-up" in 1932 when it amounted to £67,866,408. The premiums received are less than 30s. per annum per head of the population,—much more than double of what it was in 1913. It is interesting to note that for Ordinary Branch Life Insurance alone the British people pay premiums amounting to considerably over £1 million per week.

The Life Assurance Fund at the end of 1932 stood at £792,651,130—an increase of £422,465,746 since 1913. About £51 millions were paid in claims during the year. The surrenders which reached the largest proportions in 1930 has dropped by a third, but is still twice as large as in 1929. It is again interesting to note that all payments to policyholders added up, averaged at the rate of over £1 million per week.

Insurance In Germany

"Conditions in Germany were very much better in 1933 than in the past few years," reports the correspondent of a British Insurance Weekly. Life business, recorded by the Association of Insurance Companies in Germany, amounted to 10,810 million Reichmarks in the Ordinary Branch and 2900 million Reichmarks in the Industrial Branch bringing the grand total to 13,710 million Reichmarks as compared with 13,880 million Reichmarks in the previous year. This represents, therefore, a decrease of 170 million Reichmarks in the face value of total assurance. But, the number of policies increased, which showed that a larger number of persons had taken up insurance and the decrease in the aggregate of new business was but indicative of the hard times.

Fire business showed a healthy look-up, and the claims for the year amounted to 71,580,588

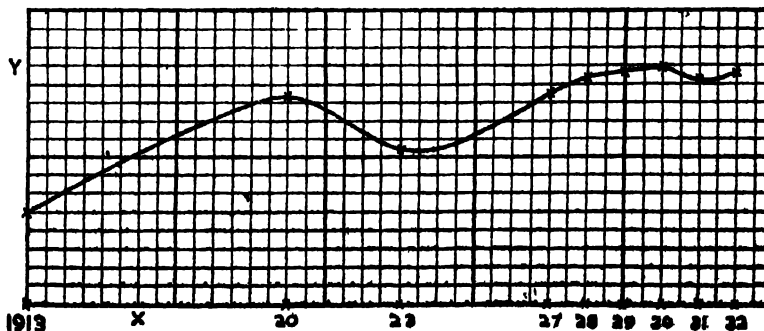


Figure Showing The Progress Of New Sums Assured Since 1913

(3 Units represent one year on the x-axis
1 Unit represents £ 12 millions on the y-ordinate.)

Reichmarks against 84,677,000 Reichmarks in 1932. Accident, Motor and Third party business could not do very well, but the recent drive of the Government for building up the industry and raising it to the British standard may give a fillip to the Accident, and Motor business in the years to come. Marine and Transport business is not pulling on well owing to dullness in the export trade. Rei-nsurance business was brisk throughout the year.

The Government have come to recognize Insurance as a basic national industry, and the Minister of Economy, who happens to be an Insurance man himself, has recently announced that the policy of the Nazi Government was "to regard insurance as a service for the community and subordinate the companies to the interests of policyholders." Attempts are also being made by the Insurance Associations to impress upon the public the close connection between insurance and every-day life, and to make every individual feel that protection against the destructive accidents of every kind is closely and inseparably connected with his duty to the community. Such a propaganda with Governmentt encouragement cannot fail to achieve the desired results.

Unemployment Insurance

The alarming rapidity with which unemployment figures are growing all over the world, has made the unemployment insurance a burning problem of the day. To the International Labour Organization goes the credit of focussing the attention of the Governments, as early as in 1919, upon the importance of adopting adequate schemes of unemployment insurance. The scheme has been extremely popular owing to its obvious usefulness and the number of workers (insured against unemployment) which was only 5 millions after the War rose up to 42 millions within ten years. In 1919, when the I. L. O. held its first session in Washington, only Great Britain had a compulsory unemployment insurance scheme, but now as many as nine countries have it, while eight others have adopted a system based on voluntary contributions. The International Labour Conference, which is now holding its session, has on its agenda the consideration of an international agreement on the subject as recommended by the I. L. O. There is no denying the fact that an international agreement on this great social problem is of vital importance and cannot be postponed even a day longer.

Social Insurance in 1933

The growing unemployment among the insured population and the general financial tightness had their effects upon "Social Insurance" for which 1932 was rather a bad year. But things were not as bad in 1933. According to the Director of the I. L. O. the picture is somewhat reassuring and distinct signs of improvement are to be noted in various directions. In some countries, registers exhibited increased membership and larger revenue—a feature that was more or less unknown since 1929. But in not a few cases, the benefits have been curtailed. "In spite, however, of any difficulties of the moment," says the Director, "there is no weakening in the belief in social insurance as the most effective method of raising the general standard of health and civilization in a community. Nor is there any reason to suppose that as better times return the systems which have been weakened owing to the financial exigencies of the crisis will not be restored to their former efficiency. Indeed, it may reasonably be hoped that during the coming years the period of restrictions and compressions will have been brought to an end and a new phase of consolidation and extension will take place."

Provident Insurance Societies

In the month of May eight provident societies, each with a flamboyant name, were registered in Bengal alone; and scarcely a month perhaps passes which does not see the birth of half-a-dozen such new companies. These "mushroom societies" are growing with alarming rapidity all over India, and no greater abuse of the Company Law, as it is, could be conceivable. The incalculable harm that these "Benevolent Societies" are capable of inflicting upon life insurance business can easily be imagined. The comparative ease with which these companies can be registered and the scope for running them on unsound and dishonest lines and still keeping well within the law, have been an inducement to not a few unscrupulous persons to start these pseudo-insurance institutions with the dishonest motive of becoming rich overnight by deceiving the ignorant and credulous public under the cloak of benevolent insurance. Many of these societies have no hope of fulfilling their contractual obligations to the policyholders, their capital is scarcely subscribed and the present Company Law is inadequate to curb their mischievous operations. "Business of this nature," remarked the Government Actuary referring to the Societies that work on the Dividing Plan, "is not only unsound but is apt to lend itself to the practice of fraud on the part of policyholders and agents and later on by the Company. It has been declared to be the curse of Insurance in India." And still there are quite a large number societies that work on the Dividing Plan.

The pity again is that the victims of these fraudulent practices are, for the most part, men and women in the humbler spheres of life who endeavour to make provision against old age or for their family out of their small income. About a crore of rupees is annually paid by the public to such societies, many of which by their malpractices serve only to bring the fair name

of insurance generally into disrepute. A leading commercial weekly has offered a few very useful and practical suggestions to cope with the situation. They are that (i) the word "Provident" should be incorporated in the name of the Society, (ii) at the time of registration, Rs. 10,000 should be deposited and it should be treated as special asset to the policyholders in case of liquidation, (iii) before registration an actuarial certificate as to the soundness of the business is to be submitted, (iv) the Registrar should be authorized to examine and audit the accounts and to refuse to register new companies if he has reason to believe that the promoters have been responsible for the failure or mismanagement of such concerns previously.

Need it be added that it is high time that the Government Actuary should immediately devise measures to save the hapless ignorant public from exploitation by designing persons ?

Non-Life Business and Indian Companies

In insurance business other than life insurance the Indian Companies are slowly but steadily forging ahead. Conditions for business in recent years have been none too happy or favourable, and as will be noticed from the Table the total available business had steadily come down in all branches. But the share of our Indian companies, on the contrary, has continually been on the increase, and in the Fire Business, for instance, the percentage of the total business that was obtained by the indigenous companies, had risen from 14·8 p. c. to 21·9 p. c. during three years ending 1931. In Marine insurance there has been an appreciable drop in the total business, chiefly due to the dullness in trade and commerce, and the share of our Indian companies has dropped from 19·6 per cent in 1930 to 16·3 per cent. in 1931. But in the "Miscellaneous Insurance" business, which includes Motor Insurance, Personal Accident Insurance, Burglary Insurance, Fidelity Guarantee etc, the proportion of the whole written by Indian companies has risen from 23·7 per cent. to 31·1 per cent. Excepting "Motor insurance" no other form of insurance included under this head has reached any appreciable stage of development. It can reasonably be hoped that with improvement in business conditions, the Miscellaneous, particularly the Motor Insurance business, will have a prosperous time.

Table Showing the Progress of Indian Companies in Non-Life Business
(Premium to Nearest lacs of Rupees)

YEAR	FIRE				MARINE				MISCELLANEOUS			
	Non-Indian Cos.	Indian Cos.	Total	Percentage of Indian Cos. to Total	Non-Ind. Cos.	Indian Cos.	Total	Percentage of Ind. Cos. to Total	Non-Ind Cos.	Indian Cos.	Total	Percentage of Ind. Cos. to Total
1929	132	23	155	14·8	57	11	68	16·2	58	18	76	23·7
1930	121	25	146	17·1	41	10	51	19·6	61	26	87	29·9
1931	100	28	128	21 9	36	7	43	16·3	53	24	77	31·1

It is to be particularly noticed that non-life business has developed in India without any assistance from the Government which is not nfrequently given in many other countries. The progress of our Indian Companies in this direction owes not a little to the appeal of "Buy Indian" which has induced people to effect insurance more and more with Indian companies. And needless to say that our companies yield to none in soundness, efficiency and, what is more, in prompt settlement of equitable claims.

Hindusthan's New Business

During the year ended 30th April, 1934, the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd. of Calcutta has written a business of well over Rs. 2 crores and 50 lakhs as compared to Rs. 2 crores in the previous year. This advance of Rs. 50 lakhs in New Business in a year of stress and strain is, indeed, a good record and speaks well of the management responsible for the success. We wish this progressive Indian Company still more success and prosperity in the years to come.

M. G



MILITARY AND FASCIST MADNESS OR THE PERIL OF THE ONE-WAY MIND

By WILFRED WELLOCK

GOVERNMENTS are blundering towards another war, and Fascism threatens to engulf the greater part of the world. The former would appear to be the victims of forces they are unable to control.

No one imagines that responsible statesmen want another war, but their mentality is so antiquated that they are unable to resist the influences which are making for war.

Behind the statesmen are certain groups of very powerful people, most of whom, unfortunately, possess one-way minds, It is they who are doing the damage. Among them are the military castes, and the profiteers or Big Business interests.

The former see things professionally, and are so out of touch with the wider aspects of civilization, so ignorant of its needs and possibilities, that they are the very last people who ought to advise Governments. Yet they exercise an enormous influence on most Governments, our own included.

The primary concern of the business people is to have their works running full speed and to be making handsome profits. They think of armaments apart from war, and try to convince themselves that money spent on armaments is a sound investment and a guarantee of national security. The desire for profits blinds them to the real facts, and thus causes them to be as great a danger to the community as the professional military men.

This group, also, exercises an enormous influence upon statesmen, while both groups have great influence with the Press, and are able to secure an alarming degree of publicity, for few politicians are strong enough to combat the combined influence of professional military men, Big Business, and the Press.

The danger arising from this condition—and it is world-wide—can scarcely be overestimated, for even now, by reason of it, most nations—Britain included,—are rushing towards their doom.

In other words, we are confronted with the peril of the one-way mind—the mind that is so carried away by self and class interest that it overlooks the wider national and international consequences of its conduct. The one-way mind is a disease, a species of madness, and ought to be treated as such. But, like most mad men, our modern militarists are not aware of their diseased condition. Although economic, military and psychological conditions have entirely changed within recent years, that fact has no significance for them. Their minds appear to have reached a dead end, and in some cases to have slipped back several centuries. Material abundance, for instance, which makes war ridiculous, does not affect their outlook; neither does the fact that another war would shake civilization to its foundations.

A peculiarity of madness is that its victims become the slaves of a single idea. Our modern militarists, of both varieties, see in every international event a reason for a bigger air force or a larger navy. They will refuse an extra loaf of bread to the industrial outcast, but provide a million bombs with the greatest pleasure. They will scheme like misers to cut down payments to the unemployed, and gloat like demons at the prospect of adding £10,000,000 to the expenditure upon armaments. They are never so happy as when making things to kill people, or getting their countrymen to think about possible enemies and how to destroy them.

Mad men always take themselves seriously, and if by chance they can make others believe in them they become highly dangerous. Now it so happens that these one-way mind groups are highly placed socially, and, as already explained, exercise a considerable influence on affairs. Thus they are able to work up

scares and to frighten the public into panic. They are past masters at publicity stage management, and know all the tricks of the trade. Their like play the same role in other countries. Consequently between them they are able to get the peoples of the world intensely afraid of one another, and in the atmosphere thus created to persuade their respective Governments to embark on new armaments programmes. At the end of these mad races all the nations are in the same position relatively as at the beginning, but have the grim satisfaction of knowing that if war occurred they would kill and be killed at double the former rate. In other words, the bigger the armaments' profits, the bigger the casualty lists, or, more per cents more deaths. Moreover this process of expanding armaments takes place in all countries at the expense of the unemployed, of education, working-class housing, etc.

Out of this highly barbaric procedure the unemployed get their mead of excitement, of course, while those responsible for it get their mead of limelight and profit. It is wrong to say that the workers need circuses: what they now need, apparently, is the excitement of witnessing the preparation for their extermination at the rate of, say, a million a minute.

It did seem at one time, however, that certain events would be too much for the one-way mind battalions. But their madness saw them through. They were bold. And, of course, it takes a mad man to be really consistent. The fact of abundance has upset most people, but not the militarists, nor the Fascists. A sufficiency of goods and foodstuffs to satisfy the needs of the entire human race obviously reveals the folly of war. Once the people learned the art of distributing abundance, it would be all up with war, and also with profiteering—and, incidentally, with class domination. The one-way mind people saw that clearly, so something had to be done. That millions were in want, in this and most other countries did not affect them. They also knew that the workers were accustomed to want. Thus they said: "If there is more food than can be sold at a profit, destroy it and produce less, and if there are too many manufactured goods than people can afford to buy, close down the factories." To them the thing was perfectly simple. True there was a minority of the public who rebelled. But the pure breed specimens of the the one-way mind replied: "Don't we own the engines of publicity? What we say, goes, and what we do is accepted as coming from the gods. Don't dilly-dally. Dogs like strong masters, and ignorant people leaders who know."

So they had their way, and strange as it may seem, it was accepted by the people as the way of salvation.

Still there remained a hard core of opposition which persisted in saying that abundance ought to mean freedom from poverty and war. They declared that no such madness as destroying food which people needed, and closing down factories when the needs of the masses remained unsatisfied, would be tolerated in Russia. The reply of the one-way mind to this criticism was that the Soviet leaders were materialists and infidels. To which was hurled the Scriptural saying: "He that feedeth one of these my little ones . . ."

Indeed the unbelievers (in war and poverty) refused to keep quiet. A number of London dockers persisted in saying that the fish which they constantly saw being taken out of Billingsgate and dumped into the sea in order to keep up the price, would allay the hunger pains of their underfed children, just as the half-frozen men in the food queues of New York insisted that they knew of better uses for the surplus coffee and sugar that was causing so much trouble to the City, than burning it.

In due course the body of these unbelievers grew out of all knowledge, and in all lands. This fact was accepted as a challenge by the one-way mind, which furiously objected to any tampering with the "foundations of society". "Civilisation", it said, "was founded on *War*, *Poverty* and *Profit*, and any attempt to change that basis would have to be met with the treatment it deserved, since it was an attack upon religion and all that was sacred. Without poverty there could be no charity, and without Imperialism how could Christianity triumph over heathenism? That the Irish and the Indians hated Britian for her oppression merely exposed the depth of their ignorance. The fact that Britain was wholly impartial in her dealings with other peoples was proved by the fact that she was willing to sell

her excellent armaments to every Government in the world, a fact which insured that no matter what enemy Britain might have, British soldiers could reasonably rely on the armaments which ended their lives being of good British manufacture." Indeed the one-way mind never despairs, since it is fortified by the belief that it can never be wrong.

It is quite true that the one-way mind got a little restless when the Disarmament Conference refused to come to an end, as it could not understand why the Imperialist Powers did not tell the world quite plainly that it was impossible for big Empires to be maintained without vast armaments, and thus that disarmament was wholly out of the question. They were rather disquieted at the thought that it has taken the Conference over two years to pluck up courage to tell the pacifists that there can be no disarmament, and indeed that increased armaments are inevitable.

In another direction the one-way mind is perfectly happy. It is consoled to know that those wretched people who believe in the posibility of abolishing poverty are everywhere being put in their place by strong leaders like Mussolini, Hitler, Dollfuss, Pilsudski, etc. Also it imagines it sees further victories in prospect. It is hoping for victories everywhere—except, perhaps in Russia. Russia is the one fly in the ointment, and it is a very tiresome and threatening fly. It stands for an *idea*, an *idea* that persists in spite of defeat and unspeakable persecution. "But," say the hierarchs of the one-way mind, "wait a little, watch that ring of Fascist Dictatorships around Russia close in and unite, then see !"

The *Idea* has got to be crushed. That is the aim. Immediately after the War it seemed that the *Idea* was going to carry all before it, but it eventually succumbed before the forces in the control of the one-way mind. In the meantime, however, it has gradually spread, and is today stronger than ever, notwithstanding its defeat in many countries. It must spread if civilization is to be saved from the peril of the one-way mind.

The triumph of Fascism signifies the setting up of something quite new in the world—one-way mind States : States with one political Party, one religion, one philosophy, one newspaper, and a one-way mind Dictator at the head of them.

Even God is told to occupy a back seat, since there can be only one Dictator in a State, one person who is infallible.

Freedom, variety, individuality, colour, art, etc., are out of date in the Fascist State ; they contradict the demands of the one-way mind, and so much be crushed out, even if by terror. One thing only does Fascism guarantee : the privileges of the rich, even at the expense of the poor, whose poverty Fascism increases.

When the structure of the Fascist or one-way mind State is complete, we shall have in being the imbecile State : a nation of mad men, every member of which is condemnd to be a Ditto. The intellectual economies which such a State can effect are apparent. Since there is only one political theory, one political Party, one economic policy, etc., there is no need for a multiplicity of books, pamphlets and newspapers. Accordingly in Fascist Germany, Italy and Austria thousands of newspapers have ceased publication, while tens of thousands of books and pamphlets have been burned. There is no need to answer arguments in a Fascist State. That simplifies things enormously, and enables the totalitarian State to shine in all its glory. It used to be said of this country that every child born was either a little Liberal or a little Conservative. Since then Socialists and Communists have been added. But in the Fascist State every child born is a little Ditto.

In the Fascist or imbecile State the cardinal sin is to wink at the *Idea*. The seven deadly sins are the seven degrees of intimacy with the *Idea*.

Anyone proved guilty of originating a non-Fascist idea is declared insane and automatically put into a lunatic asylum.

Where this imbecile State does not already exist preparations are being made for its advent. These preparations are being made within police forces, military forces, and in the Press. The Press is concentrating on the production of the one-way mind by carrying the public from stunt to stunt and so destroying its power of thinking. It converts men and women into racing fans, football fans, cinema fans or what it will. The British public is being led into the one-way mind by means of

horse-racing, professional sport and startling divorce suits ; the French public by means of sporting events, parliamentary crises and financial scandals ; the American public by means of bank frauds, banditry and other forms of sensational outlawry.

The process of making an imbecile State being well under way in many countries, the question now is whether it is possible to make an imbecile world. Imbecility has at last become the condition of the continuation of of Capitalism and the maintenance of the privileges for which Capitalism stands. Let the fact be made crystal clear that to defend Capitalism now is to lend a hand, consciously or unconciously, in establishing the greatest monstrosity in the history of civilization—a Fascist State—and eventually an imbecile world.

EXAMINATIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Some time ago the correspondent of *Krasnaya Gazeta* (Red Paper), kamarade Kolcovf described examinations in Academy of Transport, Leningrad, whose students are directors of transport, high railway authorities, directors of factories etc.

—Whose colony is India ? was the question.
—Japan—replied the kamarade.
—India ? Japanese colony ? Kamarade, where is India in your opinion ?
—Where ? surely on the continent ?
—All right, but on which continent ?
—Surely in America !
—Does Japan possess any colonies ?
—Yes, Kamchatka --!

The lecturer Kamarade changed the subject.

—Where do you think, it is cold now ?
—In the North Pole.
Not exact. Why not at the South Pole ?
—South Pole ! There no one can bear the heat !
—Where is moderate climate to be found ?
—On the other Poles !
—What ! How many Poles the Earth has then ?
—Eight, kamarade !
—How does the Earth revolve ?
—From the South to the North !
- Where is the highest mountain in the world ?
—In Italy.
—O Lord ! What is the name of this mountain ?
—Kazbec !
—The most important city in Greece ?
—Lep···no, no, that is Budapest.

When questions in Soviet geography started, no one of the high transport officials was able to point out on the map Donetz basin. One pointed to Norway and Denmark when he was asked to show one of the eight wonders of the world -the canal between Baltic and White Seas. The correspondent discovered the source of the mystery why so often trains directed to the South go to Siberia, and vice-versa.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Bernard Shaw on Sterilization

Germany's move towards the sterilization of the unfit has provoked a world-wide flood of comment. "The stormy petrel" of the theatre expresses his views in an interview, which are reproduced below from *the Modern Thinker*:

It is probable that sterilization of the unfit will be ultimately beneficial to the human race. But nobody is capable of the decisions and judgment involved in the practice. The worst people, physically and morally, quite commonly have healthy and respectable brothers and sisters. To weed out the failures is one thing; to prevent a child from being procreated lest it should prove a failure is another. Only the unfit think it an easy matter.

The real question is whether sterilization is to be a legal operation or not. Is it to be made a felony, like abortion?

Or may potential fathers and mothers have themselves disabled because they wish to enjoy the pleasures of sex without their onerous consequences?

If yes, is the right to be absolute or conditional on the parties having brought into the world a certain number of children?

These are interesting and practical questions. Chatter about "the unfit" and the benefit of the human race is for fools; we know nothing about it.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH.

I do not know what the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church is towards sterilization. The Church is full of surprises for people who make what I may call Belfast guesses at its tenets. However there are some actions of the Church that are open to question.

When the music in the Pope's chapel was supposed to require the voices of eunuchs, the Church got round that somehow.

Self-sterilization has been held to be a pious renunciation of original sin by the Church Fathers.

A vow of chastity is an act of sterilization. All priests take it.

As to whether I agree with sterilization as it is practiced in Germany at the present time, I can only answer why Germany? America began the practice. Furthermore, I do not "agree with" any parctice of criminal law at present.

SELECTIVE BREEDING.

I think the human race is approaching the period when selective breeding will be practiced. However, I hope it will be practiced more intelligently than it is among breeders of horses and cattle. I should hardly let our stock-breeders set the standard. Have you any idea of the proportion of "screws" to Derby winners produced by our horse-breeders? Do you know what rotten milkers our prize cattle are?

However, before we consider the question of whether the race will improve physically and mentally with the adoption of intelligent breeding, I say get rid of slums and poverty, and teach children how to feed themselves as carefully as you teach them to brush their teeth and wash their ears; and then it will be time enough to consider about playing God Almighty with human destiny.

Modern Chinese Painters.

Dagny Carter, though a Norwegian by birth, is yet a Cosmopolitan and have keenly studied the arts and paintings of many countries. Her latest discourse on Chinese Painting has appeared in the columns of the *Asia*. Connoisseurs will greatly enjoy the following extracts from the same periodical, which has, as its themes, the age-old traditions of Asiatic culture and learning:

In the field of painting, China has a magnificent heritage from past ages. But for centuries now the dead hand of academic formalism, the tyranny of men who spoke with authority because of their scholarship rather than from any artistic superiority, has had its stranglehold on China's pictorial art. Occasionally during these five hundred years of China's artistic decadence there have come to the fore men like Tai Chin and Tang Yin, of the Ming Dynasty, who in a swift impressionistic style have broken away from the conventional formalism of their day. Tai Chin's "Breaking Waves and Autumn Winds," in the Freer Gallery, in Washington, is a superb example of this art, so closely related to calligraphy and yet so full of life and meaning. In the mass of mediocre paintings preserved from the Manchu Dynasty one finds also, once in a while, a painting exhibiting this fine sense of life. China's best pictorial art for the past three hundred years has been underrated because of the survival of thousands of paintings sent as gifts to men and women of importance and valued not so much according to their artistic merit as according to the social position of the painter and the recipient. If many of these paintings had been allowed to disappear as nature surely intended that they should, there would have remained a pictorial art showing clearly its noble heritage.

Today what is needed in Chinese art more than anything else, is sound critical discrimination between the work of the amateur and that of the true artist and a courageous independence which will refuse to replace the ancient Chinese standards by methods from the West just in order to be like the rest of the world. The West has something to give to modern Chinese art, but western methods should not be allowed to replace the truly great and enduring in China's own art traditions.

The thousands of men and women painting in China today can, roughly speaking, be said to belong to one or another of four groups. The largest group consists of the old-fashioned painters who in calligraphic and decorative scrolls exhibit more than anything else the dexterous skill of the brush. Such a painter depends on memory and imagination for his inspiration or he contents himself with copying the work of others. Sometimes

this is a commercialized art, but more often it is only an occupation of the gentlemen and ladies of leisure.

Shankar's proposal to America for a dance-lover's tour in India

On the eve of his departure from America Uday Shankar proposed to Mr. William Allen for a dance-lover's tour in India, which has been retold by the latter and has appeared in *The Cunarder.* It contains a brief exposition together with the places of origin and performances of the Hindu art of dancing :

"In northern India, you go to the very humble to find the ancient dance unadulterated by Mohammedan and other foreign influences," Shankar explained. "In the South you find the dance held in greater esteem by the educated and still close to the great old tradition which is the heart of all Oriental dancing.

"Dancing has been to India what the cathedral sculptures and stained glass windows were to medieval Europe -the most fundamental of educations. Together with the story-tellers, the dance groups (accompanied by music and singing) have taught merchant and peasant the lives of the gods and heroes of antiquity. I believe the more important dances were once seen throughout all of India. But now they have found refuge in far-flung spots, waiting like seeds in storage to be set out once again to grow. Much of this dancing depicts struggles between forces of good and evil. And like the stories and dramas America most enjoys, our Indian dances show the triumph of the righteous, approximating a 'happy ending.' Still other dances of India are less directly linked with religious and ethical thought. They are closer to the folk dancing of Europe's simple farmers, gay ring-around-the-rosy festivals in which the whole village joins. But even these are in a sense religious, having undercurrents of gratitude for the coming of the rains, or for harvest time."

No sight in northern India is so beautiful in a way we can all thrill to as the dancing of the *Garba* in the villages north of Bombay. The simple villagers choose moonlit nights which give that sense of dreamland so necessary to plunge spectators into the spirit of a dance. Round and round, with long broad-bottomed skirts. the women dance, singing all the while. Sometimes they balance polished brass turns on their heads. Or keep time by striking sticks, each dancer striking hers against that of the next in the circle. In some localities men and women join in the dance, in others some of the girls dress up as men. There is usually a baby lying in the centre of the circle, to symbolize little Krishna to whom these dances are dedicated.

These dances of Gujerat, the native region of Gandhi, are based on legends of the god Krishna's boyhood on earth. The story goes (recalling uncannily that of Christ) that the king of a long-vanished kingdom, fearing fulfilment of a prophecy, ordered the baby killed. But somehow the child was smuggled away and substituted for the new-born child of a cowherd. So the boyhood of the god Krishna was spent gaily with peasant girls and boys watching the cows graze, or playing a flute while the girls danced round him. These gay shepherd dance-themes called *Rash Lila,* are part of the celebration of spring. They are seen in villages in Katiawar, and near Ahmedabad, Baroda and Surat on the way north from Bombay. You will find them too in varied forms at Brindaban near Agra, at Benares and in many other parts of India.

But before going further north to Shankar's native Rajputana, lovers of the dance wisely strike out westward from Surat to visit the world-famed painted caves of Ajanta and sculptured temples of Ellora. Shankar took great pains to search out poses of the ancient dance art in these vast frescoes and chiselled surfaces. Dancing was so intimately a part of old India's religious and every-day life that mural paintings like these not only suggest the rhythms of dances but actually show dance scenes. To visit great collections and monuments of Indian plastic arts without keeping in mind the atmosphere of music and dance in which they were created is to lack the key to their enjoyment. The whole surface of a temple wall, painted or carved, is likely to seem excessively adorned and chaotic to the static onlooker. But evoke to your static tourist an Indian dance, fusion of grace and austerity, of jewelling and simplicity, and he will grasp the swing of the thing he is looking at. The same laws of rhythm and beauty are obeyed by Indian arts; the laws are most easily understood by way of the dance.

As the most warlike of Hindus, the Rajputs naturally love dances in which sword play enters. One of Shankar's most popular numbers here in America was based on that warlike tradition. Simkie, his woman partner in the dance, appeared in classic Rajput costume and the only music was furnished by those extraordinary subtle drums of Rajputana.

The most "important" perhaps, of dances still seen in Udaypur and Jaipur is of the type depicting the life of Rama, a reincarnation of the god Vishnu who came to earth to reform the morals of the people and preach the way through his own example as a king without reproach. It is given in the Ram Lila festivals in the fall. The Ramayana, one of the ancient India's two greatest epics, tells the story that the dancers of Rajputna interpret so vividly. These dances have some local political meaning since it is usually the local Big Man, the rajah, or perhaps the richest of the local Four Hundred, who takes the role of the perfect king Rama. And you are likely to find the most socially prominent woman dancing under the halo of Sita, the most beautiful and devoted wife of Indian mythology.

In these cities, and in the fabulously beautiful vale of Kashmir yet further to the north, it is easier than elsewhere to see dancing. Yet, owing to this cheap modern demand and the loss of Hindu symbolism due to preponderance of Mohammedan influence in the past four centuries, this most accessible dancing is also the least worthy. These dances by Nautch girls are usually on the same plane as our own cabaret midnight shows. The rolling of eyes has its place in making a traveler's life enjoyable, and there is plenty of attractiveness in hip action. But to Shankar and the real searcher for India's ancient tradition the Nautch girls are as poor art as they are good amusement. One fine thing they do reveal however—remarkable movements of the feet and of the bell-encircled ankles.

There is Manipur, a very lovely valley up toward the Himalayas and toward Burma in the greatest tea-raising region of India. Its dancing is acclaimed as the finest in all northern India—not much softness—much discipline, powerful movements, masculinity—close adherence to the austere non-sensual laws of the past when dancing was considered given man by the gods, for divine purposes.

Since Manipur takes time to reach, it is comforting to know that the Nobel Prize winning Indian poet, Tagore, employs Manipur people in his school some four hours by train from Calcutta. There they teach the students, making no concession to modern youth in their thorough slow disciplining of muscles and minds.

In Puri, pilgrimage centre on the coast south of

Calcutta, you find faint echoes of the Hindu religious dances of antiquity. During the festival in June when the god Juggernaut and his sister and brother are drawn slowly along in huge chariots, a temple follower dances in front of each image, in the prow of each tremendous cart. As he moves mechanically, vaguely repeating gestures that meant great things to his ancestors, he sings songs that make the crowds of pilgrims laugh. Bananas and Jack-fruit and custard apples are tossed by the devotees up on the chariot as offerings to the god. The dancer eats them. He makes you impatient to go south past Madras to Tanjore and the Malabar coast where Shankar promises you the very finest dancing to be found in India today.

Tanjore to many an American is nothing but the home of cashew nuts. Or the most beautiful of southern Indian temples—with possible exception of nearby Madura. To Shankar and all dance-lovers it is one of the few places where the ancient art of the religious and dramatic dance is preserved unadulterated. Not to whoever wishes and not for money, but to those only who pass rigid tests of Brahmin blood and of knowledge of the old texts the ancient art is passed on. The very stubborn orthodoxy of these southern Brahmins has saved many cultural treasures, including the dance.

In Tanjore there still exists the institution of the *deva dasi*, the girls dedicated to service to the temple god through dancing. Efforts are being made to stop this for moral reasons but Shankar discovered their dances to be among the loveliest and purest sights in the world.

But the finest of all classic dancing is found in Malabar, that wierdest and least traveled region of all India, perhaps the Egyptians' Land of Ophis, perhaps even the land from which came the Queen of Sheba. In spite of being the region to which Romans and Alexandrian Greeks brought gold to exchange for spices, in spite of having given asylum to Jews and Syrian Christians for fifteen or more centuries, and having been the part of India first visited by contemporaries of Columbus in search of cloves and cinnamon. Malabar remains the most orthodox, intransigently Hindu part of India.

"You may not find the comforts and good motor roads of the rest of India here in Malabar," Uday Shankar tells us, "but you will be fully consoled by their dancing of the *Tandava Nrittya* in March or April."

"When I saw the Shiva or *Tandava Nrittya* dance in Malabar," Shankar explained. "there were no curtains, no stage effects, no artificial lighting. A huge bonfire in the centre of the tent made up for all of that. For a long time before the performance, music played, putting spectators and players in the mood of the great dramatic dance. Specially trained men took hours in painting the faces of the dancers as carefully as they would vases. When actual dancing began, the dancers were already in a trance, immersed completely in their roles. The dance lasted from six in the evening till six in the morning, always intense, each dancer and musician playing his role so that you felt you were taking part in a vast struggle between the gods of Nature's forces. That was a sight worth going round the world to see."

Romain Rolland on Lenin.

Lenin, more than any other individual, symbolized the proletarian revolution. There was no escape in illusion for him. He carried this sense of the real into his theories of art. He knew the treachery of the bourgeois artist. In the hour of decision the lackey of the existing social order would always be on the side of the killers. Lenin, the man of action, correlated the laws of society and its rhythm and saw the inevitable onward march of humanity. These are the opinions of Romain Rolland regarding 'Lenin, the artist and man of action.' The following extracts from *The Modern Thinker* will throw further light on the subject :—

Lenin and Tolstoi.

Lenin commented on Leon Tolstoi as follows:

"It may seem at the first glance strange and artificial," said Lenin, "to link the name of Tolstoi with that of the Revolution, from which he very evidently turned away. But our Revolution (of 1905) was an extremely complicated phenomemon; in the rank and fine of its participants and leaders there were many social elements which did not understand what was happening and averted themselves from the real historical tasks posed by the development of events. In this sense, the divergent ideas of Tolstoi are a veritable mirror of the contradictory situation in which the historic activity of the peasantry of our revolution found itself. The originality of Tolstoi and his ideas in general express justly the varied phases of our revolution in as much as they reflect the revolution of the peasant bourgeoise and the revolt of the critics of capitalist exploitation, the denunciation of the violences of the state and the comedy of the courts, the glaring contrast between the increase of riches which go hand in hand with the conquests of civilization and the increase of misery and barbarism which grow with the tortures of the working masses. And surmounting this we have the preaching of the "Saint-Idiot" for non-resistance to evil by violence......Tolstoi reflected the hate born from sufferances, the ripened desire for a better future, the desire to liberate himself from the past, the immaturity of dreams, the lack of political education, and the weakness of the revolutionary desire. These historic economic conditions show the preparation necessary for the struggles of the revolutionary masses and their lack of preparation for such a struggle. The Tolstoian doctrine of non-resistance to evil was the most serious of the causes which led to the defeat of the revolutionary campaign."

This judgment of Lenin which applies to a great artist of a definite epoch can be verified with other masters of other epochs especially the pre-revolutionary epoch of our 18th century France. It is exactly that which happened, as professor Daniel Mornet, at Sorbonne, in his researches of thirty years in the intellectual origin of the French revolution shows. Not more than Tolstoi, did Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and the Encyclopedists understand what was going to happen and of which they were nevertheless the heralds. They have done nothing more than to translate (not without errors) in a striking form, thanks to the force of reason and eloquence which they owed to the mastery of their profession, the people of their time, and follow with them, confusedly, the slope over which all of the 18th century was dragged. But they were far from suspecting where this slope was to lead them and if they perceived it is probable that they all (with the exception of the adventurous Diderot) would have dropped to the rear. The 19th century Frenchmen did not clearly see the next stage, where the entire development of history would change its course and set out fatally, as Lenin perceived it.

For the historian of literature, the interest should be to precisely discern that which the Rousseaus, the Diderots, and the Voltaires were aware of without

thoroughly understanding. It is the sketch which Lenin with his brusque and comradely frankness drew of a writer whom he loved which exposed how Leon Tolstoi genially denounced the lies and the offenses of the social state, but how in the face of revolutionary action, which was the inequitable consequence, protested with fear and anger, shouting 'No," taking refuge in mysticism which wished to stop the progress of the sun by denying it.

NORMAL ORDER OF HISTORY IS REVOLUTION.

This phenomenon is found in a smaller degree and with less passion in the large majority of artists who see the pit, the abyss which it is necessary to jump, but who from this perspective grow dizzy and sever their allegiance. To re-establish their fragile, shaken equilibrium, they bend backward out of the wave which sweeps the epoch, into the " moral " order, the established bourgeois order which reassures them against that which they have seen and which they did not wish to see,—into the conventional and ordered life.

It is here that the intelligence of a master of action like Lenin, by its exceptional logic, which makes of his thought and action not a petrified block, but a fluid stream, identifies itself with the life of the current epoch and with its elementary laws.

No one better than Stalin in his *Sketches of Lenin*, has brought to light the singular trait by which Lenin distinguished himself, his perpetual contact with the elementary forces which manifest themselves in the masses. He never ceased to keep in constant contact with these forces and nothing was able to make him lose his strong confidence in their creative powers. Stalin quotes this striking remark made by Lenin during a conversation in which a comrade, who was afraid of "the chaos of the Revolution," declared that "after the Revolution, the normal order ought to be established." Lenin sarcastically retorted: "It is unfortunate when people who pretend to be revolutionaries forget that the most normal order of history is the order of Revolution."

And Stalin adds: "This profound faith in the elemental forces, which was characteristic of Lenin, gave him the power to control these forces and direct their flow into the channels of the great Proletarian Revolution."

The greatest gift of the man of action, which is also the objective of the man of science, is to penetrate to its essence the elemental, uncover its hidden forces, laws and currents, that he may harness and direct them for the benefit of mankind. To Lenin this was likewise the supreme rule in art. If the majority of artists have been to weak to accept it, the great ones have always unconsciously practised it. Leonardo da Vinci, one of the greatest geniuses of all times, adopted as his guiding principle that one must "Assimilate oneself with the forces of nature, transmute them in one's mind."

Thus the great artists, the Leonardos and the Tolstois espoused the living forms of nature. And the masters of action, the Lenins, correlated the laws of society and its rhythm, the vital clan which directs and supports the everlastingly onward march of humanity.

The Sedition Bill.

The following address on the introduction of the Sedition Bill to be an Act of Parliament by the Rev. Ethel Kay which has been reproduced in *The Inquirer* may be of great interest to us, who are also undergoing hardships in the name of such laws --

WHAT type of literature might be considered seditious? Would the writings of Tolstoy, Shaw, H. G. Wells, or Gandhi, and other utterances of great souls in the cause of peace, be considered seditious literature? Would they have to be carefully removed from our book-shelves if the Bill became an Act of Parliament? Then there is a book, possessed by everyone, that is the Bible, which certainly contains some dangerous passages, such as "Do violence to no man." Surely that was seditious instruction to give to soldiers. There is also the Sermon on the Mount, which was often found inconvenient during the Great War, and was carefully avoided by many Church leaders in consequence. Would it once again have to be carefully deleted from our Bibles in case the whole should be considered seditious literature? These are important questions which face us and cry out for our consideration and decision, even now, while we are as yet in possession of liberty to discuss such subjects.

If the Bill were to become an Act of Parliament, probably a large number of people would immediately awake to the fact of the loss of their liberty; but now is the time for vigilance, if we are to preserve our cherished freedom. It seems to me that all lovers of liberty, and all workers in the cause of peace, should regard it a solemn duty to do whatever is in their power to prevent this measure from becoming law; for it would interfere with work for disarmament, peace meetings, League of Nations Union work, and all efforts on the part of those educational bodies which are working for the abolition of war as a means of setting international disputes.

The British in India.

Mr. R. Page Arnot in a leading article in *Indian Forum*, a periodical published in London, the first issue of which has reached us, has dwelt upon the following aspect of the British rule in India :—

As the cotton industry of Lancashire, the classic industry of capitalism, grew and developed, it destroyed with its machine-made goods the cotton industry of India, shattered the old Indian village system and created problems for which capitalism has found no solution. Trade followed the flag and the flag followed trade. The expansion of the market developed into the systematic exploitation of India, and eighteenth century adventurers gave way to the modern scientific plunders of India. The armed forces of British capitalism secured the market as a dependency and now the rule of the British in India rests upon the disarmament of the mass of the population. By this means, and by this only, in the last analysis, is it possible for the "Sahibs" to hold down with their relatively small armies the 350 millions of India?

The apologists for British rule will declare that this has been a happy century and a-half of progress; that the British have brought untold blessings to the masses of India. Each year there is published a report on the material and moral progress of India, in which this imperialist propaganda is annually repeated. It is this imperialist propaganda which is taught in the schools, both in English schools to the children of the English working class, itself exploited by the imperialists, just as it is taught in the schools of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. In Britain it is like an axiom of geometry or a tenet of religion to declare that India has greatly benefited by the beneficent effcts of British rule. There are even those in India who sycophantically proclaim the blessings of British rule and there are even those in

Britain, in the working-class movement, who swell the sound of the brass trumpets of imperialism. Already thirty years ago, at the International Socialist Congress, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald pointed to the future of the colonies under the beneficent rule of capitalism: but in reality he was pointing to his own destiny as Prime Minister of the Labour Government that threw 60,000 political prisoners into the British gaols in India. Indeed, the Labour Party, which in 1904 was in favour of "the civilising mission of capitalism," was able to show, when a score of years had passed, that its leaders were the agents of imperialism both within the Labour movement and for the purpose of oppressing the masses of India.

Actually the whole propaganda of imperialism is false through and through. The rule of the British for 150 years has brought disaster to India. The whole of their extravagant show of alleged facts and figures about beneficent British rule in India is completely overthrown by one significant fact, that in the forty years between 1881 and 1921 the expectation of life of the average Indian had fallen from round about 30 to a little over 23. The increasing misery and poverty that has been the lot of the working class in the European countries in the last fifty years has proceeded at a still more rapid pace in the degradation and pauperisation of the masses of India under British rule.

For actually, so far from having a civilising mission, British capitalism in India has been anything but progressive in its results. It has allied itself with the ruling strata, with the feudal lords, the trading and the money-lending bourgeoisie, and thus perpetuates all the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation.

The rule of the British has been carried through by force and fraud, and this double method is particularly to be seen in the history of the last fifteen years from the declaration of self-government as the "goal" in 1917 up to the Round Table farce of the last year. The great mass movements of revolt called for the intensive use of both methods; thus the movement of 1919 to 1922 was met on the one hand by the carrying through of the Montague Chelmsford reforms, and on the other hand by the massacre of Chilian-Wallah Bagh. Again, the movement of 1928 onwards to the present time was met both by the promise of Dominion status and the Round Table Conferences as well as by tanks, machine-guns and bombing aeroplanes, the imprisonment of scores of thousands, the knout and the gallows.

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Dance as a Spiritual Expression

We are day by day degenerating the youthful upspringing impulse of truth and beauty and we shall not be happy as a great nation, until we regard all arts as manifestation of Divinity—mourns Ruth St. Denis in the *Message of the East*. While paying a tribute to the religious fervour of Oriental dancing, this 'itinerant minister of the Gospel of Beauty' pleads :

Dancing is the divine impulse of spirit to move rhythmically, proportionately and perpetually, but in order that the dance may attain its rightful place among the arts, and may serve humanity as it should, dancers must change their emphasis from the material to the spiritual. Havelock Ellis says: "If we are indifferent to the art of dancing, we have failed to understand not merely the supreme manifestation of physical life but also the supreme symbol of spiritual life."

The dance compositions of the future will be built on divine themes instead of on the human longings and egotism that have given birth to much of the so-called art of the world. But as yet the dance has not yet come to its own high place among the arts.

Have we not all of us a deep-seated ideal of art that somehow it should be related to Divinity? Do we not feel that there is inner relationship between the priest and the artist? We do realize that the artist serves at the Alter of Beauty, while the priest serves at the Altar of Truth, but between these two is a great gulf fixed. In a word, we think of Truth *and* Beauty, of Religion *and* Art when we should behold the blending of these two in the Beauty of Holiness.

The world is shrinking day by day. It is time that we became aware of its fuller truth and beauty, and that our hearts, as well as our minds, be made to respond to the timeless wisdom of the eastern half of this planet.

The Oriental dance has survived because it was the expression of a great religious consciousness. As the most highly perfected expression of religion in dance form, it reserves conscientious study by the spiritual dancers of today. Because they are a historical fact and an ancient inspiration, I feel every young person of today would be wiser and happier for having learned the dances of the Orient. I find nothing gives the student the feeling of dedication, humility and meditation more quickly than to take part in some of these Eastern dance classics. So powerful is the religious motivation in the Orient that even love-dances have a dignity, a reticence and formalized beauty that is uplifting.

The present love of Oriental color and design is, I think, traceable to the influence of the higher forms of Oriental dancing. And all these fashions and interests, seeming externals are symbols of a great spiritual reality, a changed attitude toward life, a new freedom, a higher harmony, the prelude to a better understanding of the Self, of our own people, of foreign peoples, and of the imminent Divine in all.

World Peace needs all the rhythm and pageantry of the dance on its side to triumph over the tinseled pomp of war; we need courage, patience, charity and infinite self-sacrifice to right the wrongs of economic maladjutment. The world is left ill and hungry from its banquet of materialism and crying for spiritual food.

Where Stands the U. S. A.

While all the great powers are discussing how peace and order can be maintained and war be averted, U. S. A. shows great war preparedness in the plea of her national defence. The following from *World Events* will throw light on the ways of her preparations for the Armament race :—

Military spokesmen frequently complain because of American unpreparedness and the relative lag in our national defenses as compared with those of other countries. The following figures may be worth considering:

In 1930, the world spent 63 per cent more on armaments than in 1913; in 1930 the armament budget of the United States was 197 per cent greater than in 1913 and recent appropriations will raise this percentage higher. In 1920 the National Guard included 1,939 officers and 47,019 enlisted men; in 1930, the War Department appropriations carried provisions for 190,000 national guardsmen including 14,371 officers. The organized reserves have grown from 68,283 in 1920 to 118,175 in 1929. At present over 140,000 young men of school and college age are enrolled in military training units and rifle clubs in nearly 400 schools and colleges each year. The War Department has assigned about 1,650 pro-

fessional military instructors to handle these students. In 156, or more than a third, of these units 82,410 cadets, or over half of the total, are enrolled upon a compulsory basis. (Statistics from the Committee on Militarism in Education.)

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Co-operative Movement in Africa

In a meeting held recently under the auspices of the Royal Society of Arts, Mr. Strickland, late of the Indian Civil Service, has dwelt upon the history of the Co-operative movement in Africa, which has appeared in the *Society's Journal.* At the outset he traces the origin and development of the movement as follows :

The organization of co-operative societies was first undertaken a century ago in England and in Germany. The English movement was slightly the older, and assumed, as was natural in an industrial and urban country, the form of consumers' shops through which the less wealthy classes of the towns sought to obtain for themselves the benefits of good quality and moderate prices. Development in Germany was principally among the peasantry, who endeavoured by group-action to secure on better terms the requirements of their agricultural business and to sell their produce at a better price. One of the most urgent requirements of the farmer was, and habitually is, credit; hence the credit society or village bank.

These two types of Co-operation were multiplied throughout Europe, and soon extended to Asia. The credit society was there highly popular, the peasant farmer of Eastern Europe and of Asia being in the hands of usurious moneylenders, whether in consequence of undeserved misfortune (failure of crops, live stock epidemics, etc.) or of his own folly and extravagance. Other kinds of Co-operation were not forgotten, but in Asia at least, credit societies predominate. European influences of every description, good and bad, now permeate Africa; and just as the troubles of the European small farmer were aggravated, and those of the Asiatic peasant largely created, by industrial changes and by the revolution in thought and practice to which these changes give rise, so the African native farmer finds his agricultural stability upset, his village crafts destroyed, and the outlook of his children, if not his own, completely transformed by the opening of new markets, the invasion of mill-made goods, and the subtle reactions of Western education and Western example. He stands puzzled and distressed, seeing his old landmarks swept away in a flood of new luxuries and new beliefs, clinging with one hand to the doorpost of his shaken village home, reaching out with the other towards the perilous delights into which he is tempted to plunge. My task is to consider how far the co-operative method, which has proved so valuable to those Europeans and Asiatics who follow it aright, may help the African too to readjust himself in an altered world, and what shape the co-operative society should take to suit his peculiar circumstances.

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The Howard League for a Charter for Prisoners.

The Howard League for Penal Reform demands an International Convention to establish a minimum of humanity and decency in the treatment of accused and the convicted persons. This will try to minimise inhuman cruelty to prisoners, both political and criminal, which many amongst us had the hard lot to experience. The following editorial of *The Howard Journal* will be much appreciated by all philanthropists :

The need for an International Convention to establish a minimum of humanity and decency in the treatment of accused and convicted persons grows more acute and more urgent. Rarely does a week pass without our reading reports, which we cannot dismiss lightly, of brutal cruelty to prisoners, both political and criminal. We all tend to exaggerate them or minimise them according to our nationality or political views.

Meanwhile we write in no spirit of self-righteousness. Only too recently have we been touched on the raw by the courteous surprise and pity expressed on the face of a Swedish gentleman when in reply to his question we said, "Yes, we *do* hang people in England. Yes, we *had* hanged a boy of 18 in England last year." Thus might a South Sea Islander, who has learnt better, admit to a visitor from a less barbarous country that his tribe was still given to cannibalism.

So it is not open to English people, after the miserable exhibition of delayed trial and savage sentences at Meerut, to be superior towards other States which keep untried prisoners in custody for long periods. The only redeeming feature about Meerut is the drastic revision of convictions and sentences by the High Court on appeal, and the strong criticism by the Chief Justice of the conduct of the prosecution and trial.

We are not blind to the truth that the state of the courts and prisons in any country depends mainly on public opinion in the country itself. But an agreed international standard would be a pillar of strength to enlightened people in all states and would help to raise the standards everywhere. It should require that every accused person be given public trial with bona-fide legal representation within six months; that torture and "third degree" be abolished together with brutal punishments such as the death penalty, flogging and solitary confinement in dark cells; that prison conditions include proper diet, light, heat, ventilation, occupation, letters and visits from relatives. It is impossible to elaborte the subject here, and it is unnecessary. An excellent basis for such a convention is contained in the Standard Minimum Rules of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission. These Rules have been revised to cover more fully the case of the unconvicted prisoner, and as we write they are being submitted to the League of Nations. We hope that the League of Nations will seize the opportunity thus offered and that the Standard Rules may be circulated to all States Members with the blessing of the Assembly, and that a real effort may be made to secure their acceptance in theory and practice.

If any Government dare not act justly and humanely to its lawbreakers, whether criminal or political, it confesses to a weakness which will spell disaster. Brute force may induce sullen submission, but it makes neither honest men nor good citizens. A man may, for fear of pain, bow down in the house of Rimmon—he will not worship save from that inner compulsion which never comes from fear.

First Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference in Ceylon

Unionism is a development of the post-War period. All the weaker countries of the world have formed such federations to defend their rights from mighty agressors. This policy is even pursued in Asia and endeavours have been made in quite recent years to establish such

organizations throughout the country for a united solidarity. The first Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference held its session last month in Ceylon. In an editorial the 'Young Ceylon' comments :

The first Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference held a successful session this month in Ceylon. It was attended by Delegates from Japan and India and thus the first step has been taken to acquaint Ceylon with the progress of Labour ideals in other lands. We trust that the inspiration of this session will give a fresh impetus to Ceylon Labour movement to be more zealous to its ideals and its aims. With the steadying influence of the Pan-Asiatic Congress the movement in this country ought to develop in securing to the worker in Ceylon benefits which his fellow enjoys in other lands. Labour conditions in Asia generally and in Ceylon particularly have not received the attention of both the experts and the special Committees of the International Labour Office. If the movement in Ceylon is to prosper and benefit from the conventions set up at the International Labour Office it is essential that Ceylon should seek representation at the International Labour Conference. For, despite our Labour movement, Labour as such has made very little progress and the lot of the average worker is both insecure and unpromising. Introduction of schemes of social insurance has not yet been urged even by the Labour Leaders. Associations with outside agencies are of little value unless such association brings with it an urge to improve local conditions. While we welcome the association of Local Labour with other kindred movements in different parts of Asia as also with the International Labour Office it is imperative that the movement locally should resurrect itself from a creepy feeling of respectable complacence. If the May Day celebrations which Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe organised is an index of his Labour outlook it is a sorry reflex of what a great movement should be. The mamoth procession and the all-night carnival may be permitted, both have their uses. But these two items cannot bring any attention to the movement or any recognition to the manifold claims of Labour. In this country, Labour is unorganised, undisciplined and unharnessed to a great struggle for the realisation of its undoubted rights. The May-Day celebrations afford an opportunity for Labour to discipline themselves into different Trade Unions, develop leadership within its own ranks, evolve schemes of mutual benefit and self-aid and put forward concrete proposals for better wages profit-sharing and nationalisation of industrial enterprises. In such endeavours labour must organise itself, receive inspiration from within, plan campaigns of action. It is in these directions that Labour in Ceylon must be organised if it is to become,—instead of what it is now a vastly disintegrating force,—a powerful harbinger of human contentment.

Belgium's Fight Against Peace Work

Belgium is raising a heavy loan in order to construct fortifications along her eastern frontiers, so that she may prevent invasion and the return of the sorrowful hours of 1914 and thus render impossible any armed incursion of her territory. In the face of the Disarmament Conference, which is doomed to failure, she pleads that she has done nothing but has simply followed the footsteps of her mighty neighbour, France. M. E. Van Diest gives an account of the same in the *Unity*:

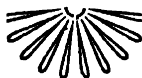
After a press campaign carried on for weeks, the Belgian government recently began the raising of a loan of 1,500,000,000 francs, of which 700 to 800 millions are expected to be used in the construction of fortifications along the Belgian-German frontier. In 48 hours' time the loan was covered by the large banks of the country and a Technical Council of Fortifications was at once created. This Council, presided over by the Minister of National Defense himself, has settled in final form the apportionment and use of the funds devoted to insuring the defense of the frontier.

That is what the important papers have sensationally announced to us, adding that we are menaced by war, that German armaments have actively increased, and that if we wish to escape danger we must adopt solely and absolutely France's line of action: to fortify by concrete fortifications, armed with the most approved guns, our eastern boundary from Limbourg in Holland to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, in order to join the line of defense that France has constructed all along Alsace and Lorraine as far as the Swiss line.

A considerable portion of the Belgian press, thus, is paid off by the munitions and armament magnates, just as were Roumanian journals for the scandalous Skoda arms works affair.

It is a curious coincidence that simultaneously with this campaign, another crusade assuming an altogether different character openly appears: the introduction by the Minister of War of a bill aimed effectively to prevent all anti-militaristic work or propanganda. Everything of pacifist tendencies will be repressed without mercy. It would require positive courage to express pacifist convictions, all the more since war resisters are to be cruelly punished by several years' imprisonment and loss of civil rights. It is even said that relatives and friends of conscientious objectors will themselves be subjected to repressive attention.

The defection of Einstein has seriously increased defeatism in the ranks of the peace organizations. Official right-wing Socialism, which is powerful in Belgium, is chauvinistic, while the left wing which devotedly directs the members of parliament, Spaak and Marteaux, is handicapped. A White dictatorship to all intents and purposes has ruled Belgium for several months, and the situation is certain to become difficult for those sturdily opposed to war. The fight against war that many have carried on for years, while not lost, has been set back and daily runs the danger of disintegration. The struggler for peace still echoes the cry of his friend, Andreas Latzko, the Austrian author: "I know that a day will come when all will think as I do . . .!"



The Flouting of Indian Public Opinion By The Capitation Tribunal

Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, M. L. A, in a valuable article in *The Indian Review*, criticizes the decisions of the Capitation Tribunal, constituted in London to consider army questions between Great Britain and India, as follows:

The Tribunal did not accept the decision of the Government of India, and have calculated that a nine months' training would be fair to both the parties. It is curious that this period of nine months has not been suggested by either of the contending parties, and there are no reasons assigned by the Tribunal why such a period should be accepted.

Sir Shadi Lal and Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, the two Indian Judges, of the tribunal have both dissented from this recommendation of the majority of the Tribunal. They point out that this very issue has been considered by no fewer than five Committees or Commissions, and that the verdict has been, either expressly or impliedly, in favour of the shorter period. In 1861, the Tulloch Committee, which considered the question of capitation rate, adopted, for purposes of calculation, a period of 4½ months only for the infantry. In 1872, the Seccombe Committee held that India was liable to pay charges for six months' training. The same conclusion was confirmed in 1875 by the Bouverie Committee. The question was again examined by Lord Northbrooke Commission in 1892, and, after elaborate calculations, that Commission also adopted the period of six months as a legitimate period of training. The Welby Commission in 1900 again fixed the charges on the basis of six months' training, in spite of the War Office's claim for a longer period. I have already referred to the fact that the dissenting minority of that Commission did not accept this view, and that the Marquess of Salisbury felt compelled to suggest the appointment of a Tribunal to decide the issue. This period of training for six months was accepted by the War Office for many years, and, as the Indian Judges point out, several high military authorities, including Lord Kitchener, Sir Beauchamp Duff, Lord Rawlinson and Sir Philip Chetwode, held that a period of six months' training is adequate in the case of men required for India. The Government of India have repeatedly declared, in their representations to the War Office, that even if it takes longer than six months to complete the training of a soldier, they are prepared, and indeed would prefer, to take recruits with only six months' training and complete their training in India in accordance with Indian requirements.

In 1926, the British Government compelled the Government of India to pay a consolidated amount as capitation charges on their own basis, and the result of the nine months' training, which the majority of Capitation Tribunal have held to be necessary, is that, in substance, the amount fixed by the British Government in 1926 must continue to be paid. In effect, it means that the Award of the Tribunal on the capitation charges has been, practically, entirely against the case of the Government of India. It is necessary to realize that a claim put forward by the Government of India, in the first instance, for a total exemption, and, alternatively, for a great reduction in the charges—a claim which has been pressed for over sixty years by military authorities and by Viceroys and in a series of dispatches from the Government of India—has been found to be completely baseless by the majority of the Tribunal. The entire claim of India, so far as the capitation charges are concerned, has been dismissed by the three Judges. And this is the decision over which the Indian Legislature has been asked to enthuse itself.

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Christian Missions and the White Paper

The White Paper proposals have given rise to misapprehensions in the minds of some Christians in India. The editor of *The National Christian Council Review* rightly observes:

It would appear, from statements that have found their way into the public press, that there is uneasiness in certain Christian circles lest, in the event of the White Paper proposals coming into effect, the safety of the Ark of the Covenant in India may be endangered. That is a fear we do not share, and for these reasons. We cannot believe that under *swaraj* India will depart from her traditional religious hospitality, a tradition that has done much to establish her good name with the outside world. Political changes are not necessarily religious revulsions. Christianity can no longer be regarded as an alien Faith, for the Church of Jesus Christ has been long domiciled within the Indian realm, and all good citizens are mindful of the services she has rendered. None now will gainsay her right to remain, and few will question her claim to practise the faith she holds. The fortunes of Christian Missions are the fortunes of the Christian Church in India. By common resolve the great principle of religious liberty is to be upheld in the future State, and we who bear the Christian name have no reason to doubt the sincerity of that resolve. There is the further consideration, that Christianity is not the only self-propagating religion in India that claims a fair field and no favour for its ministry: Islam, Sikhism and Hinduism, in some of its aggressive forms, make the same claim. It is, therefore, to the interest of all to stand by the doctrine of religious equality, and this in itself is a safeguard against discrimination. Then it is well to remember that Christianity has achieved some of its greatest triumphs in Native States, where the powers that be have been either Hindu or Muslim. These are all re-assuring things: but beyond them lies the genius of Christianity itself. It has the grace of perseverance. It depends neither on the frowns nor the favours of governments, although it is sensitive to both; it stands for the indefeasible right of the human spirit to worship God as conscience dictates, and, while it fully recognizes the right of the State to lay down and administer laws for the good of the common weal, which it gladly obeys, it reserves to itself the right of private judgment when religious and moral issues arise; it will always respect the cardinal rights of others;

it recognizes that it cannot always have its own way, but when difficulties arise and defeat threatens it will not abandon the field. The best safe-guard for Christian Missions is Christianity itself, humbly and loyally lived.

How to Save European Civilization

M. Julien Benda, a leading French critic, asks in a paper in *The Aryan Path*: How are we to save the European Civilization? He himself answers:

By restoring, notably amongst the younger generation, amongst the students, the feeling of this universalism of intellectual function and of cosmopolitanism of mind. For that, it is especially necessary, as I have pointed out in my *Discours a la Nation Europeenne,* to raise the product of the intellect above that of the feelings, the works of science and philosophy above those of pure literature; because the intellect is universalistic while the feelings are much less so; because the value of a scientific work exists, or for the most part tends to exist, independently of individual genius and of the *language* in which it is written, whereas the work of the man of letters is, so to speak, indissolubly linked to this vehicle; because the work of the intellect is translatable whereas that of the man of letters is not, or is at any rate very far from being so to the same extent. We must restore to credit such phrases as Renan's: "All those things which make up literary taste, charm, poetry, amusement, may be clothed in local form; *but science, like the mind, is unique.*" This return to the honouring of the mind in so far as it is universal, overlooking any particularities which it may offer, will be difficult, if I am to judge by the fact that the best brains, those apparently most eager to rebuild European civilization, appear to be refractory, even unconsciously refractory, so deeply have they absorbed the doctrine of the nationalization of mind. A little while ago, I was reading some pages of a French savant, whom I had believed completely exempt from this influence. the lamented Charles Pfister, Dean of the Faculty of Strasbourg. This professor, having just indicated the excellent works which the German savants had recently produced on the history of Alsace, considered it his duty to express the hope that France would not allow her neighbours "to monopolise" the study of this subject, and declared it to be "the duty" of the French University of Strasbourg and of the learned societies of the city "to mount guard on the Rhine." But what, I ask, is this idea of "monopolising" doing here? And the "guard on the Rhine"? The learned societies, whether French or German, have the duty of *mounting guard on the mind* and, from the moment that good works are composed on the history of Alsace, a true priest of science need not worry whether they be the work of Frenchmen or Germans. In the same way, while on a lecture tour in Scotland a year ago, I heard a professor of the University of Edinburgh, during a banquet celebrating the memory of the great poet Dunbar, make his compatriots feel ashamed because the best editions of Dunbar are made by Germans. As if the important thing for this minister of the intellect ought not to be that good editions of Dunbar exist, not that they are not the work of his compatriots! Such nationalism of mind must be absolutely removed if we wish to return to a conception of the intellectual universalism which, once again, is for me the primordial condition for the resurrection of European civilization.

Food and Drink in Ancient India

In a thesis in *Man in India* Prof. Joges Chandra Ray, M. A., writes:

In the time of Kautilya meat and fish formed items of daily diet. Fresh fish was apparently insufficient to meet the demand, and dried fish, perhaps salted and smoked, was consumed. Certain birds such as the peacock, parrot and *maina* were held sacred; and *gone,* water-hen, Brahminy duck were excluded from the table. It is curious to note that Kautilya a shrewd and accurate observer, believed in the existence of 'matsya,' sea-animals, having resemblance with the elephant, horse, ass, and man (II. 26). Such aquatic animals were not killed for food. There were large forests, not very far off the town, where mrigapasu quadrupeds, were hunted after. Amarakosa gives a list of these, which belong to many families. The King had flock of sheep and goats, droves of swine, and herds of cattle and buffaloes. The latter were meant for various purposes, one of which was to supply meat. Oxen were bred and probably fattened for the shambles (II. 29). Susruta describes beef as "pure." Yajnabalkya in his Dharmasastra (200 A. D.?) enjoins the offering of beef to Brahmans learned in the Vedas when they come as guests (I. 100). Visnu Purana (II. 15) tells us that if one feeds Brahmans on the day of Sraddha with beef, the souls of deceased parents remain satisfied for eleven months. Kautilya refers to the custom (IV. 3), and the ceremony of Vrisotsarga, letting loose an ox at Sraddha. had its origin in this old precept. The fixing of a sacrificial post and the offering of four extra calves show what the intention was. Manu (III. 267) enjoins the feeding on the day of Sraddha of Brahmans with meat and offering them some intoxicating drink, and permits the killing of birds and quadrupeds for the performance of sacrifice and the eating of meat if the animal has been offered to a god. Female animals were never permitted, and one would naturally select a sound animal. The goat was usually the pasu. the sacrificial animal, and so was Krisnasara, which is a goat.

Prison Reform

Mr. Pankajkumar Mukherjee, M. A., B. L. offers, among others, the following suggestions for the reform of prisons in India in *The Calcutta Review*:

For the sake of rehabilitation or socialization, the prisoners ought not to be kept absolutely outside society. People with an intellectual ability and of social habits ought to be allowed to come in the prisons and to talk with their inmates. Because the prisoner ought not to get an opportunity to think that he is an outcast he must be trained to think that society will again welcome him if he only reforms himself. Means ought to be adopted through legislation by which the criminals can avoid that sort of mental degeneracy. Society, on the other hand, is to be moulded so as to guide and sympathize with the criminals like the diseased persons returning from the hospital.

Regarding the aim of the penal treatment Mr. Jose Almaraj, President of the Supreme Council of Social Defence and Prevention in Mexico, says that the aim of penal treatment is not intimidation but cure, regeneration and re-adaptation. The Indian Penal Laws ought to be framed upon the said principles of Jose Almaraj.

The compulsory system of work in prison stands as an obstacle to the realization of the new ideals of penology. The link of compulsion in jail work can be eliminated by two processes. In the first place, the system of remuneration may be introduced, and in the second place, the system of allotment of task by qualified supervisors may be enforced to do away with the idea of compulsory work. Two benefits are derived from the system of payment for work to the prisoner. They would not think

it a drudgery to serve and so an initiative to work would be given to them by such system. They would get a training to work and to earn in prison-life which they may profitably use when they would come back to society. One of the best means of socialization is the system of payment for work in prisons.

Arguments can also be put forth from the financial point of view. The prisoners might contribute to the penal administration by maintaining themselves. In the penal system of Italy it has been ascertained that the prisoner maintains himself out of the remuneration he gets from service. In England there exists no legal provision for payment to the prisoners. The system of remunerating the prisoners had its origin in the Continent. In Swiss cantons the prison authorities determine the payment of the different prisoners. France has a system of indirect payment, *i.e.*, once a sum is credited in the name of the prisoner, he will receive that for good. The new Italian Penal Code has made it obligatory to pay the prisoners. The Penal Code of U. S. S. R. goes even further than the new Italian Code by giving prisoners the right to sue the state for sums due to them. Now it can be suggested that Indian Penal Law ought to recognize this system of payment in both the financial and psychological aspects. The system of payment is required to be made obligatory instead of depending on the whims of the authorities in charge.

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The Military Burden on India

The following occurs in an article by Mr. F. G. Pratt, C. S. I., I. C. S. (Retd.) in *The Hindusthan Review*:

The following figures shew the percentage incidence of defence expenditure upon net revenue in Great Britain and the Dominions:

India	33.7
Great Britain	23.6
Australia	3.7
Canada	3.7
New Zealand	5.2
Union of South Africa	3.1
Irish Free State	6.8

India in spite of her poverty has to bear a burden relatively heavier than that of Great Britain and ten times heavier than that of Australia, which has no land frontiers and is protected by the British Navy. Her expenditure on the Army has risen from £20 millions before the War to £41 millions at the present day. India has been called the Achilles heel of the British Empire.

Natural Resources of Karnatak

Karnatak is rich in natural resources. We take the following from *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

The Nature has been exceptionally generous and bounteous to the people of Karnatak. Under its surface there are vast stores of mineral wealth which await the capital and enterprise of its sons and the persistent tap of the prospector's hammer and pick. It has within its borders such valuable metals as gold, iron, manganese and asbestos. Limestone and clay deposits are common and can supply suitable raw material for cement and ceramic industries. A porcelain factory has just been started in Mysore and Mangalore tiles have already earned a wide reputation for their quality.

Magnificent water power is available in several parts of Karnatak. Converted into electric energy this will do much for industrial progress. Besides several rivers, which are and can be advantageously dammed both for irrigation and the generation of power, we have the highest water-fall in the world at Gersoppa which has yet to be harnessed for the service of the Karnatakas. Large sums of money have already been invested by the enterprising Government of Mysore in the construction of huge reservoirs of water and hydro-electric schemes which will considerably help the industrialization of that part of the country.

Karnatak is exceedingly rich in forest wealth. Its virgin forests are among the largest in extent in India and are a great source of wealth. Not only they are great for constructional and cabinet timbers, bamboos and pulpwoods they contain, they are of immense importance in supplying fuel, in the absence of coal. The trees, that are of greater economic value, are those that give the world the famous sandal and eucalyptus oils. Mysore Rosewood, Ebony, Red Sandal and Cedar and Kanara Teak are famous and have won for themselves places in the timber markets of India.

Karnatak with an ideal climate and rich soil offers to the farmer the widest choice of industry. The whole field of agricultural endeavour is open to him. There is practically no species of commercial crop, not to speak of food grains and oilseeds, that cannot be grown to perfection either under natural conditions or through irrigation. Cotton of good staple is being grown on the black soil of Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts. The sandy soil of coast districts produces tobacco. The sugarcane cultivation is rapidly extending particularly in Mysore, where the development of irrigation is a big feature of its agricultural progress. Mysore and Mercara coffee has been famous and is largely exported with Nilgiri tea to foreign countries. The possibilities of extending the cultivation of fruit trees are amply demonstrated by an European planter who owns an extensive orchard near Bangalore and grows a variety of the choicest fruits, including seedless oranges, apples and grape fruits. Cocoanut is extensively grown mainly in the coast districts and the Western Ghats produce such rare spices as arecanuts, cardamoms, pepper and cinnamon for the markets of the world. The insignificant cashewnut of Kanara of which Mangalore has now a profitable export trade with America, has shown to Karnatakas what wealth Karnatak can draw from the more prosperous nations of the world by the export of a part of its surplus produce either raw or manufactured, if only necessary enterprise and capital are forthcoming.

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Rural Welfare Work

Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerji, M. A., has given us a useful scheme of rural welfare work for Bengal in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal*. He says:

The three great lines of attack should be *Disease*, *Debt*, and *Illiteracy*, the three great scourges that ravage the countryside and take so much toll of the strength and efficiency of the peasantry.

If a Rural Welfare League could be immediately started *under non-official auspices* as a central body in Calcutta with district branches, it could spread its tentacles all over the province, provided the district executive helped the movement with advice, encouragement and gave it the necessary 'good character' certificate. Otherwise in these police-ridden times, every organization would practically be still-born.

This League might utilize the co-operative workers, the colleges and the schools, the district boards and municipalities, and the village union boards; it might very

well have His Excellency the Governor as Patron and the Rural Development Commissioner and the District Magistrates as Vice-Patrons; but it will have its own offices and its own executive.

Government might at once employ a few hundred University men to popularize the ideas of rural welfare in definite areas: they might easily act as Government supervisors over non-official rural welfare activity.

Thana by thana, to combat the triple evils of Disease, Debt and Illiteracy, should be immediately started—

(a) *Health-Centres*, which would do intensive health propaganda work in villages under their control.

(b) *Debt Conciliation Committees*, which would work incessantly to ease the strain between debtors and creditors, and

(c) *New Type Village Schools*, which would, train villagers in the art of self-help and give them ideas about co-operative farming and co-operative marketing to begin with.

All these three organizations should be organically inter-connected and worked by a co-ordinate group of workers.

The work is big enough to arrest the attention and engage the energies of various classes of people—lawyers, doctors, engineers, school-masters, businessmen, farmers and traders.

The *health-centre* workers might requisition the services of honorary physicians and persons of both sexes trained in first-aid and nursing; cultured women who have taken lessons in maternity questions might open maternity welfare centres in this line of activity.

Elementary lessons in sanitation and hygiene, about healthy food and drink might easily be given by the health workers.

Magic lantern lectures with illustrative slides suitable to village needs and interests accompanied with practical demonstrations as to how to keep village homes including the kitchens and bathing ghats clean, how to drain off all surplus accumulation of water, how to deal with garbage and refuse might be a prominent feature of this work.

The treatment of disease would be left to the hospitals and dispensaries; the prevention of disease by the imbibing of cleanly habits would be the objective.

The *Debt-Conciliation Committees* might have a representative personnel comprising landlords and tenants, money-lenders and debtors; the object would be to arrange a sliding scale of debt-payment by easy instalments, to avoid the necessity of protracted and ruinously expensive legal proceedings, to make an end by peaceful negotiation, of fancy rates of interest. This is a matter in which patriotic lawyers might easily be useful and settle matters amicably between parties.

Women Doctors and Maternity Work in Bombay

Women doctors have played an important part in maternity work in Bombay. Mrs. Dadabhoy, M. D. (Lond.), writes in *The Journal of the Indian Medical Association*:

The credit goes first to a woman doctor, Dr. Elizabeth Frances Hoggan and secondly, to an American business gentleman Mr. Kittredge. In 1882 Dr. Hoggan wrote an article in the *Contemporary Review* that there is a need of a new medical department in India to be managed by women on the same lines as the then existing Civil Medical Service. Inspired by this article Mr. Kittredge thought that the only way of placing female instruction and relief on the right basis would be to bring thoroughly competent experienced women from Europe and America. With this object in view he collected subscriptions from the public with the help of a Parsi gentleman, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Bengalee. Meantime in 1883 a philanthrophic gentleman, Mr. Pestonji Hormasji Cama came forward with an offer to build a hospital for women to be managed by women only. In the same year the authorities of the Grant Medical College and the Bombay University were approached to open their doors to women on the same status as men. In the same year Mr. Kittredge left for England in order to secure the services of a suitable medical woman to inaugurate this scheme. Through the recommendations of Dr. Garnett Anderson he was able to persuade Dr. Pechey to come to India. Miss Pechey arrived in Bombay in 1883. In 1884, a temporary dispensary for women was opened in Church Gate Street and also a small temporary hospital for women in Khetwady. At the same time another woman doctor Mi Charlotte Ellaby was brought from England to act as junior officer to Miss Pechey. In 1886 the present Jaffe Suleman Dispensary was opened and in the same year th Cama and Albless Hospital buildings were completed an the patients were transferred here from Khetwady.

In the year 1883 the Grant Medical College first started training non-matriculated women and granted certificates after a three years' course of study. The first women to take this certificate were a Parsi lady Miss Malbari and an Anglo-Indian Miss Bradly. Miss Bradly did a large amount of work amongst the poor and had a hospital of her own for women.

The first matriculated woman to take diploma of the university after a five years' course of study was Mrs. Walker Sharp, who worked later at the Cama Hospital as a second physician. In the second year batch Dr. Freny Cama was the first Indian woman who took the same diploma with honours, and worked under Dr. Pechey at the Cama Hospital for about two years or so. Thus the number of matriculated women in training increased to ten in the year 1889. Most of these women on passing their examination and obtaining diploma, devoted themselves solely to the practice of Midwifery and soon gained the confidence of their women patients. Some of these are still with us now known to most of us here.

Popular Religion in Bihar

About popular religion in Bihar Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B. L., writes in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* partially as follows:

In Bihar the *Barham Daitya* or the spirit of a Brahman who has met with a violent death, often becomes the tutelary deity or *dihwar* of the whole village. The worship of this godling is usually carried on under a tree, very often a banyan tree (*Ficus indica*), which he is supposed to reside in. The trunk thereof is besmeared with vermilion and *a mound of earth is erected*, on which are placed clay figurines of horses or elephants, and offerings are presented of flowers, betel-nuts and the like. The worship is performed by a special priest called the *Bhakta*, who is not necessarily a Brahman; and sometimes, he is inspired by this deity and utters prophecies which are implicitly believed in by the devotees.

Then, again, the district of Gaya is intimately connected with the rise and spread of Buddhism. Here Buddha, the great founder of Buddhism lived for a long time and promulgated the tenets of his religion. As the result of this, the district of Gaya is rich in Buddhist remains, namely, Buddhist images, *chaityas* or small shrines and other relics. The Hindus of this part of Bihar have appropriated these old images and *chaityas* and, after

bedaubing them with vermilion, have conferred on these the names of some deities of animistic origin who are unknown to the orthodox Brahman priesthood. These new-fangled godlings and goddesslings, under new designations, are now worshipped and prayed to by the Hindus, especially of the lower classes.

On this point, Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley says:—

"Images of Buddha and other Buddhistic images and *chaityas* are found in temples of all kinds, under trees and in the open air in all parts of the district (Gaya), and are treated as different deities, *lingas*, etc. Such images have been enshrined in hundreds of temples, in temples of Siva, of Mahadeva, of Visnu, of the Sun, of Sitala, the goddess of disease, and others. Hundreds of *chaityas* have similarly been set up in *Sivalayas* filling the places of *lingas*. But this is simply because these images and *chaityas* have been found lying about and have been utilized by the Hindus as images of their own deities or as the *linga* of Mahadeva. They are worshipped by the ignorant Hindus, not as Buddha or as Buddhistic emblems, but as their own gods and symbols.

Then again, in North Bihar, especially in the district of Champaran, the Hindus have appropriated the famous edict-pillars erected by Asoka, the great Buddhist Emperor of India, dubbed them with Hindu names and worship them with Hindu rites.

Education in India, 1927-32

The following appears in *The Young Builder*:

The tenth quinquennial review of the progress of education in India in 1927-32 has been published by the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. The report shows that the percentage of literates in the various provinces at the end of the five years, under review, was as follows:

	Male population	*Female population*
Madras	9.5	3.1
Bombay	9.08	2.83
Bengal	8.30	2.32
United Provinces	5.30	0.72
Punjab	8.82	1.85
Burma	6.81	3.01
Bihar and Orissa	5.15	0.67
Central Provinces	5.07	0.85
Assam	6.88	1.5
N. W. F. Province		1.2

League Enquiry Report on the Traffic in Women and Young Girls

Sri Dharma writes editorially:

The report of the League of Nations Enquiry Committee on the Traffic in Women is interesting reading and of special importance to all these organisations that are actively employed in rescue work in India. The special points of interest are (1) the need for collaborated efforts between all organisations and private associations as well as official authorities. No one who has any experience of the work would fail to realise that this would lead to a great deal of improvement in the work which is often difficult and delicate and needs the help and co-operation of all concerned. (2) The emphasis that is being rightly put by universal international organisations on the need for employing women officers in every department where this question is to be actively dealt with. The tone of the work would distinctly improve if suitable women, after receiving adequate and proper training, were employed to carry out the delicate work that needs so much real understanding and sympathy to be really effective. (3) The need for International Conventions with regard to this question so that what has been achieved in one country to save their victims may not be made null and void merely by crossing the borders of one country into another. It is obvious that this will offer those who ply this infamous trade an easy and painless opening for merely shifting the scene of their activity. (4) The need for the removal of the licensed brothel which is the cause that keeps this trade in a flourishing condition and makes unnumbered victims of its greed, miserable and degraded, we must all work for a speedy removal of this horrible criminal institution from every self-respecting country till it will be completely wiped off the face of the earth. We are sure that the opportunity that the League offers for international discussion and enquiry into this question will day by day offer new solutions for the removal of this evil.

Printing as a Profession

Mr. A. Gilbert, Printing Specialist, writes in *Careers*:

Printing offers a large scope to the young man with small capital to start for himself, he is required to see the needs of various phases of business and to be able to produce printing that is compelling, attractive and useful and yet peculiar to the subjects it is applied to.

This is a study in itself and calls for an appreciation of type faces, paper, inks and colour of cover papers, etc., and these qualities can only be obtained by experience plus a natural ability to get that experience quickly.

The best office to learn in is one that covers most branches of printing and thereby offers more scope to obtain a general knowledge of the business.

It should always be borne in mind that print is a necessity and callings that fall in that category are the first to benefit by increased trade and the last to be influenced by depression.

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Smelting—a Dying Indigenous Industry

K. C. P. summarizes a valuable paper by Dr. F. G. Percival on Smelting, one of our indigenous industries in *The Mayurbhanj Gazette*. Dr. Percival writes:

"At various times within the last ten years, I have seen furnaces in the Feudatory States of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Bonai and also in the Singhbhum District, but none of them is in operation within seventy miles of Jamshedpur.

"The Industry is still in full activity in the more remote parts of the Feudatory States of Orissa, and I have recently obtained photographs of smelters at Gonua in Bonai State, and also at Jodapaint in Keonjhar State, near the iron ore proper of Joda, owned, but not yet mined, by the Tata Iron and Steel Co., both places being about 100 miles from Jamshedpur."

Dr. Percival then quotes from the Geological Survey of India a passage regarding the beliefs of smelters in Garhwal (U. P.) who are locally known as *lohars*. They are "regarded as belonging to an upper section of the low caste *doms*. They regard as the founder of their caste one Kaliya *lohar*, who is supposed to have supplied the Pandavas with their fighting weapons, and he is now propitiated with an offer of five pieces of charcoal."

But at Jodapaint in Keonjhar State the smelters are *Kamars* and locally known as *Pentis*. They are said to be of a higher origin than those of *Garhwal*.

"Joda village is inhabited by Bhuiyas, a sturdy hill tribe that has the hereditary right of installing the Raja of Keonjhar on his *gadi* on his accession. Hindus take water from the Bhuiyas and their touch is no defilement."

INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indians abroad Directory 1934

We must heartily congratulate Mr. S. A. Waiz, compiler and editor of the *Indians Abroad Directory* for the second edition of this excellent production. In this edition figures and other details concerning Indians overseas have been brought up-to-date and new chapters have been added. As a reference book on the subject it is unique and indispensable for every newspaper office and also for those who are interested in the problems of Indians outside India. Merchants who want to have trade connections with their compatriots abroad will find this book very useful. It is priced at Rupees five and can be had of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Sohrab House, 235 Hornby Road Fort, Bombay.

Wanted a bigger history of the Satyagraha Movement in South Africa

The importance of the Satyagraha movement that was carried on in South Africa by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers in 1906-1914 has not been realized fully in this country. There are some books on this subject in Gujrati, Hindi and English but they are not quite complete. Of course, the Gujrati book of Mahatma Gandhi, leader of the movement, is the most important document on this subject but as Mahatmaji had to summarize the whole thing in a small book, he had to leave out several details and these ought to be supplied by a new historian. Swami Bhawani Dayal's Hindi book was also a useful publication and it ran into two editions but what we require now is a bigger history written from a different point of view. To make it more interesting and more inspiring we must collect cases of a large number of individual sacrifices and sufferings. At a farewell speech at Johannesburg in 1914 Mahatma Gandhi said that



Widow and Sons of Selvan, a free labourer, shot dead during the strike. The eldest son, Antonimuthu, received three bullet wounds.



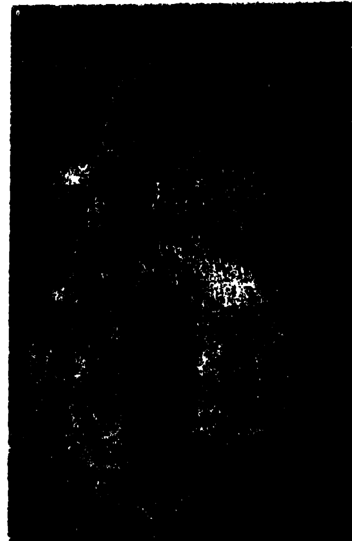
The late S. Nagappen, who died after release from the Johannesburg Prison Road-Camp as a Passive Resister.

it was Johannesburg that had given Valiamma, that young girl, whose picture rose before him even as he spoke, who had died in the cause of truth. Simple-minded in faith, she had not the knowledge that he had, she did not know what Passive Resistance was, she did not know what it was the community would gain but she was simply taken up with unbounded enthusiasm for her people—went to jail, came out of it a wreck and within a few days died. It was Johannesburg again that produced a Nagappan and Naryanswamy, two lovely youths hardly out of their teens who also died. He and Mrs. Gandhi had worked in the limelight; those



Widow and Orphan of Pachiappan, an Indian Striker on the Coast, shot dead during the strike.

others had worked behind the scenes, not knowing where they were going, except this, that what they were doing was right and proper and if any praise was due anywhere at all, it was due to those three who died. They had had the name of Harbat Singh given to them. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of serving imprisonment with him. Harbat Singh was 75 years old. He was an ex-indentured Indian and when he (the speaker) asked him why he had come there, that he had gone there to seek his grave, the brave man replied "What does it matter?



The late Soorzai, with his wife and child. Soorzai was one of the Strike victims.



The late Naryanswamy, who was deported to India as a Passive Resister and who died at Delagoa Bay after being hunted from Port to Port in South Africa by the Union Government.

I know what you are fighting for. You have not to pay the £3 tax but my fellow ex-indentured Indians have to pay that tax, and what more glorious death could I meet ?" He had met that death in the jail at Durban. No wonder if Passive Resistance had fired and quickened the conscience of South Africa !

What we want now are full details of the sacrifices of individuals like Valiammas, Nagappens, Naryanswamies and Harbatsinghs.

Such a history will serve a necessary background for a more important history of the Satyagraha movement in India. Unfortunately no serious attempt has ever been made to write this history. It was on Sept. 7, 1910 that Tolstoy wrote to Mahatma Gandhi :

"And so your activity in the Transvaal as it seems to us, at this end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian but of all the world, will unavoidably take part."

So not only from Indian point of view but from international point of view also the work of compiling a bigger history of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa deserves to be taken up in right earnest by those who are interested in the subject and who are qualified to do justice to it.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Miss Vishini Jagasia

The 73rd birthday of Poet Tagore was celebrated by Rabindranath Dramatic and Literary Club, Karachi, on 13th May. This annual event is looked forward to as a festival of song, dance, mirth and merriment. The cup for musical competition for girls was won by Miss Vishini Jagasia, who is seen in this picture with her trophy. This little child of 12 years of age has already won for herself the appreciation of film directors and critics by her excellent acting and singing in her maiden picture, *Prem Pariksha* which is now running. Miss Vishini Jagasia has been gifted with a most melodious voice and has acquired considerable mastery over the technique of Indian classical singing.

GLEANINGS

A Glimpse of the Japanese Woman

I wonder whether there is in the world any fair sex like the Japanese woman who values the family she marries into more than the one of her birth, so faithful to her husband, so respectful to her parents and so devoted to her children. Not only in the feudal age but even at present there are many weaker sex who calmly commit suicide to save their family honour. They do not do it for their personal fame but for the honour of their family.

A Japanese woman is trained to keep house. Nevertheless in case her labour out of her family is required, she dares to under-



Miss M Shimpo who was fourth in the javelin throw at the World Olympic Games held in Los Angeles

take any difficult task. The fact that peasant women labour from early morning till deep into the night demonstrates this fact. In Japan there are some laborious occupation in which the fair sex work harder than men. Such is the fisher-women who dive deep into the sea to gather shells and sea weeds. This occupation, though very hard and dangerous, is almost confined to women.

Physically, therefore, a Japanese woman is nearly equal to man. Let us now turn to their cultural achievements. Contrary to what foreigners would believe, Japanese women showed a great deal of cultural achievements more than



Costume of a well-to-do class lady of the Fujiwara era going to pay homage to a shrine

1,000 years ago. At that time those who undertook secretarial work at the Imperial Court were

mostly women. They recorded what the Emperors had done or said in privacy, and some of those records are precious heritages of the Japanese nation as "Inner Court Tidings". Furthermore in some period of our history composition of "waka" or a short poem of thirty one syllables was one of the most important accomplishments of the women. Men and women of that age all exchanged their poems, and the women in court were invariably poets A great deal of the diaries, fictions and jottings written in the course of this period have been transmitted to



Miss H. Maehata, who won the second place in the 200 meters breast stroke at the World Olympic Games held in Los Angeles

us, and those which were written by women equal, if not surpass, those composed by men. The most famous of all among them is the "Story of Genji" written by Murasaki Shikibu, and the "Makuranososhi", a collection of jottings by Seishonagon, both of whom were court women These two works are the best classics in the history of Japan and have been translated into foreign languages. In the time of Murasaki Shikibu there was no female novelist of fame in any other part of the world. I wonder, even in the histories of all other countries, whether there had been any women who had written such valuable classics as the "Story of Genji".

So much for literature. In the dramatic circle there was, in the Ashikaga's era more than four hundred years ago, an actress called Izumo-no-Okuni. She appeared on the stage and played the so-called "Okuni Kabuki" which laid the corner-stone of the present "Kabuki" play of Japan. In the same period there was no woman in the world who had appeared on the stage. In art and literature Japanese women demonstrated, from long time past, their talents.



Woman in Her Best.
A doll representing the custom of the Tokugawa era (1603 1867)

At present Japanese women have more or less been set free from their families, and are given opportunities to show their abilities. Let us take only the examples familiar to foreigners. The late Miss Hitomi on the track and field and Miss Maehata in swimming demonstrate what



Girl tea-leaves pickers and Mt. Fuji



"Fishermen" by Utamaro (1754-1806)
The woodcut is a masterpiece of the artist and represents women fishing ear

Japanese women can do in such sports. Their appearance may seem accidental to the foreigners, but there were many fair sex in Japan in the past who demonstrated their prowess in fencing and jujitsu. Especially in water, the existence of fisherwomen from time immemorial justifies the appearance of the world's champion in the present day acquatic sports.

From an article by Kenkichi Ichishimah in "Dai Nippon"

Arab and Jew in Palestine

Arabs and Jews were friendly in the pre-War period, and despite the intermittent outbursts of violence they still are so today. If, in the cities, social intercourse between Arab and Jew is very limited, in the rural districts there is much give and take between them. In 1929, when they were called on in the name of their religion to attack the Jews—who had allegedly destroyed the Mosque of Omar—they refused, dissuaded Arabs from more distant villages from joining in the attack, gave themselves up to Jewish neighbours as hostages or helped them in other ways.

In 1921 the Sheikh Abu Kishik had directed a strong attack against Petach Tikvah, one of the largest and oldest Jewish colonies, for which he was later sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. At the intercession of the Jews, he was set free after swearing that he would thenceforth live at



Demonstration.
The Arabs demonstrating against Jewish immigration into Palestine, October 27, 1933.

peace with them In 1929 he sent word that he and his followers would abide by his oath, despite the fact that the Moslem Supreme Council had sent for him and offered to absolve him from it if he would again attack the Jews. He would do so, he said, only if he saw with his own eyes that the Mosque was destroyed.



A scattered crowd, with hats fezzes and wreckage

This single episode indicates the delicacy and complexity of Arab-Jewish relationships. Economic advantage, personal good will, political interest : all come into play. One Arab group may be satisfied ; another is not. The Jewish mode of penetration is entirely peaceful. Immediately after the War attempts were made, in the familiar oriental manner, to buy off Arab opposition, but those who were purchasable kept raising their price and the incorruptibles maintained their position. In the past ten years Jews have been relying on the economic benefits they have brought to the country, reinforced by personal contact, to gain the good will of the Arab population.

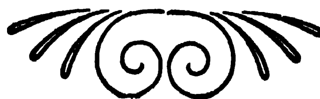




Riot.
Arabs being charged by British mounted police.

The mandatory power, England, has tried to play the part of peacemaker. As such, it effectively preserved public order between 1921 and 1929 and cut down the hitherto popular trade of banditry, but it did not prevent the massacres of 1929 and had to have recourse to arms to control the Arab demonstrations of 1933. As peacemaker, England has satisfied neither those Arabs who want a voice in the governmen or who want a tighter restriction on Jewish immigration nor those Jews who expected it to lend more active aid to their colonization.

—*Asia*



SIAM PAST AND PRESENT

Historical and Descriptive

BY LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

SIAM is the brightest jewel studded in the centre of South East Asia. Rich in natural resources, it extends over an area of more than two lakhs of square miles, one thousand miles in length and four hundred miles in breadth at its widest point, and with a coast line of one thousand three hundred miles of very great maritime importance. According to the latest figures, it has a population of over eleven millions, which draws a comparison with that of the State of Hyderabad. Ninety-eight per cent of the population is Buddhist in religion, Islam claiming about five lakhs and Christianity only fifty thousands. The ethnological basis of the population is very hard to analyse. India's quota to the ethonological amalgam of Siam is clear and understandable. The Mongolian impress is notable from the large number of Chinese resident in the north-eastern portions of the country and, more than that, from the vivid Chinese features of the people, particularly as regards the angularities of the Siamese nose and eyes. It would take the ability of an expert to distinguish between a Burman and a Siamese, but for the differences of a sartorial character which exist between these two neighbouring races.

The Epic period in India is believed to yield fruits in the field of Indo-Siamese synthesis. Place names and ritualistic observances are very similar in these two countries. Rajburi, Prachinburi, Aranyapradesh and, more important than all these, Ayudhia bring to our mind memories of ancient India. It is even emphasized that the horses selected for the *Asvamedh* sacrifice in which Lava and Kusa, the sons of Rama, figure prominently actually touched Ayudhia in Siam. This is in consonance with the fact that Ayudhia was the capital of Siam till 1767 when an invading Burman army completely razed the city to the ground, and that the *Asvamedh* sacrifice was intended to be at once a festival and a triumphal march through neighbouring capitals. There is no doubt that in the pre-Buddhistic period India's influence upon and quota to Siam in the fields of culture and religion have been remarkable, traces of which are to be found in that beautiful country even at the present day.



The Siamese spouse and family returning home after shopping from one of the numerous villages flanking the Siam river

But it is as the most important seat of Buddhism that Siam holds our interest from the historical standpoint. It is on record that the Buddhist supremacy of Siam was reached not until a tremendous series of battles of religions was successfully concluded in favour of the doctrine of the Buddha during the early centuries of the Christian era. If we accept the evidence supplied by the

frescoes of Angkor Wat in Cambodia, the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries witnessed great commotion all over South East Asia and in the process succeeded in bringing about a certain amount of religious toleration. I have seen the idols of Rama and Sita in the Buddhist temples of Ayudhia and a complete scenerio of Ramayana and Mahabharata enriching the beauty of the Temple-palace of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok. No doubt the latter dates to comparatively recent times, but it is hard to determine the age when this "fusion" of Buddhism and Hinduism was wrought as is evidenced from the remains at Ayudhia. In any case, the point is clear that the Buddhist period is rich in historical associations between the Mother Country and Siam. While Buddhism in the Mother Country is reduced to very minor dimensions, it is thriving in the "colony" as the state religion professed by almost the entire population.



The Siamese housewife honouring the Buddhist *bhikku* with food. And early morning scene.

Historical Background

The beginnings of the Christian era witnessed a Mom-Khmer invasion of Siam and it is from this intrusion that Siam was brought out of her seclusion as far as outward contacts were concerned. At that time the eastern Menan basin was a province of the Khmer Empire; the western portion an appanage of the Mons; and the present Malay peninsula under the suzerainty of the Kingdom of Palembang in Sumatra. The Thai race were then in the Yunnan province of China, where they founded the powerful kingdom of Nan Chao. It was during the thirteenth century that the Thai established themselves permanently in Chao Phya and the Mekong Valley of Siam.

The first historical Siamese dynasty was established at Sukhodaya by Rama Khamheng (Phra Ruang) who conquered the whole of the Menam Chao Phya valley and the Malay Peninsula as far as Ligor. By about the fourteenth century the Sukhodaya period gave place to the Ayudhia domination. It is since the establishment of Ayudhia as the capital of Siam that the regular history of the country may be said to begin.

The most noteworthy periods in the history of Siam are as follows: the period when Sukhodaya was capital, 1257-1350; the period when Ayudhia was the capital, 1350-1767; and the present period since the establishment of Bangkok as capital. Three dynasties ruled at Ayudhia and it was during this period that foreign contact with the country was first established. Louis XIV attempted diplomatic conversion of the king and the people of Siam and it was in the latter half of the seventeenth century that a Greek named Constantine Phaulkon, under the title Chao Phya (His Excellency) Vichayen, became a powerful minister of State during the reign of Phra Narai. These two incidents led to the displacement of the ruling dynasty and cost the king his crown. Continued Siamese-Burman rivalry led to the final fall of Ayudhia on the 7th April 1767, the destruction of that illustrious town and the loss of all historical records relating to the fortunes of the Kingdom of Siam prior to that date. Phya Tak meets us as the restorer of the sovereignty of Siam with Bangkok as capital, but he could not found a dynasty.

The present dynasty is called the Chakri dynasty and had six kings in unbroken succession. They are as follows: Phra Buddha Yod Fa Chulalok, 1782-1809; his son, Phra Buddha Loes La Nobhalai, 1809--1824 his son Phra Nang Klao, 1824-1851; his brother, Phra Chom Klao (Mongkut), 1851-1868; his son, Phra Chula Chom Klao (Chulalongkron), 1869-1910; his son, Phra Mongkut Klao (Vajirayudh), 1910-1925; and his younger brother, Phra Pok Klao, the present reigning

sovereign King Prajadhipok. The previous occupants of the throne are officially known as Rama I to VI.

Foreign contacts were first brought into prominence under King Mongkut. In fact, the beginnings of extraterritoriality were first adumbrated during his regime. But it is King Chulalongkron who became the most famous sovereign of the Chakri dynasty. It was in his reign that an all-round progress in the life of the nation and the work of government was first witnessed. Feudalism was gradually done away with; debt slavery was abolished; the judicial system was reformed; education of the people was improved; railway construction was definitely planned; the army and the navy was reorganized on efficient modern lines; opium eating and gambling were brought under control. But it was during his regime also that the last clippings of the territory of Siam were effected by France. The blockade of Bangkok in 1885 was but a prelude to the cession to France of the feudal territory of Cambodia in 1905. Today Cambodia is an appanage of the French colonial system as one of the five units comprising the flourishing Asiatic French colony of Indo-China.

The fifteen years which comprise the reign of the late sovereign are notable for remarkable changes in the polity of Siam as an independent State. The extraterritorial and diplomatic grip of foreign powers upon Siam remained unbroken, but it was towards the end of his reign that attempts were projected for the ulimate abrogation of the extraterritorial system. Siam's entry into the World War in the cause of the Allied and Associated Powers brought about several important results, towards international recognition of the independence of the country and opened up the gates for a stream of intercourse with the rest of the world. The rich virgin resources of the country are now operated by several foreign syndicates, the means of communications modernized and rendered useful. The Menom river was successfully bridged at Bangkok. The foreign expert worked out numerous reforms in the currency of the country, besides systematizing administrative framework and procedure available in the country. In fact, the reigns of the last two sovereigns and the present king are remarkable for the modernization of the life and government of Siam.

The reign of King Projadhipok, the present sovereign, will go down to history as the most outstanding example of oriental absolute monarchy giving place to popular control without any bloodshed. I will deal with it in a further article.

Siamese Life, Art and Architecture

It is in the field of arts and crafts that Siam occupies a unique place in the Orient. The artistic genius of the nation refuses to be suppressed, despite change of dynasties and a long series of alien impacts. Their pastoral life is a guarantee that the artistic genius of the people does not show signs of decay.



Something to remind us of the Venetian *gondola*. A river scene in Siam.

Unsophisticated, more or less law-abiding, under the wholesome influence of the religion of the land; simple in their wants; vastly traditional in their beliefs, the Siamese pride themselves in their native habits and customs.

The principles of Buddhist religion permeate the life and work of the Siamese race. The spiritual genius of a race in any part of the world is reflected in their festivals, and in this direction Siam has unique record. It would be obviously impossible to catalogue all the Siamese festivals, which reveal the daily life of the people, but the following list cannot be ignored:

The *Wishakha Buja* commemorates the birth, inspiration and death of Lord Buddha, all the three of which events occurred on the fifteenth of the waxing of the full moon of the sixth lunar month.

The *Khao-Purim Pansa* and *Ok Pansa* festivals mark the beginning and the end of the Buddhist lent, during the rainy season.

The *Thot Kathin* in which the entire nation, including royalty, takes part during October, when monastic robes are presented to the *Bhikkus* for the ensuing year. The Royal processions by land and water during the festival afford us real glimpses of Old Siam.

The *Phrabad* (is it *prabhat* ?) pilgrimage to the sacred footprints in important shrines all over Siam is an equally important festival.

The *Magha* festival in February is the festival of All Saints in Buddhism.

Loi Ching Chah, or Swing Festival, takes place on the 7th and 9th of the waxing of the second Siamese lunar month. It is a Brahmin ceremony and apparantly a harvest festival.

The *Raek Na* which commemorates the ploughing festival, takes place in May and marks the commencement of the ploughing of the fields. This is also a Brahmin rite, and is one of the oldest religious ceremonies existent in the country.

The tonsure and cremation are also conducted largely in accordance with Brahminical rites. The tonsure is in the fourth month and cremations take place in the dry weather.

The *Krut Thai* marks the new year in the Siamese lunar calendar and April 1st is the beginning of the Siamese official year, while *Chakri* day on the 6th April commemorates the accession of the present dynasty.

For one from India these festivals and and others in Siam bring memories of the legion of ceremonies which the home country indulges in year after year. The most amazing thing is the almost punctilious adherence by the Siamese people of model festivities in the land of the Aryans. The nomenclature is almost identical in both the countries; the ritual is more or less parallel; the dominance of Brahmanism is observable, even in this Buddhist country of the Asiatic continent. How indelible is the part played by Bharatavarsha in making Siam what it is today!

The artistic genius of a race is best expressed in its architecture. Siam is an outstanding example of this dictum. Wherever you go in Siam your eye meets with quaint old structures, big and small, beautifully decorated and well laid-out. It is not only the cities of the country which excel in this regard. Even out-of-the-way villages and hamlets abound in examples of rare architectural beauty and artistic and decorative excellence. The village temple, the village communal hall, the headman's cottage --all these and many other structures, illustrate the artistic economy of the race. Nothing is drab; nothing unthought out; nothing monotonously uniform. There is variegation in beauty and beauty in variegation.

But it is in Bangkok that one witnesses a plethora of artichecural gems. I have been over a large part of the world, but never was I more dazzled than when I went through the amazing series of edifices comprising the Royal Palace in Bangkok. It is impossible to describe all the buildings in this stately group, but emphasis on the following is needed.

The *Grand Palace* of Bangkok is actually a walled town covering an area of over a square mile. In this group of buildings the following deserve mention: the *Wat Phra Keo*, the Royal Chapel, *Dusit Maha Prasad*, *Amarindr Vinichi* and *Chakri* halls serving as halls of audience. *Dusit Maha Prasad* is a rare gem of modern Siamese architecture and was originally used as a Coronation Hall, but since the death of King Rama I it was not used as a Coronation Hall on account of the fact that the urn containing his late majesty's ashes was exposed in that hall. In *Dusit Maha Prasad* is a stone hewn in 1292 by Rama Khamheng, King of Sukhodaya and used as the coronation stone as well as royal seat. The *Chakri* palace is designed after the plans of a British architect and built in the style of Italian Renaissance and, in my opinion, disturbs the architectural symphony of Siam.

The *Wat Phra Keo,* otherwise known as the Royal Chapel, the Temple of the Emarald Buddha and Sri Ratana Sasdaram Temple, has been singled out for separate mention and discription since it is the most beautiful collection of buildings even in the magnificent series represented by the Grand Palace. Built in 1785 after Bangkok superseded Ayudia as the nations's capital, it has been the pet child of every successive monarch and as such maintained in great trim. But for a close scrutiny I would not have realized that

it has a history of a century and a half behind it,—such is its freshness of decoration and freedom from decay.

Royal patronage has been uniform in preserving this beautiful group of buildings. From Rama I to the present King Prajadhipok every sovereign of Siam added to and enriched the buildings and the beauty of *Wat Phra Keo.* The image of the Emerald Buddha itself is a marvel of design and workmanship. My guide, a member of the Royal Household, lent to me by the Home Office, went into raptures in explaining to me the details and history of this image. The Emerald Buddha is the symbol of Buddhism in the land. But what struck me most was the urbanity with which people ushered themselves into the presence of the Emerald Buddha. I was hesitating to enter the chapel with my shoes on and actually began to undo them, when my guide gently called me to proceed without any compunction. I was told that it was found necessary during modern times to allow the diplomatic corps and other dignitaries from foreign lands to walk into the presence of the Emerald Buddha with their shoes on whenever the King has to invite them in for official ceremonial purposes.

As has been already stated, the walls of the chapel and the surrounding buildings are fully decorated with scenes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The precincts of the *Wat Phra Keo* contain numerous other objects of interest such as giants, bronze images of lions, elephants, oxen and monkeys of good modern workmanship. One is constantly reminded of the Hindu pantheon in Indian temples as he goes through these structures in Bangkok, and led wondering whether Buddhism has not undergone a process of dilution. I have been in Ceylon, Cambodia and other Buddhist countries and visited Buddhist centres in India, but I was never struck with modernism in these places as was the case when I was in Bangkok.

We have to take note of other important Bangkok temples, even though we cannot detain ourselves with a full description of the same. The *Wat Phra Jetubon* was built in 1793 by King Rama I and contains several of the statues collected from the ruined city of Ayudhia. The *Wat Sudat* was projected by King Rama I and completed during the reign of Rama III and renovated by King Chulalongkron. The most conspicuous feature of this building is its double roof, something unique in Siamese architecture. The *Wat Arun* supplies the most significant landmark in Bangkok in the shape of its high tower,



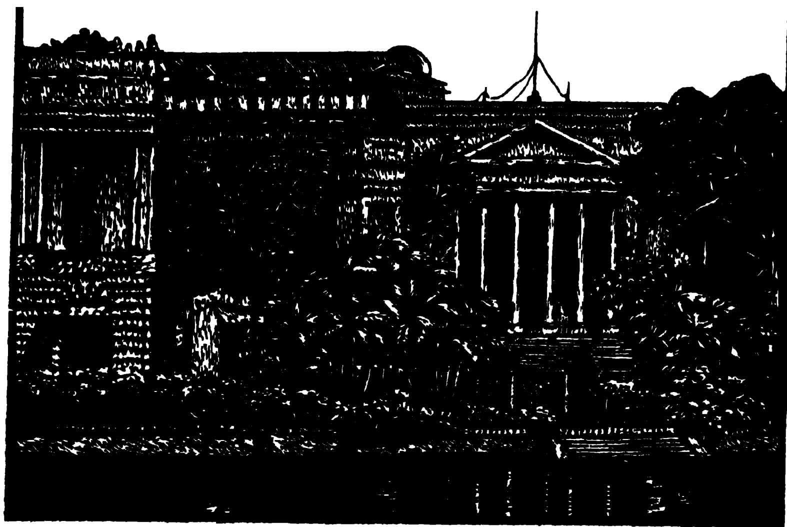
Siamese girl guides on Parade. Part of the popular rejoicings in Bangkok after the revolution.

measuring seventy-four metres, which commands a panoramic view of the entire city and the harbour. The *Wat Benchamabopitr* is the most recent construction in Bangkok during the regime of King Chulalongkron, built with choice materials, including Italian marble and Chinese glazed tiles, and represents the beauties of modern Siamese architecture. On the whole, Siam offers the visitor a plethora of artistic gems. Though the exterior suggests affinity with Chinese modes of construction, the interior and the entire spirit of these edifices bear ample testimony to the inspiration which India has lent to Siam.

A few more of the peculiarities of the Siamese race must be noted here. The courtesan flourishes in Siam to a degree not

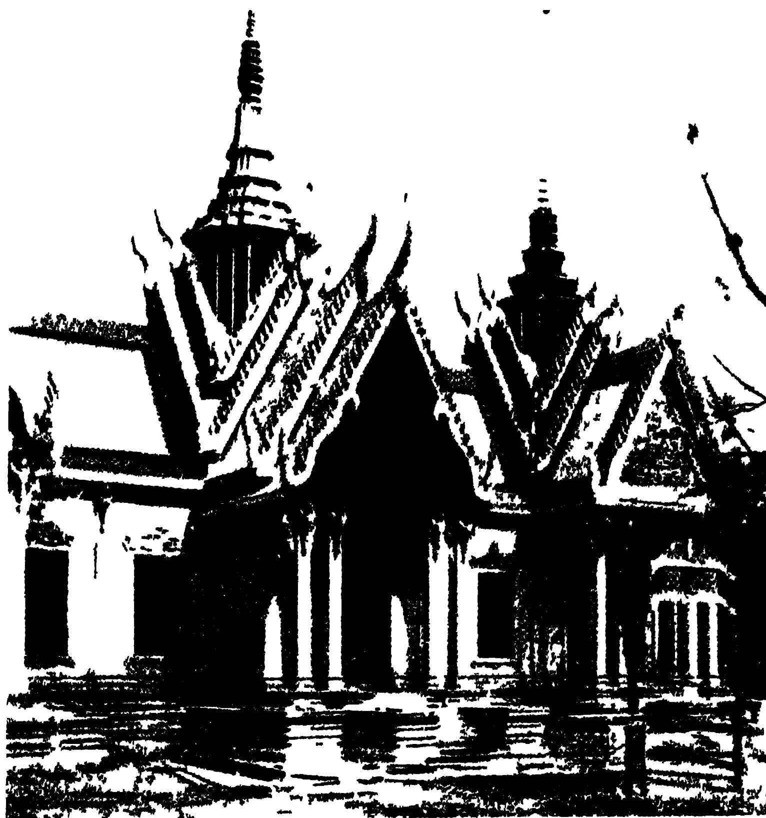
easily heard of in other countries. The Siamese women are uniformly "Eton-cropped." The unwary visitor may unwittingly jump to the conclusion that this method of adjusting the coiffure is due to modern Western influences. This is not so. The story goes that during the Siamese-Burman wars of the middle ages, the people of Siam felt it necessary to draft their women folk also into battalions for service on the western front. Partly to cover up this fact and make the Siamese amazons look like men soldiers and partly for the sake of efficiency they had their ladies' hair dressed up into the "Eton-crop." Samson Agonistes would have wailed at this vandalism, especially when the plaids of the fair sex was concerned. But today this historical accident has been sedulously perpetuated. I believe there is some truth in this story. It is for the following reason. The average Siamese dress both for ladies and gentlemen is almost identical, but for the fact that the ladies' blouse betrays their sex. They uniformly turn up their modest *Dhottai* through their thighs and fasten it up at the back, in the same manner in which the Indian peasant does. Of course, the influence of the West is being gradually felt in Siam at the present day. The "three-piece suit" which made the modern western "flapper" what she is today is gradually catching the imagination of the unsophisticated Siamese wench of yesterday. The Boy Scout and the Girl Guide movement of the recent times has also added to this growing modern tendencies in Siam. Even Her Majesty Queen Rambhai has set the seal of approval upon modern tendencies in the sartorial sequences of Siam. The influence of the Palace upon feminine fashion in Siam has been recognized to be supreme. And there is a feeling that Siam is now attempting to achieve what Japan has achieved during the past sixty years. Whatever the import of these tendencies may be, the fact remains that it is a most picturesque scene which the civilian population present when they march past during any national ceremony or festival.

With a rich historical past, with potential natural resources, with the artistic genius sedulously preserved, Siam is bound to come to the forefront of Asiatic States within a measurable distance of time. The reign of the present King is very important since it was during the past two years that the "revolution" has remarkably changed the *format* of the Siamese structure.



The Calcutta University (Woodcut)
Artist—Mr. Narendra Kesari Roy





A Fine Specimen of Siamese Architecture



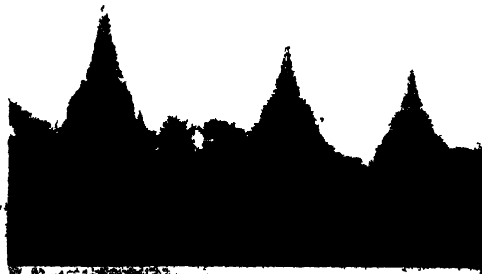
Representing the beauties of Siamese Architecture


Some of the magnificent ruins of Ayudhia


What remains of the ancient group of temples in Ayudhia


The Emerald Buddha of Bangkok

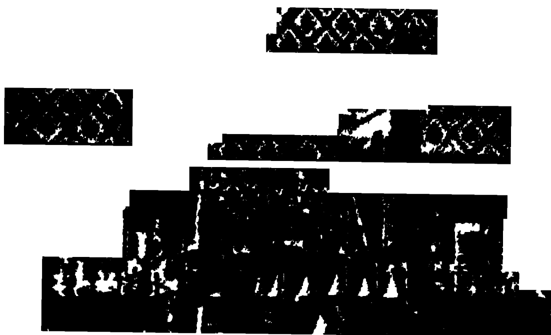

The Giant Buddha of Ayudbia


The Triple Pagoda of Ayudhia


An architectural gem of th Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Bangkok



A Siamese Village



The Coronation Hall
Bangkok



Spring Time Pastoral fête
in Siam

MAHATMA GANDHIJI IN ORISSA



1. Mahatmaji at the public meeting at Kendrapara
2. Mahatmaji in a *Harijan* bustee at Lakhandur
3. Mahatmaji selling a hand fan by public auction
4. Mahatmaji resting on the road-side after a six-mile walk
5. Mahatmaji begging at a meeting at Jajpur

NOTES

Latest British History of India condemns Separate Communal Electorates

Indian students of political literature are aware of the condemnation and criticism of separate communal electorates to be found in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Report of the Indian Central Committee and other official publications—in spite of which, however, they continue to find favour with the bureaucracy. In fact, the White Paper has proposed a larger variety of separate electorates, on the basis of the British Government's Communal Decision, than those which exist now or were ever demanded. Therefore, the fact that a work on Indian history, written by two British authors and published by Macmillan and Co., in May last, points out the evils of and condemns separate electorates need not rouse any hopes of their early disappearance. Nevertheless, it is interesting to find Mr. Edward Thompson and Mr. C. T. Garratt writing in their book on *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* as follows on the subject:

> The Muslims specifically demanded separate electorates, and the Hindu leaders conceded the principle in the 'Lucknow Pact' of 1916. Their effect was wholly bad. It is not only that they have led Indians to organize along sectarian lines, for this was probably inevitable, and caste grouping occurs even within the Hindu constituencies, but the system throws up the worst type of pugnacious fanatic, who loves 'to prove his doctrines orthodox by apostolic blows and knocks.' The feeling that great changes were going to take place and the prospect of some actual transfer of responsibility and control over appointments, have combined to rouse all the meaner political passions, especially in those provinces, like Bengal and the Panjab, where the two communities are nearly equal in number. Middle class unemployment and a family system which elevates nepotism into something like a virtue, have also helped to embitter the politico-religious struggle. A further and very grave disadvantage of the communal electorate is that an alteration in the parties can only occur through wholesale proselytism or through differences in the birth-rate. And both sides are stirred to new missionary enterprise, when the reward is not only a soul but also a permanent addition to one's voting strength. The activities of the Arya Samaj amongst the poor Muslims and the various Mohammedan bodies amongst the lower caste Hindus, have aroused the greatest bitterness. The politicians get all the support they need from an irresponsible press, while ill-feeling amongst the educated classes is kept alive by scurrilities like the *Rangila Rasul.*

We do not know whether the authors intend to suggest that nepotism is a failing peculiar to Indians, or that the community to which the writer of *Rangila Rasul* belonged was alone responsible for scurrilities, or that the Indian Press has a monopoly of irresponsibility. But otherwise on the whole Messrs. Thompson and Garratt are quite fair and just in their criticism of separate communal electorates.

The passage quoted above may, however, produce in the reader's mind the wrong impression that the demand for separate electorates *originated* with the Muslims. We have repeatedly shown that it did not originate with them. This has been shown in Major B. D. Basu's *India Under the British Crown* also, from which a few sentences are quoted below:

> A deputation of the Mahomedan leaders, therefore, waited on the Viceroy on the 1st October under the leadership of the Aga Khan. The deputation pointed out that the position of Moslems "should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they made to the defence of the Empire." It also claimed provision for the election of Mahomedans by special Mahomedan electorate. —P. 424.

After quoting from and commenting on Lord Minto's reply to the deputation, the author writes:

The late Maulana Mohamed Ali said in the course of his Indian National Congress Presidential Address that this Mahomedan deputation was "a command performance," which means that the deputation was got up at the suggestion of the authorities. This statement appears to be confirmed by the following passage in Morley's *Recollections*, vol. ii, p. 325:

"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was *your* early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. (Mahometan) hare."

Other corroborative evidence, and that too from official publications, is also available. For example, the following passages are to be found in the *Report of the Indian Central Committee*, published by the Government of India:

"58. It was at the time of the Morley-Minto Reforms that the claim for communal electorates was advanced by the Muhammadans, *inspired by certain officials*." (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*) P. 113.

Again:

"66. It is often said that we must adhere to the promise made by Lord Minto's Government to the Muhammadan Deputation that waited on him in 1907-8 We will not bring forward the fact, which is now established beyon ddoubt, that there was no spontaneous demand by the Muslims at that time for separate electorates, but it was only put forward by them at the instigation of an official whose name is now well known." P. 117.

These two passages are taken from the Memorandum by the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair, Chairman of the Indian Central Committee—a Hindu, the Hon. Raja Nawab Ali Khan, member of the Committee—a Mussalman, and the Hon. Sardar Bahadur Shivdev Singh Uberoi, member of the Committee—a Sikh. There is no criticism or contradiction of the statements made in these passages either in the body of the Report of the Indian Central Committee or the Minutes of Dissent submitted by different members, Muslim and non-Muslim.

Therefore, there appears to be no doubt that the device of the separate communal electorate can rightly claim British parentage.

"Terrorism in Bengal is the Same As Ever"

Bombay, June 17.

"Terrorism in Bengal is the same as ever." This is the gist of a conversation which a representative of *The Times of India* had with Mr. Stevens, District Magistrate of Midnapore, who sailed yesterday by the *Mantua* on seven months' holiday.

Mr. Stevens remarked, "The leaders' appeal to the terrorists is all talk, which does not cut much ice." He seemed to suggest that a strong Government was the only means of putting down terrorism.

"How do you find Midnapore now ? Have the people sobered down ? Has terrorism shown signs of subsiding ?" inquired the *Times* reporter.

"No, not a bit. It is the same as before," replied Mr. Stevens. -*United Press*.

Perhaps the opinions of Mr. Stevens represent the opinions of British officials and non-officials in Bengal and in India in general. If the "leaders" could turn successful detectives and bring all terrorists, bound hand and foot, to the police, perhaps that in their opinion—and that alone—could have "cut ice." But then that would imply that the executive and the police were sinecurists and that the people were able by themselves to tackle the most difficult job and were, therefore, fit for self-rule. As, however, in the official view, the people of India, including their leaders, have no capacity for and are not fit for self-rule, it is no wonder that no achievement, relating to terrorism, that can "cut much ice," stands to their credit.

Mr. Stevens "seemed to suggest that a strong Government was the only means of putting down terrorism." The districts of Chittagong and Midnapur have been practically under Martial Law for years ; and latterly Darjeeling, too, has been under it. The liberties of the people, particularly of the younger generation, have been greatly curtailed. In fact the whole of Bengal has been under the operation of panicky emergency legislation for years. The possession of arms with intent to murder and attempt to murder has been made a capital offence, and already some men accused of such offence have been executed. Perhaps this is not 'strong' Government. But what is ? If 'strong' Government were defined as that Government which would succeed in eradicating terrorism, that would be arguing in a circle, and there would be no definite and fixed standard of governmental 'strength.'

And perhaps, to the horror of Messrs. Stevens and Co., it would be found that "Government of the people for the people and by the people" was the strongest for the purpose ! Would the prescription contained

in the following passage satisfy Mr. Stevens and men of his views ?

> "The only way to rule India is the way Orientals understand, is by stern reprisals, and, when needed, strong force. They would understand if a list of a hundred leading Congress-wallahs was prepared and they were made hostages for the safety of British subjects. For each brutal assassination the next Congress name on the list would be shot, and so on."—*Saturday Review*. (London), May 12, 1934.

The prescription combines the qualities of brutality, simplicity and futility, though it is based on false assumptions.

Compulsory Education Not a Success in U. P. !

According to the British assistant director of public instruction in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, "compulsory primary education for boys in U. P. does not appear a success." But the system of compulsory free universal elementary education has been a success in all free countries where it has been worked under the direction of its nationals, who wanted it to succeed and were determined to make it a success.

Austrian Independence and Dependence

Hitler and Mussolini, it has been officially stated, have decided to preserve the independence of Austria—and, of course, her dependence on Hitler and Mussolini. But if the two dictators fall out, on whom must she depend and of whom must she be independent ?

The Research Institute of Visva-bharati

The Research Institute of Visva-Bharati is the highest department of Rabindranath Tagore's university at Santiniketan. It carries on researche on various Indological subjects and helps advanced students to do so under the guidance of its principal, Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri. He himself teaches Vedic and classical Sanskrit, different branches of Indian philosophy, Pali, Prakrit, the Avesta (scripture of the Zoroastrians or Parsis) to some extent, and Tibetan. He combines in himself the depth and accuracy of knowledge of the old type of pandits and the broad outlook and capacity for research of Western Indologists, having received his training in various branches of Sanskritic learning under the most distinguished pandits of his time in Benares, and having carried on research work for years with such European colleagues as Dr. Winternitz of Prague, Dr. Sylvain Levi of Paris, Dr. Sten Konow of Norway, Dr. Lesny of Prague and Drs. Carlo Formici and Giuseppe Tucci of Rome, etc. He is a Sastri of the Panjab University. Besides possessing an accurate knowledge of Sanskrit literature in general, he has made a special study of Mimansa, Vedanta, Vedas, Pali, Prakrit, Buddhism, Jainism, and Philology.

His knowledge of the Avesta enables him to undertake and guide comparative studies relating to the Indian and Iranian branches of the Indo-European family. Much Indian literature is extant in Tibetan and Chinese in translations into those languages. In some cases, where the originals existed in India, Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri was able to compare them with the translations and discovered various readings, and where the originals had been lost here, he could re-translate the Tibetan and Chinese versions into Sanskrit, because of his possession of the knowledge of Tibetan and Chinese. His knowledge of English, French and German enables him to acquaint himself with the researches made by English, American, French and German Indologists. He has initiated and trained students from different parts of the country in Tibeto-Sanskrit studies. In addition to Indian students he has had students from Ceylon, Burma, China, Japan, Mongolia and Germany. Students under his personal guidance have obtained the Ph. D. degree and the Premchand Roychand Studentship of the Calcutta University.

The depth, accuracy and extent of his scholarship have been recognized by the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Panjab, etc., by their making him an examiner in the highest examinations in such subjects as Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Linguistics, Indian philosophy, Indian vernaculars, etc. He is the author or editor of many books known to savants, and has contributed many original papers in English, Hindi and Bengali to different journals of high standing and commemorative volumes in India and abroad.

As the new session of Visva-bharati begins this month, it is to be hoped that research students will join the Research Institute in time. Only a few students can be taken. Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri, having been in Benares for years as a pupil of great pandits, can speak Sanskrit with correct pronunciation fluently ; so even those advanced students of Sanskrit who cannot speak and understand Bengali, Hindi or English, but can speak and understand Sanskrit, can profit by his instruction and guidance.

Lady Tata Memorial Trust Scholarships

The Trustees of the Lady Tata Memorial announced the award of the following scholar-

ships for the year 1934-35 on the 18th June last on the occasion of the third anniversary of the death of Lady Tata.

Indian Scholarships

Indian Scholarships of the value of Rs. 150 per month each for scientific investigations having a bearing on the alleviation of human suffering.

1 Mr. Har Dayal Srivastava, M. Sc.
To study Anatomy and Life-history of Helminth Parasites of Man and Animals, under the direction of Prof. D. R. Bhattacharya, D. Sc., Ph. D., and Dr. H. R. Mehra, M. Sc., Ph. D., Department of Zoology, University of Allahabad, (Second year's award).

2. Mr. Sudhendu Kumar Ganguli, M. B.
To study Chemotherapy of Anti-malarial Drugs, under the direction of Lt.-Col. R. N. Chopra, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., Professor of Pharmacology, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, (Second year's award).

3. Mr. Nirode Chandra Datta, M.Sc., A.I.Sc.,
To study the role of Tin in Nutrition and the Effect of Body of Mineral Contamination of food-stuffs during cooking and storage, under the direction of Prof. V. Subrahmanyan, D.Sc., Department of Chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore. (Second year's award).

4. Dr. M. V. Radhakrishnarao, M.B., B.S.
To conduct clinical and pathological investigation of Decompensated Portal Cirrhosis and allied diseases, under the direction of Prof. T. S. Tiramurti, M.B.C.M., Department of Pathology, Andhra University. (Second year's award).

5. Mr. Madhab Chandra Nath, M.Sc.
To carry out Chemical and Biological Analyses of Proteins of Indian Foodstuffs under the direction of Dr. K. P. Basu, D.Sc., Bio-chemist, Dacca University.

6. Mr. Atma Ram Rajavanshi, M. Sc.
Researches into Actinotherapy in the Prevention of Metabolic Diseases under the direction of Prof. N. R. Dhar, D.Sc., F.I.C., I.E.S., Chemistry Department, Allahabad University.

7. Mr. Basheshwar Das 'Kochhar,' M. Sc.
To conduct Syntheses and Pharmacological studies of Anti-malarial Compounds of Quinoline group, under the direction of Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar, D.Sc., Department of Chemistry, and Lt.-Col. D. H. Rai, M. A., M. D., M.R.C.P., Professor of Pharmacology, Panjab University.

8. Mr. Samant Keshao Mahableshwar, M. Sc.
To elucidate the Constitution of Ergosterol, under the direction of Prof. I. M. Heilbron, D.Sc., F.R.S., Department of Chemistry, University of Manchester.

9. Mr. Kedar Nath Gaind, M.Sc.
To synthesize new Compounds possessing local Anaesthetic properties, under the direction of Dr. P. C. Guha, D.Sc., Department of Organic Chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

10. Mr. Yelandur Venkanna Srinivasa Rao, M.Sc., A.I.I.Sc.
To study the Proteins of Indian Foodstuffs, Chemical and Biological analyses, under the direction of Prof. V. Subrahmanyan, D.Sc., Department of Bio-chemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Foreign Scholarships

International Scholarships of the value of £400 per annum, each for research in diseases of the blood with special reference to leucaemias.

Of the eight scholarships awarded to foreigners, two of the recipients are of British nationality, two Danish, one French, two German, and one Russian.

Acceptance or Rejection?

The British Government have not asked the people of India or any organization or organizations representing them to say whether the White Paper or the Communal Decision is acceptable to them. On the contrary, they profess to believe that these two interrelated things have the approval of the vast majority of Indians. Hence the importance of the Indian people or of any sections of them expressing disapproval of the White Paper including the Communal Decision lies mainly in contradicting this British official profession of belief and in possibly convincing the foreign public that the British assumption is wrong. Congressmen and the Liberals have all along condemned the White Paper and the Communal Decision. The Hindu Mahasabha has condemned the Communal Decision and to some extent the White Paper also. The communalist view is the preponderant one in the Muslim community. The Communal Decision is acceptable to the majority of Mussalmans who are communalists, if not also to many Nationalist Mussalmans. The only fault they find with it is that it has not given them *all* that *they* wanted. They want improvements in the White Paper, because if more power is thereby transferred from British to Indian hands, it will not be a transfer to the Hindu majority, who have been reduced to the position of a minority, but to a majority of which the Mussalmans will form the most important Indian group.

Taking the Indian people as a whole, it is correct to say that the White Paper, including the Communal Decision, is not acceptable to the majority of politically-minded Indians—nothing can be said of other Indians, one way or the other. But such is the power of British propaganda and the power of the British Government and news agencies to prevent the truth from being conveyed and published abroad, that most probably the foreign public including the British public continue to have exactly the opposite idea of Indian public opinion. Still we must all go on publishing

the truth in India and abroad to the best of our ability.

Our rejection of the White Paper and the Communal Decision can have no practical value so far as British action is concerned. Of course, it is not unthinkable or unimaginable or impossible that our rejection of these abominations may influence British action. But what is most probable—nay, almost certain—is that the present British ministry will give effect to them as they are: only, owing to the British Die-hard compaign against the White Paper proposals, more safe-guards may be added to them, making them still more reactionary and anti-Indian and anti-democratic than they are.

If, believing that the majority of politically-minded Indians are against the White Paper, the British Government dropped it along with the Communal Decision, no true Indian Nationalist, whatever his religious persuasion or political creed, would shed a tear for it. Not that India's political condition is at present satisfactory; but it would be worse under the White Paper constitution.

If the majority of politically-minded Indians supported the White Paper, that would supply Sir Samuel Hoare with a weapon to fight Mr. Winston Churchill, and to save the White Paper from the onslaughts of the latter and his fellow die-hards. But we do not want that abomination to be saved. So just as we do not want to help Mr. Winston Churchill and his gang, so we do not want to help Sir Samuel Hoare and his caravan.

Congress Working Committee on the White Paper and Communal Decision

For convenience of reference the authorized report of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the policy of the Congress regarding the White Paper proposals and the Communal Decision is printed below:

The Congress Parliamentary Board having asked the Working Committee to enunciate the Congress policy regarding the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award, the Working Committee declares the Congress policy as follows:—

"The White Paper in no way expresses the will of the people of India, has been more or less condemned by almost all Indian political parties and falls far short of the Congress goal, if it does not retard progress towards it. The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible with power, if necessary, to important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by electors belonging to such minorities.

The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically. Among other things, it will be the duty of the Constituent Assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safeguarding their interests.

Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the Communal Award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude towards it. The Congress claims to represent equally all communities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in view of the division of opinion, can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion exists.

At the same time it is necessary to re-declare the policy of the Congress on the communal question. No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution which, though falling short of the national view-point, is agreed to by all parties concerned and conversely to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.

Judged by the national standard, the Communal Award is wholly unsatisfactory, besides being open to serious objections on other grounds. It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means for arriving at an agreed solution and not by an appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any outside authority."

Neither Accepting Nor Rejecting Evil

When Abraham Lincoln became president of the United States of America, he became theoretically the supreme representative of the slave-holding Southern States of the Union as well as of the anti-slavery Northern States. But, because the States were "sharply divided on the question of" slavery, did he say, "in view of the division of opinion," that he "can neither accept nor reject" slavery? Did he neither try nor un-try to liberate the slaves? History tells that he struck a blow and freed the slaves. No cause espoused by anyone who dared, if need be, to be in the minority of one with Truth and Right on his side, has ever failed.

When Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was convinced that child-widows ought to be married, did he say, "in view of the division of opinion" on the subject, among Hindus,

child-widows should neither be married nor remain unmarried ?

When Mahatma Gandhi was convinced that untouchability was an evil, did he say, "in view of the division of opinion" among Hindus, Harijans should be allowed neither to enter nor to not-enter the temples, neither to use nor to un-use public roads, schools, wells, etc. ? Did he refuse either to drink or to not-drink cup of water offered by a Harijan ?

These are not, of course, cases parallel to the Congress neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Decision. We mention them only to remind the public that on numerous memorable occasions sitting on the fence has not made for the progress of humanity. There is this much of resemblance between slavery and the Communal Decision that, as the United States of America could not possibly have remained *united* and become and remained really *free* if slavery had not been destroyed, so India cannot possibly become and remain *united* and cannot possibly become and remain *free* unless the Communal Decision is upset. That decision is not only the result but would also be, if not unsettled, the cause of the perpetuation of our slavery. That decision is objectionable not merely because it gives Hindus less seats than they are entitled to on the basis of population or any other basis, but also because it is anti-national, anti-democratic, makes for the disruption and disintegration instead of the unification and solidarity of the communities and classes inhabiting India.

Therefore, Congress as a *national* organization ought to condemn and reject this *wholly* anti-national decision in unequivocal terms, even at the risk of having a smaller number of Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh or other adherents. In the long run it is not number but strict adherence to right principles which tells.

We hope, therefore, when Congress meets next at Bombay, the question of the acceptance or rejection of the Communal Award will be allowed to be brought forward for consideration. We are rather hazy about the proposed Constituent Assembly and are not disposed to wait for it. And, may we add, that an *essentially*, even if only partially, national constitution cannot be expected from a Constituent Assembly which is probably to be formed in part by separate election of minority representatives.

We know the Working Committee of the Congress has neither the powers nor the responsibilities of the Congress. So we do not blame it for not making a definite pronouncement on the Communal Decision.

The Congress Working Committee's Resolution

We do not know whether the Working Committee of the Congress refrained from accepting or rejecting the Communal Decision because of its lack of power to do so. But the main reason which appears to have weighed with them is that if they condemned the decision outright, Muslim Congressmen would have no chance to enter the Assembly. Hence to give them a chance, the Working Committee have adopted a non-committal attitude. We shall be glad if this attitude helps Nationalist Muslim candidates for the Assembly. But will it ? In any case, the Nationalist Muslims should feel grateful to the Working Committee for the friendly gesture made towards them by temporarily shelving principle.

Had the Working Committee rejected the Communal Decision outright, communalist Muslim candidates could have told their electors (all Mussalmans, mostly of the communalist variety, and supporters of the Communal Decision), "Do not vote for Muslim Congressmen, for Congress has not accepted but has rejected the Communal Decision." In spite of the Working Committee's non-acceptance and non-rejection of the decision, Communalist Muslim candidates may, however, *now* tell their constituencies, "Do not vote for Muslim Congressmen, for Congress has not accepted the Communal Decision. It is true that it has not rejected it either. But those who are not definitely *with* us are *against* us." Is there much practical and effective difference between these two probable exhortations to Muslim constituencies on the part of communalist Muslim candidates for the Assembly ?

Nevertheless, we shall be sincerely glad if the appeals of Mr. Sherwani, Mr. Asaf Ali and other Nationalist Muslim leaders are largely responded to by Muslims and if in consequence

large numbers of Muslims become loyal members of Congress and Nationalist Muslim candidates succeed in entering the Assembly. The strength of the Nationalist group in the coming Legislative Assembly depends on the success of the Nationalist Muslim candidates to some extent. If they can outnumber the Communalist Muslim M. L. A.'s—if in any case the Muslim and non-Muslim elected *Nationalist* M. L. A.'s combined can clearly outnumber any other elected groups combined, that would be some definite and tangible proof of the true fact that Nationalists represent the majority of politically-minded Indians, even according to the voters' rolls prepared by the bureaucracy, and that therefore Nationalist condemnation of the White Paper is really practically entire India's condemnation.

But if the Nationalist group in the Assembly be not as large as Congressmen of the Swarajist mentality anticipate, the Working Committee's non-committal attitude on the communal question would prove fruitless. There are other reasons why the Working Committee's compromise dictated by expediency may not be of practical advantage. The Hindu Mahasabha leaders had already warned the Congress leaders that if the Communal Decision were not rejected by them, the Mahasabha would bring forward its own candidates to contest the seats open to Hindus, and Mr. Aney has said that the Democratic Swaraj Party in Maharastra had agreed to cease to be a separate party and to join the Congress on the understanding that the Communal Decision would be rejected. Now that it has not been rejected, it would be open to both the Mahasabha and Democratic Swaraj Parties to run their own candidates. It is not yet known what they would do. Should they actually do so, and should some of their candidates be not staunch Nationalists it would further weaken the Nationalist position in the Assembly. These two parties may, however, conclude that as the Congress Working Committee has not accepted the Communal Decision, they need not set up their own candidates, on the charitable principle that those who are not definitely against them are with them. But if they do set up their own candidates, there will be no harm if these persons be staunch Nationalists.

The opinion expressed by the Working Committee on the White Paper is unambiguous and expressed in language free from vehemence. In the abstract, a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly would be a satisfactory alternative to the White Paper constitution. But as we have already said, we have no clear idea of what that Assembly would be and when and by whom it would be convened, nor how its decisions would be given effect to.

The words, "with power, if necessary, to important minorities to have their representatives [to the Constituent Assembly] elected exclusively by electors belonging to such minorities," seem somewhat ominous as conceding to important minorities exclusive separate election of representatives to the Constituent Assembly as a right. From this concession, would not the embodiment in the constitution itself (to be framed by the Constituent Assembly) of the right of separate election to legislatures follow naturally as a corollary? If minorities can have the "right" of separate election of their representatives to the Constituent Assembly, why can they not have such a "right" as regards legislatures? Does the Congress or does it not hold joint electorates and joint elections as essential features of a *Nationalistic* constitution?

> "The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically."

Not necessarily. For, it is only with regard to the Communal Decision that Sir Samuel Hoare, cross-examined by Sir N. N. Sircar, said that "Government had said their last word": that is to say, though other parts of the White Paper might be altered, the Communal Decision was a "settled fact." Of course, in politics there is no settled fact—other settled facts have been unsettled. But the unsettling has required long and strenuous and immense struggle. Hence, the words of the Working Committee's resolution, "The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically," appear rather too easy-going. All the parts of the White Paper do not so hang together that either all of them must be scrapped or all of them must be kept intact. It is quite feasible to scrap some, keep others intact and alter the rest. And how is the White Paper going to

lapse, what is the exact meaning of this lapsing, and who is to bring about this lapse and how? We confess we do not understand all this. The White Paper proposals are not a house of cards to be blown down by a Working Committee resolution or by an adverse resolution carried in the next Legislative Assembly.

> "The Congress claims to represent equally all communities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in view of the division of opinion [on the Communal Decision], can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion exists."

Here the Working Committee expects something as improbable, if not impossible, as the British Premier and Ministry *seemed* to do. The latter demanded an agreed settlement as a solution of the communal problem. But as the so-called delegates to the so-called Round Table Conference (for which the British Government had selected as "representatives" of the Muslim community only inveterate communalists and also from the Hindu and Indian Christian communities some inveterate communalists as their "representatives") could not, as was natural under the circumstances, arrive at and present such an agreed solution, Mr. MacDonald gave his Communal Decision, miscalled an Award.

Of course, Mr. MacDonald wanted an agreed solution, from persons many of whom could never possibly agree, knowing full well that there would not be any such agreement and that, therefore, he would be able to impose his will on Indians under the plea that, as they had failed to agree among themselves, he had to give his decision perforce. On the contrary, the Working Committee really want an agreed solution from motives of the sincerest patriotism. We shall be delighted if their optimism justifies itself. But without in the least pretending to be prophets, which we certainly are not, we doubt whether a time would come—at least in the near future—when "the division of opinion" on the Communal Decision would *completely* disappear from among *all* the different communities. So the Committee may have to keep up their non-committal attitude for an indefinite length of time. In the present state of the human group-mind it is too much to expect that those who have got an excessive advantage would willingly give it up or that those who have been humiliated and deprived of their just dues, which they had earned too by their ability, public spirit, sufferings and sacrifice, and who had been deprived of facilities for serving their country in due measure, would willingly submit to such humiliation, injustice and deprivation.

We are fully conscious that Congress has to tackle a very difficult problem and we recognize that Congress leaders are making sincerely patriotic efforts to solve it. Perhaps an *absolutely* national solution is not at present feasible. But the solution which, though falling short of the *fully* national view-point, should be acceptable to the Congress must possess at least the minimum of the essentials of a nationalistic solution. Perhaps the leaders would cogitate and deliberate to determine this essential minimum. May it be hoped that this minimum will include joint electorates? Mahatma Gandhi fasted, unto death if needed, partly to bring about joint election of representatives by "depressed" and "upper" class Hindus. But now he appears to be prepared to give up the principle of joint election by Hindus, Muslims and others, for saving or securing the (nominal ?) adherence to the Congress of a small number of Muslims.

In July, 1931, the Congress Working Committee, while deviating to some extent from pure nationalism by accepting the principle of reservation of seats for minorities, did not give up joint electorates. Is there going to be a still greater departure from nationalism pure, unadulterated and undiluted?

> "... the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means for arriving at an agreed solution and not by an appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any outside authority."

We fully appreciate this self-respecting attitude. Moreover, if the communities concerned can produce an agreed alternative to the Communal Decision, Mr. MacDonald is pledged to accept it—though imperialist politicians do not consider their pledges inviolable. So, if any Indian party appealed to the British Government, an agreed solution would strengthen the appeal. Hence, we are in favour of trying to have an agreed solution.

But we are afraid, Congress leaders in their anxiety to secure surface unity may be led to accept an alternative to the Communal Decision between which and that decision there may be as much difference as between tweedledum and tweedledee.

By "any outside authority" perhaps the League of Nations is meant by the Congress Working Committee. But that authority, perhaps anticipating the attitude of the Congress Working Committee, has already neither accepted nor rejected the Communal Decision !

The Communal Decision and the Next Legislative Assembly

Congressmen are not the only Nationalists in the country, though it is undoubtedly true that the Congress has a far larger number and proportion of sturdy and self-sacrificing Nationalists than any other organization. So it is likely that the next Legislative Assembly will have some Nationalist members—Hindus among them, who are not Congressmen and hence not bound to carry out Congress mandates. It may be taken for granted that some Hindu non-Congress Nationalist M. L. A. will move a resolution condemning outright or calling in question and proposing amendments to parts of the Communal Decision. Will Congress M.L.A.s support or oppose such a resolution, or will they remain neutral ?

Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney's Resignation And "Withdrawal" Thereof

Pandit Krishnakant Malaviya, who had accompanied his uncle Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to Bombay and has returned to Allahabad, being interviewed by a press representative *re* his uncle's resignation of membership of the Congress Parliamentary Board and withdrawal of the same later, said :

> It was not correct that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had withdrawn his resignation. He said that Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board had undertaken to reconsider the objections raised by Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Aney to the resolution relating to the Communal Award. Pandit Malaviya objected to the use of the phrase withdrawal of resignation, saying that his convictions remained the same and if he was not convinced even in the end he might have to resign.
>
> Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya said that on account of Pandit Malaviya's objections, the resolution relating to the Communal Award will be reconsidered at Benares, when it would be open to Mahatma Gandhi to convince Pandit Malaviya and to Pandit Malaviya to convince Mahatmaji about their respective viewpoints on the subject.

As the letters of resignation of the two leaders are not before us and as their objections to the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Communal Decision are to be reconsidered at Benares, the matter must remain undiscussed for the present.

The Congress Socialist Party

Both Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee have expressed pleasure at the rise and existence of a socialist party among Congressmen, objecting, however, to their programme of class war and confiscation of private property, as that implies violence. In reply, Mr. Jai Prakash Narayan, organizing secretary, all India Congress Socialist party, says in the course of a statement to the press :

> The resolution of the Congress Working Committee regarding the Congress Socialist movement shows how reactionary the present leadership of the Congress has become. The programme adopted by the Patna Socialist Conference speaks not of class war but of organizing the masses on the basis of their economic interest and fighting for the removal of their immediate demands and leading them to independence and socialism. Nowhere in the Patna conference has the phrase 'confiscation of private property' occurred. He characterizes the Working Committee's resolution as a challenge to the socialists and concludes, 'let us accept this challenge and put forth our utmost energy to have this reactionary resolution rescinded and our programme adopted by the Bombay Congress.'

The reply of the executive committee of the Bombay Congress Socialist party states in part that the entire policy which the Working Committee has induced the Congress to accept is inconsistent with the Congress creed of independence, and denies that the party is disloyal to the method of non-violence. It asserts that it is as earnest about accepting non-violence as its creed as any other Congressmen.

> Bombay, June 21.
>
> "To import the topic of non-violence into this controversy is only to cloud the issue and create

prejudice. We desire to make it clear that just as other Congressmen accept non-violence as a policy so do the Congress Socialists," says a statement issued by the Bombay Congress Socialist Party in reply to the Working Committee's resolution on the Socialist programme. We feel, says the statement, that the opinion of the Working Committee is based on entire misconception of the nature of class struggle.

"Class struggle is inherent in the capitalist order of society, where a small-propertied class dominates over and exploits the mass of people. Class struggle means no more and no less than expression of irreconcilable antagonism, which is already there. It is only when the masses become politically conscious and desire to create a classless society, where exploitation would find no place, that the dominant class raises the bogey of class war." -*United Press*.

We do not know whether in India and abroad there are any thoroughgoing supporters of the absolute non-employment of physical force by individuals and small and large groups of men even for the attainment of legitimate and righteous objects. But without either accepting or rejecting the doctrine of such wholehoggers, we would certainly rejoice if the Congress Socialist party succeeded in ameliorating the condition of the masses in India by strictly following non-violent methods.

It should be added here that though the Congress is against class war and confiscation of private property, it does not accept the present economic order. The last sentence in the Working Committee's resolution on the economic programme adopted in Bombay on June 18 last reads as follows :

> At the same time the Working Committee is of opinion that the Congress does contemplate wiser and juster use of private property so as to prevent it from exploiting the landless poor, and also contemplates a healthier relationship between capital and labour.

Telegraph Line Between Persia and Afghanistan

An agreement was recently arrived at between the Persian and Afghan Governments for the establishment of direct telegraphic communication and the construction of six miles of line from Hirat to the Persian border wherefrom at present the nearest telegraph station is 18 miles. Both Governments, it is reported, have undertaken the construction of telegraph lines within their respective territories, linking the two neighbouring kingdoms.

The more the countries of the world are linked up with one another for peaceful intercourse the better it would be for the cause of humanity—of civilization and culture.

A Partly Un-national and Partly Self-contradictory Resolution

We have already in previous notes commented upon the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the White Paper and the Communal Decision, because our viewpoint being closely akin to the *National* Congress viewpoint, we have felt constrained to criticize the Working Committee's deviation from the *National* viewpoint. It is necessary to make some additional observations, which may involve some repetition. In our heading the resolution is characterized as partly un-national. It can be called partly anti-national without injustice, but it is better to be moderate in criticism. For the sake of convenience we shall again quote those portions of the resolution which are open to criticism.

> The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage, or as near it as possible, with the power, if necessary, to important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by electors belonging to such minorities.

The mere fact that a constitution is drawn up by a constituent assembly, and not by the British Government, cannot necessarily make it satisfactory or more satisfactory than the White Paper constitution. To be satisfactory, it must in the first place be national—at least fundamentally and essentially so, it must not be anti-national, and in the second place, it must fulfil many other requirements which need not be specified here. Considering the mode of election of the constituent assembly foreshadowed in the resolution, it is quite possible for a constitution, to be drawn up by it, to be vitiated by anti-national communal bias as the White Paper is—to a less or equal or greater extent. For, as the resolution concedes to important minorities the un-national method of separate exclusive communal election of their representatives to the constituent assembly "if necessary," that "necessity" is sure to arise—some community or communities are sure to ask for it and to get it ; and representatives of those communities elected in that way are sure to insist upon the inclusion of separate and exclusive communal election of communal representatives in the constitution itself which is to be

drawn up by the constituent assembly. And either the majority community and the Congress will have to yield to this communal demand, or there will be no agreed constitution: for, according to another part of the Working Committee's resolution, "the Congress is pledged to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties."

In our opinion, therefore, the passage quoted above from the resolution should have ruled out the possibility of any anti-national constitution being drawn up by the constituent assembly by laying down that the constitution must not be un-national or anti-national in any fundamental or essential respects. And the resolution should certainly not have started with a flagrant departure from national lines and principles by indicating its readiness to yield to the communalistic clamour for the exclusive and separate election of communal representatives. And supposing, without admitting, that minorities should have this "right," why are only "important" minorities to have it? What is the standard of importance? Is it not true that the interests of "unimportant" minorities require more attention than those of "important" minorities?

> Among other things it will be the duty of the constituent assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safe-guarding their interests.

Why is it assumed here that the method of representation of important minorities may or must be different from that of the majority and unimportant minorities? In the constitution of no civilized and modern country that we are aware of is such a distinction made between the methods of representation of majorities and unimportant and important minorities. In the League of Nations' Minorities Treaties, which embody the political wisdom of most of the leading nations of the world, no such distinction is recognized. The United States of America, Soviet Russia, etc., are not in the League, it is true. But they, too, do not recognize such a distinction. Assuming, however, without admitting, that minorities require special treatment, the Working Committee's resolution should have definitely shut out even the suggestion or consideration of separate communal electorates, which are un-national, the special treatment being confined to the reservation of a number of seats for the minorities for a definite period or to a system of proportionate representation, or both, and the like.

As regards safe-guarding the interests of minorities, the League of Nations' Minorities Treaties do *not* recognize that any minority group has any separate political and cognate interests, the only minority interests recognized and safe-guarded are those relating to their separate languages, if any, separate religions, if any, separate personal laws, if any, and the like. The Congress practice should be like that of the League of Nations. To recognize the existence of separate political and cognate interests of minorities and in consequence to give them separate sectional representation by separate electorates is to plant a "state within a state," to prevent which, according to Mr. Austin Chamberlain, was the object of the League of Nations' Minority Treaties, and should be the object of all Nation-builders.

> Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the communal award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude on it. The Congress claims to represent equally all communities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in view of division of opinion can neither accept nor reject the communal award as long as division of opinion lasts.

No doubt, the Congress represents all communities in the sense that among Congressmen there are members of all communities or in the sense that members of all communities are eligible for membership of the Congress, provided they accept its principles and 'creed' and fulfil other conditions. But it can hardly be admitted that it represents all communities *equally*.

But from the fact that it represents all communities it does not necessarily follow that it can neither accept nor reject anything on which opinions are divided. On the contrary, it is or should be the privilege and the duty of the Congress to find out what is National and to inculcate it, never minding whether that would increase or reduce the number of its adherents. All sections of the Hindus do not support the anti-untouchability principles and activities of the Congress, and numerous Mussalmans are opposed to it for reasons which need not be stated here. Nevertheless, it has never been said that the

Congress can neither accept nor reject it. Similarly, in no community is there unanimous or practically unanimous adherence to the cult of the charkha. But the Congress enjoins the production and use of khaddar.

We have pointed out in a previous note that if the Congress wants to condemn and reject the Communal Decision only when all communities are against it, it will have to wait for an indefinitely long time—before which that Decision may perhaps breakdown owing to its innate mischievous, vicious and iniquitous character.

In the meantime, being part of an official scheme, it will be given effect to and go on producing "untoward consequences," unless it is effectively opposed. One way to to do so would be for the Congress to boldly denounce it and call on all communities, including as many truly National Muslims as possible, to condemn, oppose and reject it. Such action on the part of the Congress will have the further indirect beneficial result of enabling the public to judge who are the genuine Nationalist Muslims and who are merely liaison officers of the communalist Mussalmans. As in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee, "judged by the National standard the communal award is wholly unsatisfactory besides being open to serious objections on other grounds," the Congress would have ample justification for adopting the course suggested above.

The other method of effectively opposing it, which has been suggested in the resolution, *viz.*, to arrive at an agreed solution of the communal problem, has been partly dealt with in a previous note and will be referred to again.

The resolution proposes neither to accept nor to reject the Communal Decision so long as there is division of opinion on the question. We are afraid this division of opinion would last very much longer than the Working Committee has perhaps anticipated ; and that for very good reasons. Observers of political conditions in India cannot have failed to conclude that in self-defence British imperialists must go on favouring the growth of sectional ambitions and the rise of sectional claims. The greater the National self-consciousness in India—the greater the strength of Nationalism, the greater must be the partiality shown by British imperialists to particular sections of the people which are open to such treatment. Hence, as our Nationalism grows more vigorous, pronounced and articulate, the direct and indirect support to sectionalism and communalism given by British imperialists must grow greater. For this reason, the Congress should not expect communalism to dwindle and die a natural death in the near future. The Congress must directly, definitely, promptly and persistently fight it. For preserving or securing the allegiance of the sectionalists and separatists of any community the Congress cannot make higher bids than those of the British imperialists. If Congress concessions to them increased in arithmetical progression, the British imperialist favours would be showered down upon them in geometrical progression.

> No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution falling short of national which is agreed to by all parties concerned and conversely to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.

Whether *in the future* any solution that is not purely national can be *propounded* by the Congress or not, we do not know. But *in the past* the Congress *has* either propounded or accepted or been a party to solutions that are not purely national ; *e. g.*, the Nehru Report, reservation of seats for minorities, etc.

The second sentence in the above extract reminds us of the story of a man who had abjured meat. One day when he sat down to dinner, along with the soup poured down on his plate there fell a piece of meat. The cook wanted to pick out and throw away that piece. But the diner said, "That which has come of itself should be allowed to remain" ! Similarly, though the Congress will not itself *propound* any not-purely-national solution, it will *accept* (being "pledged" to do so) *any* solution falling short of national which is agreed to by all parties concerned, however communalistic and inimical to the growth of national unity and solidarity and responsible self-rule it may be ! And "conversely," it is pledged to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any

of the said parties, however highly national it may be.

The resemblance suggested above between the abjurer of meat and the Congress must not, of course, be taken literally. For, the abjurer of meat in the story had a lurking lingering liking for meat, whereas the Congress has no such secret liking for communalism, but feels constrained by circumstances to yield to communalist clamour against its principles.

But let us try to be a little logical. The resolution says that the Congress is pledged to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any parties concerned. Now the Communal Decision *is* a solution of the communal problem and it is not agreed to but opposed by the Sikhs to a man and also by innumerable Hindus and others: why not then reject it outright? Perhaps it is to have the privilege and the honour of not being rejected, because it is not an Indian but a British solution!

Suppose the proposed constituent assembly arrives at substantially the same solution as or a worse solution than the Communal Decision, the Congress must then, according to this resolution of its Working Committee, accept it!

> It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the communal award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority.

In a previous note we have commended this self-respecting attitude of the Congress. We do so again. But we beg leave to conclude by putting a supposition, stated above, in an interrogative form. If the agreed solution be more communalistic than national, will the Congress accept it? Are there no such things in politics as right principles? Is it true that the bigger the crowd of supporters —particularly of communalistic supporters—of any scheme, method, or opinion, the better it is?

Did Dr. Ansari Threaten to Resign?

The Leader wrote editorially in its issue dated June 24 last:

> Is it a fact that at Bombay Mahatma Gandhi was faced with two resignations, one resignation (not made known to the public) cabled by Dr. Ansari that if his view was not upheld by the Congress he must resign and the other by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and as stated by the *Hindustan Times* the weak Hindu community's claim had to be ignored to please the Muslims? Is it also true that this time the great Hindu community is not going to allow itself to be treated in this manner and that already some activities are going on, the result of which will show that the community does not consider its interests to be safe in hands where full justice cannot be secured to its interest lest some other interests might get displeased?

The following appeared in the same paper next day:

> Some confirmation, though not authoritative, is available of the report hinted at already in this morning's editorial columns of the *Leader*, that a certain cable was received either by Mahatma Gandhi or by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, from Dr. Ansari when the Working Committee and the Congress Parliamentary Board were considering at Bombay the question of their policy with regard to the communal award.
>
> It is said that in his cable Dr. Ansari, president of the Congress Parlimentary Board, threatened to resign or withdraw from the Board in case they did not accept the position with regard to the communal award suggested by the Swaraj Party at Ranchi prior to the Patna decisions, namely, that they neither accepted nor rejected the communal award.

The Congress and Mahatma Gandhi are in a very unenviable position. Its delicacy and critical nature may be realized from the occasional experience of heads of joint families. In order not to be accused of partiality and in order to appear just, sometimes such a head has to be less than just to his brother or his son and indulgent or over-generous to his cousin or his nephew. But domestic politics are not exactly the same as the politics of nations, nor are the former always a safe guide to the latter.

Father Ethelbert Blatter, S. J.

By the untimely death of Father Ethelbert Blatter, S. J., in his 57th year, India has lost an eminent botanist, a distinguished educationist, a truly pious man and a deeply and broadly human soul. He was born in Switzerland at Rebstein, "a bright little township perched high above the banks of the upper Rhine." As a Swiss he was to his dying day proud to be a son of such a glorious country.

> "His home was nothing less than a castle which had belonged to the Knights Templars, had weathered eight centuries of history and was more

than figuratively haunted by the 'strange enchantments of the past and memories of the day of old'. It is a corner of the earth as inspiring as any spirited lad could wish to roam in. Here it was that the future botanist got his love of nature, of freedom, of spacious and cheerful living, of fun, of humour, of vast horizons." -*The Examiner.*

All through life he kept his boyish jovial spirits. Many people wondered how such a man could become a Jesuit, submit to stern rule, and live and die a poor selfless priest who



Father Ethelbert Blatter, S. J.

asked for no human reward and did not get any. That he was professor of botany and later principal, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, Syndic of the Bombay University and chaplain at Panchgani—these facts do not indicate how much romance there was in the life of this man, whose body was as big as his heart was large. For botanical studies and the collection of materials he made expeditions to Sind and along the Indus, the Rajputana Desert, Kashmir, Assam, and Waziristan. His botanical publications are numerous, only a few of them being : Flowering Season and Climate, The Flora of Aden, The Palms of British India and Ceylon, The Flora of the Bombay Presidency, The Ferns of the Bombay Presidency, On the Flora of Cutch, The Flora of Panchgani, Plant types for College students, A Bibliography of the Botany of British India and Ceylon, Flora Arabica, The Flora of the Indian Desert, Contributions towards a Flora of Baluchistan, Beautiful Flowers of Kashmir, Flora of the Indus Delta, The Flora of Waziristan, and The Bombay Grasses (in the press.)

That in addition to being a botanist Father Blatter was a poet need not cause any surprise ; for botany is not a dismal science.

In collaboration with Father Caius, Father Blatter has left ready a second edition of the late Major B. D. Basu's monumental work on *Indian Medicinal Plants*, so thoroughly revising and rewriting it and making such copious additions that it is practically a new work, double the size of the first edition. It is now in the press. It was a gigantic task but a labour of love all the same.

"He exercised a good influence over his students and many a young man owes his education in character and manliness to Fr. Blatter."

Communal Representation

The subject of communal representation has been engaging public attention for some time past. But that attention has for the most part resulted merely in some persons expressing themselves as being for and some others against it, not in the formation of informed opinion on the part of many. The number of those who have studied the subject is not large. Those who may want to do so will not stand in need of rare books. They may read the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the Simon Commission Report, Report of the Indian Central Committee, the Nehru Report, Sir N. N. Sircar's *Speeches and Pamphlets*, Mr. Shiva Rao's *Select Constitutions of the World*, Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji's pamphlets on the League of Nations' Minority Treaties, the pamphlet entitled *The Communal 'Award'? Examined and Criticised*, with a foreword by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, recently published by the Allahabad Law Journal Press, and the like. In the last-named publication, as pointed out

in a subsequent note in this issue, the reader will find the past opinions of prominent Muslim leaders on separate electorates, all being against them.

Sir C. V. Raman and the Indian Science Association

The Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science was founded in Calcutta in 1876 by the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, the renowned homeopath. Its assets now exceed six lakhs of rupees. It is an all India institution, though the founder was a Bengali and the bulk of the donations have come from Bengalis. The largest single donation to it was that of Rs. 100,000 by the late Babu Bihari Lal Mitra of Calcutta. The most munificent non-Bengali donor was the late Maharaja of Vizianagram, a patient of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, who gave Rs. 50,000. Smaller amounts have been given by a very small number of other non-Bengali donors. We do not at all like any separate mention of Bengalis and non-Bengalis, but have been obliged to state these facts because of interested propaganda meant to produce the wrong impression that Bengalis have done little or nothing for the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Even when Sir (then Mr.) C. V. Raman was an officer in the finance department of the Government of India, he used to carry on scientific research in this Association. Sir Asutosh Mukherji discerned the great scientific ability of the then obscure young researcher and appointed him to the important post of Palit Professor in the Calcutta University. He has been connected with the Science Association for some 27 years and for the greater portion of that period he has been virtually its dictator and all in all, enjoying unchallenged power. This was not without some justification. For, as he said at the meeting of the Association held last month,

> As a Professor of the Calcutta University he worked in this Association in an honorary capacity and devoted much more attention to the work of the Association than to his work in the College of Science. This was a subject of criticism both inside and outside the University. But he never concealed the fact that he worked in two laboratories and he used to say that in one of them he worked but did not get any pay but in the other he did not work but got his pay. —*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

It was the researches which he carried out in this Association and the discoveries which he made there that secured for him the Nobel Prize in Physics. This was not only an unprecedented achievement and honour for an Oriental, but it made the Association also famous. In addition to bringing fame to the Association, though at the expense of the Calcutta University in more senses than one, he rendered service to it in another way. He applied for and obtained a grant from the Government of India for carrying on its work. Thus he was in these respects a well-wisher and benefactor of the institution.

These facts, as well as his eminent scientific ability, his great energy and his powers of speaking, show what he has achieved and what more he can achieve. But, like some other gifted and masterful men, he made a mistake as regards the means and methods of securing the permanence and progressive efficiency and usefulness of a public institution. For gaining such an object the co-operation of all sincere and fit men should be welcome. But far from seeking and welcoming such co-operation, he excluded even a man like Sir P. C. Ray—not to speak of the exclusion of other qualified men who are not so famous as Acharya Ray—and filled the managing committee with his own nominees, turning it into a coterie. Therefore, the institution ceased to be managed and looked after in the way that it should have been. Dr. Raman is now the Director of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, and, therefore, no longer a resident of Calcutta. Nevertheless, he wanted to maintain his exclusive hold over the Indian Science Association in Calcutta. For that reason, he wanted to change its rules in such a way that no one might in future become a member of the Association and of the Managing Committee who was not a nominee, protege, or creature of his. Some details require to be known for understanding this manoeuvre.

Under the rules of the Association its managing committee has complete power to admit any applicant to or exclude him from its ordinary membership. Thus hitherto Sir C. V. Raman and the members of the managing

committee (his nominees) have been able to keep out "undesirable" men. But the managing committee could not prevent any one from being a life member. One could be a life member of the Association by giving Rs. 500 or more to the Association or Rs. 250 or more to the Mahendra Lal Sircar Physics Professorship fund. Such a donor became a member automatically by virtue of the donation. The change which Dr. Raman wanted to make was that even such a donor could be a member only after his election and admission to ordinary membership by the managing committee.

This change he sought to make by calling a special general meeting to be held before the annual meeting. Somehow his intention became known, and through the exertions of some well-wishers of the Association 68 persons became life members in the course of a day or two by paying Rs. 250 each or Rs. 17,000 in the aggregate.

> These gentlemen, including Sir Nilratan Sircar, Mr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee, Dr. P. N. Banerjee, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Mr. S. N. Banerjee, Prof. Dr. D. M. Bose, Prof. Dr. Sisir Kumar Mitra, Prof. Dr. J. N. Mukherjee, Prof. Charu Chandra Bhattacharjee, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Hon'ble Mr. B. K. Basu, Dr. S. N. Sen, Meteorologist, Rai Bahadur Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, Dr. Harinath Ghosh and several other life members, went to the Association Hall at Bowbazar in the afternoon to attend a special meeting and also the annual general meeting which was to take place immediately after.
>
> EXIT BY BACK DOOR.
>
> Immediately on their arrival, Sir C. V. Raman hurriedly left the place through the back door and accompanied by Dr. Krishnan, the Secretary, repaired to the shop of the Book Company. A small deputation was sent there to induce Sir C. V. and his companion to come to the place of the meeting. Although they came to the Association Building, Sir C. V. Raman was found trying to prevent Dr. Krishnan. the Secretary, from attending the meeting. This curious attempt led Mr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee to exert his power of persuasion, which in the long run proved successful. With about a dozen of his followers Sir Chandrashekhar entered the meeting hall. —*Advance.*

So both the meetings were held. In the course of his speech Sir C. V. Raman said that he no longer wanted to remain president of the Association. We need not print the details of the proceedings—they have appeared in Bengali in *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and in English in *Amrita Bazar Patrika, Advance* and *Forward.* The following office-bearers and members of the managing committee have been elected at the annual meeting.

> President—Sir Nilratan Sircar.
>
> Vice-Presidents:—Mr. J. N. Basu, Prof. Dr. Birbal Sahni, Prof. Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Prof. Dr. J. N. Mookherjee, and Dr. Bimala Charan Law, Ph.D.
>
> Secretary:—Prof. Dr. S. K. Mitra.
>
> Members:—Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, Mr. C. C. Biswas, Prof. Satish Chandra Ghosh, Prof. Dr. D. M. Bose, Prof. Nibaran Chandra Roy, Mr. G. D. Birla, Capt. N. N. Dutt, Prof. Dr. Himadri Kumar Muherjee, Sir Onkarmull Jehtia, Rai Bahadur Dr. Gopal Chandra Chatterjee, Prof. Charu Chandra Bhattacharjee, Mr. Jyotish Pal, Dr. N. N. Law, Prof. P. N. Ghosh, Dr. M. S. Krishnan, Dr. S. K. Mukherjee of Lucknow.

The thanks of the public are due to all those who have worked to prevent an undesirable change in the rules of the Association—particularly to Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji, whose great energy, powers of organization, resourcefulness and influence over men were brought into full play on the occasion. The new committee contains men of distinction. It is to be hoped that they will apply themselves seriously to the task of reviving and revitalizing the Association which they have undertaken.

Dr. Krishnan will, of course, continue to hold his professorship.

Bengal Hindus and the Congress Working Committee's Resolution

It is well known that the British Premier's Communal Decision has done very great injustice to the Hindus and to none more so than to the Hindus of Bengal. In our previous notes we have given our personal opinion on the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the White Paper and the Communal Decision. We must now advert to a representative Bengal Hindu view, by which is meant one held by those Bengali Hindus who are not under Congress party discipline. Besides, as in Bengal there are two Congress parties without the leadership of any towering personality, it is difficult to say what the real Congress view is in Bengal.

The Bengal Hindu view that we refer to, is printed below. We do not consider it unwarranted, though we cannot vouch for its accuracy in every detail.

> The latest Congress decision has clean bowled the Hindus. Every one, whether Hindu, Muslim or English, takes the situation to mean this:
>
> (1) Muslims insist on the Communal Decision.
>
> (2) Congress does not object to it.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN CEYLON

Address given on Palm leaf by the Indian Mercantile Chamber of Ceylon
11th May, 1934



At the Rotary Club.
10th May



On arrival at Colombo. On the Boat *Inchanga*.
9th May

At the Art Exhibition
Opened by Sir Graeme Tyrrell, Chief Secretary.
14th May

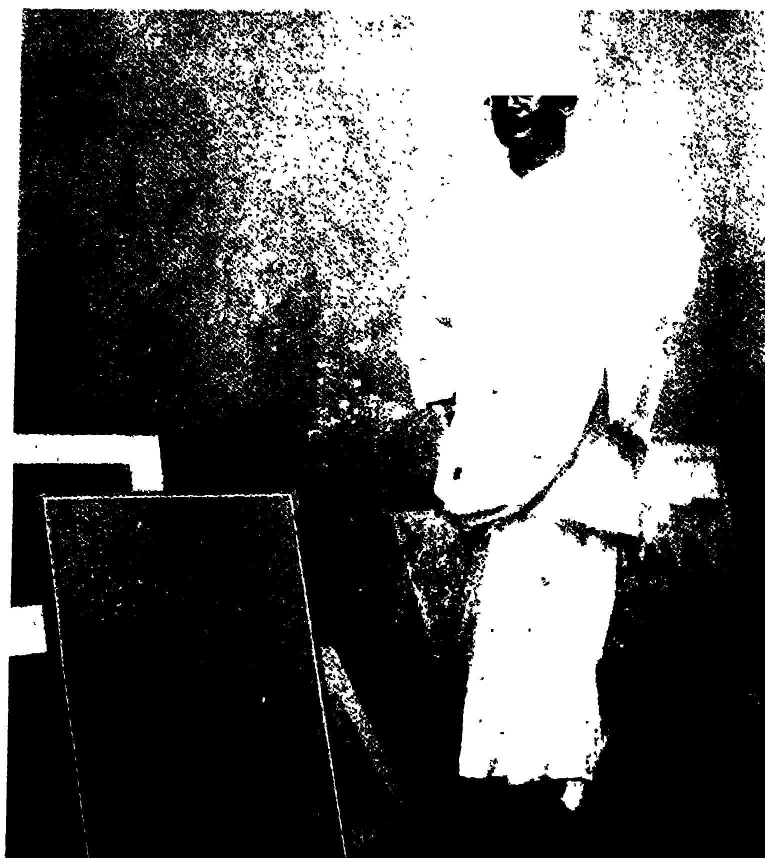




On the Stage of "Regal Theatre." *Shapmochan* Test.
12th May



Reception by the Indian Mercantile Chamber.
11th May



Nandalal Bose at the Santiniketan Art Exhibition

The strategical saying that when the White Paper disappears, the Communal Decision will also disappear, is deceiving nobody. If you say you are opposing the White Paper and then say that at present you are neither opposing nor accepting the Communal Decision, it can have only one meaning, *viz.*, that as regards the Decision, *at present* Congress is not opposing it.

The further strategical saying that the Constituent Assembly will consider the Decision, is also deceiving nobody. If the Communal Decision can wait for the Constituent Assembly, why should not other parts of the White Paper equally wait?

As Congress is not opposing the Communal Decision, it is ten times more secure. What is the sense in Congress saying that, if there is an "agreed solution," that Decision must go? The Decision itself says the same thing. Congress knows full well that there will be no agreed solution and that nothing will happen at any Constituent Assembly.

It is easy to realize the intense sense of triumph which the Muslims feel over Mahatma Gandhi's attitude. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya appears to have been like clay in potter's hands.

So far as Bengal is concerned, the Hindus are doomed and not only will the Mohammedans be supported by the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee, but the Bengal Hindus will be so hopelessly divided that they will be treated with deserved contempt. Dr. B. C. Roy as well as Mr. J. C. Gupta, realizing the advantage of being loyal to Mahatma Gandhi, will do nothing to stop the rot. The members of the British Indian Association, the Indian Association, etc., will curse and swear at the Mahatma in their parlours, but they have not sufficient energy or courage to take any action in public. The Hindu Sabhas in Bengal have no money or efficient organization and there is little doubt that from Bengal there will be some representatives who will carry out the orders of the Congress Board and will sacrifice Hindu interests for keeping some Muslims with them.

Professor Devi Dayal

When we met Professor Devi Dayal of the D. A. V. College in Lahore a few years ago at the house of Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma, he was past 60, but did not look more than 50. Hence we can well realize that the death last month of this distinguished teacher came as a shock to thousands of Panjabis. *The Tribune* writes:

> By the death of Professor Devi Dayal the Panjab has lost a veteran educationist, an astute business man and a social reformer of strong convictions.
>
> Prof. Devi Dayal was only 69 years old at the time of his death; and those who knew him fully expected that he would live up to a ripe old He was a philosopher, guide and friend in truest sense of those words, to the tens of thousands of students whom he taught in the course of his long and distinguished career as a teacher.

Mr. R. G. Pradhan's Article

Mr. R. G. Pradhan's article, published in the present issue, was written some weeks before the last meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Bombay.

Anti-Sind-Separation Work in London

Last month, Mukhi Govindram, the well-known Sind leader, gave to a representative of the *Sind Observer* an account of the work done by the London office of the Anti-Sind Separation Conference in England.

> Two Englishmen are working on their behalf who keep themselves informed of the situation and with the happenings in Sind and they are placing the case of the Hindus of Sind before members of Parliament. So far, they have met about 250 M. P's. and before the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee is published, they hope to meet many more.
>
> A number of them have promised sympathetic consideration of the case of the Sind Hindus when the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee will come up for consideration before the Parliament.
>
> Mukhi Gobindram felt very hopeful about the mission of the deputation of Sind Hindus to England, the personnel of which was soon to be decided.

Ahle-hadis Muslims Demand Joint Electorates

According to an Associated Press message, dated Benares, June 15 last,

> Demand for joint electorate in the next constitutional reforms has been made in a memorandum sent to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India by the All-India Ahle-hadis League, whose head office is at Benares.
>
> Maulanas Abulqasim and M. A. Saeed are President and General Secretary of the League respectively.
>
> The memorandum opines that separate electorate will go against the interest of the Ahle-hadis community of Muslims.
>
> The memorandum demands reserved seats for Ahle-hadis in the case of non-acceptance of joint electorate. It is stated that the population of Ahle-hadis in India is nearly two crores.

Rabindranath Tagore to Sindhis and Sinhalese

Last month Rabindranath Tagore made appeals to Sinhalese and Sindhis which are akin in spirit. On the 11th of June the public of Jaffna, Ceylon, gave him a reception. In replying to the address the Poet said:

> "What saddens my heart is to find that though you are born to a beautiful land, there has risen

no poet in your midst, inspired by her magical charm, no lover to sing her serenade. Your life seems to be floating on the surface of your history which almost solely consists of politics of a colourless kind. You have not yet been inevitably urged to take up that living instrument. Your own language has not yet fully strung her and tuned her. You would have surely felt the necessity of it, if your soul were fully awake and if it responded to the ceaseless messages of beauty that came to you from your horizon and blessings that meet you from the bosom of your earth.

"You indulge in the vanity of mastering a language which is not of your heart and of your birthright, which does not belong to your past nor to your future and owing to that obsession in her children your country is waiting in vain for her wealth of literature which only can help her to discover her own soul and to bring out the treasure lying hidden in the lightless corner of her mind.

"I hope that my coming to your country will not end in an ephemeral sensationalism, that even when I leave your shore the memory of it will speak to you about the greatest of your problems, which is that of finding your own true voice—not that of your master—in your own language. In order to justify your existence you must make yourself heard to your own self and to others.

"Do not waste your time and intellect in carefully imitating other people, however great they may be, imitating their idioms and being utterly lost in a vagueness of futile innanity. I shall consider myself as having failed in my message if I have not sufficiently impressed you with the truism that you cannot belong to yourself if you do not produce your own literature as the truest document of the mastery of your mind, and also if I have not persuaded you to believe that you must have a continental background of your culture, which is the Indian background that will vitalize your thoughts and enrich your imagination."

Similar is the poet's message to the people of Sind, published in the *Indus*, the annual organ of the Karachi Rabindranath Literary and Dramatic Club, reproduced below:

"Sindhis are an intelligent and adventurous people. Sindhi officials are found all over India and Sindhi merchants have carried Indian trade to many distant ports of the world. And yet modern Sind has contributed so little to the cultural renaissance that is sweeping over India to-day. This poverty is traceable, it seems to me, to the Sindhis looking for inspiration where only demoralization is to be had. Sindhis are still under the shadow of a cheap, foreign, imported culture. It is a sight, at once ludicrous and pathetic, to see their young men strutting about in foreign dresses, muttering foreign accents, imitating foreign gestures. We in Bengal were the first to come under the foreign fascination, but we soon strove to free ourselves and, in the process of refinding ourselves, we released forces which have given us a new pride, entirely our own. We may learn from other people but we can get inspiration only from within ourselves. My advice to modern *Sindhuvasis* is to remember and, by remembering, to recapture the glory that once flourished on the banks of the Indus. Let them *be themselves*, true to the life that has nourished them for centuries and their old glory will blossom again."

Central Provinces Government Discards Offensive Terms

Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan*:

The C. P. Government deserves congratulations for announcing that henceforth the so-called depressed classes are to be known as Harijans, and criminal tribes as wandering tribes. Both the names 'depressed classes' and 'criminal tribes' were certainly offensive. And let us hope that the other Governments will copy the good example set by the C. P. Government.

"Pilgrim Scavengers"

Some idea of the kind of work done by Gandhiji's companions during his walking tour in Orissa may be had from the following passage taken from Mira Ben's article entitled "Pilgrim Scavengers" in *Harijan*:

Generally, at the end of the morning's march, a batch of men and women from our party visit the Harijan quarters of the village near the camp, taking with them brooms and spades. They talk to the Harijans about the necessity of sanitation, about keeping their yards and roadways clean, about burying rubbish, instead of leaving it to blow here and there, and about the virtue of digging a little hole, when going to the jungle for calls of nature, and covering it up with earth afterwards, instead of soiling the surroundings and leaving everything exposed for flies to carry infection. While engaged in these talks, the party begins cleaning the basti itself. This draws out the Harijans, who appreciate the idea and soon join in the work themselves. The water supply and general conditions are then investigated and a full report is given to Gandhiji on return to the camp.

Local workers often join our sanitation party, and they not infrequently promise to revisit the bastis at least once or twice a month so as to help carry on the good beginning.

Abdul Hakim's Dormitory, Madras Ramakrishna Home

The Abdul Hakim Ward, a new dormitory for the senior boys in the Ramakrishna Mission Students' Home, Madras, was opened on June 20 last by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

Owing to increased pressure for admission in the Home from highly deserving cases, they had to take in the Home more boys than the buildings could conveniently accommodate. A separate dormitory for older boys was felt as a great necessity and they appealed to the Prince of Benefactors, Sowcar Janab C. Abdul Hakim Bahadur, and he acceded to the request with pleasure. The Janab Bahadur undertook to supply all the bricks, wooden and metal materials needed for a "pucca" dormitory. In grateful recognition of the timely munificence, the authorities had named the dormitory as "Abdul Hakim Ward."

While acknowledging the gratitude shown to him, Janab C. Abdul Hakim Sahib said:

He had never entertained the idea of perpetuating his name. But when he paid a visit to the school in response to the appeal made to him, he saw the names of Hindu Rajahs and Zamindars perpetuated and a thought arose in his mind to perpetuate a Mahomedan name also there so that posterity might see that Hindus and Muslims were living together in terms of peace, goodwill and cordiality (Cheers).

Well done and well said.

Nationalist Muslims on Separate and Joint Electorates

Though at present Muslims claiming to be Nationalists are praising the Congress Working Committee's non-acceptance and non-rejection of the Communal Decision, of which separate electorates are an essential feature, it was not long ago that their most prominent leaders condemned separate electorates and praised and asked for joint electorates. Brief extracts from their opinions are reproduced below from the Allahabad Law Journal Press pamphlet on the Communal Decision.

We shall first give the opinion of the late Sir Ali Imam. Presiding at the All-India Muslim Nationalist Conference at Lucknow on the 18th April 1931, he said :

"To-day's Conference represented Muslim Nationalists, in other words, people who were not wedded to a scheme of separation. They had been simply flooded with messages from every corner of India from different leaders who one and all insisted on the basic principle of joint electorates."

"Separate electorates connote the negation of nationalism. Political problems are but a reflex of social forces. If you erect an iron wall between community and community in their politics, you destroy the social fabric, and day to day life will become insupportable if you insist on building political barriers. Nationalism can never evolve from division and dissensions."

At this Lucknow Conference Dr. Ansari moved the principal resolution the last paragraph of which stated that "the Nationalist Muslim Party" "strongly holds" the principle of "joint electorates." In moving the resolution Dr. Ansari said, in part :

"This is not the occasion to expatiate on the absolute necessity of joint electorates for the growth of a united nationhood. I am speaking to Mussalmans just now, and I wish to tell the Muslim community through you that, apart from wider national considerations, the insistence on separate electorates would prove suicidal to the continuance of the Mussalmans in this country as a political and cultural force of any significance."

Presiding at the All-Bengal Muslim Nationalist Conference at Faridpur on June 27, 1931, Dr. Ansari repeated his previous views.

The principal resolution passed at this Conference insisted on "joint electorate with adult suffrage." In supporting this resolution Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani said.

"The advocates of separation wanted to erect insurmountable barriers between Muslims and other communities. To this the nationalists could never consent. The evil effect of separate electorates was apparent from the fact that the spirit of separatism was penetrating among the Muslims themselves. Votes were being canvassed on the basis of a candidate being a Mirza or a Pathan, Qureshi or Ansari, Shiah or Sunni."

Dr. Ansari, in the course of a speech at the United Provinces Nationalist Conference at Meerut on the 28th July, 1931, stated that joint electorates were the second basic principle of the scheme he stressed.

Dr. Mahmud in his presidential address at the same Meerut Conference stated that

"the programme of separate representation has killed the spirit of competition. It has arrested the natural and healthy growth of public spirit among the Mussalmans. Common electorates, on the other hand, will draw out the best and the noblest that is in the Muslim society."

Malik Barkat Ali, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Panjab Nationalist Muslim Conference held at Lahore on the 24th October, 1931, said with reference to the question of separate electorates :

"We feel that in the circumstances of today and in the India of the future, they should have no place whatever."

The Bengal Council devoted the whole of August 2, 1932, to discussing Mr. Abdus Samad's resolution in favour of joint electorates and ultimately adopted by 47 votes to 32 Mr. Tamizuddin Khan's amendment :

"That the Government be pleased to inform the proper authorities concerned that in the opinion of this Council the system of separate electorates in the future constitution of the country should be replaced by a system of joint electorates."

Mr. Asaf Ali concluded a long statement issued to the Press on June 14, 1932, from New Delhi thus :

"The simplest formula they (the Muslims) should stick to is 'joint electorates, no reservation, no weightage, no special constituencies and adult suffrage, or the lowest qualification for franchise to enable the bulk of the population to get representation, and if any formula for minorities is insisted upon by minorities in different provinces, it should be uniform for all minorities.' Any devia-

tion from it would complicate both present and future issues, and would work to the detriment of both the country and even the Muslim community."

The principal resolution at a meeting of the executive committee of the Bengal Nationalist Muslim party held in August, 1932, under the presidentship of Chaudhury Mozzem Hossain recorded

"its emphatic protest against the communal award recently given by the Prime Minister in consultation with the British Cabinet on the following among other grounds: (a) It recognizes the principle of separate electorates, which is fundamentally opposed to responsible government..........."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said in the course of an interview to the *Free Press* in Calcutta on September 1, 1932 :

"The Communal Award of the Prime Minister is the most dangerous thing that could happen to Indian Nationalism. It has set one community against the other, without giving any tangible benefit to any save the Europeans."

Dr. M. A. Ansari, President of the Nationalist Moslems, said in a recent interview, published in the *Hindustan Times* of the 13th March, 1934 :

"The communal award is the result of the deliberate choice of a particular kind of Round Table Conference personnel to render a settlement impossible and thus impose an outside solution."

Communal Decision Not an Arbitral Award

In conferences of Hindus at Nagpur and at Bombay Dr. B. S. Moonje said that the Prime Minister's Communal Decision was not an arbitral award. This is a perfectly correct statement, as has been shown conclusively by Sir N. N. Sircar in his *Speeches and Pamphlets* and by others.

Calling off of Bombay Textile Strike

According to *The Bombay Chronicle*,

The Strike Committee of the Girni Kamgar Union has passed the following resolution:

"The Girni Kamgar Union Strike Committee met this evening and resolved to call off the strike as from to-day (June 23)."

It is reliably understood that the Joint Strike Committee will, at its meeting to-day, also, pass a similar resolution.

It will be recalled that the General Strike began on 23rd April last. On the first day, 25,000 men responded to the call of the Joint Strike Committee. On the second day 15,000 more joined and 4 Labour leaders were arrested for defying Police orders. On the third day the number of men on strike reached 50,000 and the Chief Presidency Magistrate issued an order under section 144 restraining meetings and procession. On the fourth day 65,000 men were on strike. On the fifth day 75,000 men were on strike. On 29th April 80,000 men were on strike and the Emergency Powers Act was brought into requisition to make a general round-up of Labour leaders.

From the very beginning of the strike the Bombay Government ought to have tried to bring about a settlement. Instead of that the steps that it took had a tendency to break the strike.

According to *The Sun* of Bombay some of the findings contained in the Report of the Government Departmental Enquiry into Textile Wages are :

In Bombay, a cut of 21 per cent in wages between July, 1926 and April, 1934.
In Sholapur, a cut of 17 per cent.
In Ahmedabad, an increase of 5 per cent.

The strike leaders do not admit the impartiality and accuracy of this Report. But if these figures are correct, they show that the cut in wages has been the highest in Bombay. That would go to show, *prima facie*, that the strikers had a grievance and still have it.

Buddhist University at Sarnath

It was a dream of the late venerable Anagarika Dhammapala and of the Mahabodhi Society founded by him, that there should be a Buddhist University at Sarnath. The dream bids fair to be a reality at no distant day. The affairs of the University are to be managed by a Committee of which the president will be Mr. Justice Manmathanath Mukherjee of the Calcutta High Court, who is president of the Mahabodhi Society.

Plans to Reduce the Rice Crop !

With reference to the Government of India's practically abortive crop-planning conference the *Bombay Sentinel* writes :

"No planning, but plotting" said Mr. Jamnadas Mehta at Geneva.

He doesn't know of the plans of Sir Fazli Hussain, to reduce the rice crop.

When less rice is grown and it becomes dear, the agriculturists will pay more money to the Government, and they will then be able to restore the 5 per cent cuts to the Services.

They will also be able to restore the Army Budget to its original figure, and will thus give better protection to Indians—against themselves, (*vide* Commander-in-Chief).

De Valera on Governor-Generalship of Ireland

Dublin, June 20.

"We would abolish the office of Governor-General tomorrow but for certain obligations of the Free State treaty and constitution," declared Mr. de Valera in the Dail when Mr. Cosgrave moved the reconsideration of the annual estimate for salary expenses of the Governor-General. Mr. de Valera added, he hoped ultimately to abolish the office and declared the functions of the Governor-General were ridiculous and the very title obnoxious to the whole Irish people.

Mr. Cosgrave's motion was defeated by 41 votes to 29 and the estimate agreed to without division. —*Reuter.*

Gandhiji Narrowly Escapes Being Bombed

Puna, June 25.

A bomb was thrown on a car which the assailant believed contained Mahatma Gandhi who was on his way to the municipal building to receive an address in the evening. Seven volunteers in the car were injured, but Mahatma Gandhi who was following in another car narrowly escaped.

We rejoice that Mahatmaji has not been hurt. We hope the volunteers have not been seriously injured. It is difficult to say to what class of terrorists the bomb-thrower belongs.

The Saturday Review and men of its way of thinking should now at least hesitate to believe that the Congress is in secret league with the terrorists.

Gandhiji, of course, remains unperturbed—this is not the first time that an attempt on his life has been made. He will go on doing his duty, as usual, or perhaps with greater zeal.

Zanzibar Bills to Deprive Indians of Their Rights

Bombay, June 24.

The Indian National Association of Zanzibar has sent the following cable to the Associated Press:

"The local Government published draft Bills seven days ago which they propose to pass into law on June 28.

"These Bills are calculated to prevent Indians from acquiring land and depriving them of their ancient rights of dealing in the only important local industry, *viz.*, cloves, thus threatening the very existence of the whole community numbering fifteen thousand.

"Conjointly, they also practically deprive Indians of about eight million rupees, being the capital invested in *bona fide* business. We had applied to the local Government for postponement of these measures, but it has been refused. The relations between Indians, Arabs and natives are so far most cordial and intimate. The proposed legislation is sure to create a friction and racial bitterness. Great consternation, panic and fear prevail among Indians."

Hitherto Zanzibar Indians had not much of a grievance—the Hilton Young Commission found them a prosperous community. Now the Government there want to reduce them to poverty, following the evil examples of South Africa and Kenya.

Kelkar-Congressmen Pact Accepted

Bombay, June 25.

The executive committee of the Democratic Swarajya Party decided today to accept the pact arrived at between Mr. Kelkar and the Maharashtra Congressmen to carry on the work of Maharashtra in connection with the forthcoming Assembly elections. The meeting also decided to make clear that the acceptance of the pact did not prevent the party members from carrying on propaganda in matters such as the Communal Award, the Indian States' subjects, the debt redemption scheme, etc. The meeting further resolved that any member of the party chosen as a candidate for election to the Assembly should accept the discipline of the Parliamentary Board.

Indian Students and Burmese

The Rangoon Daily News has published a reasoned leader on the question of Burmese as a compulsory subject for Indian students who seek admission to the Rangoon University. It writes, in part:

> That this decision of the University authorities to place a disability against Indian students, wishing to continue their studies in the University, is most unfair, cannot be gainsaid. While in the case of English schools in Burma the standard of Burmese knowledge required of students there is low, that in Indian schools is not accepted as such. It is admitted by the Education Department that the standard of Burmese in English schools should be low. But the pupils of English schools have one advantage over those of Indian schools, *viz.*, they have a speaking knowledge of Burmese in most cases. The standard for Indian schools should therefore be lower than that which obtains in English schools. Indian pupils have to learn their own mother-tongue and English. Burmese they can learn only as a third language.

As regards Indian girls in Burma, the paper rightly argues partly thus:

> Female education is in the infant stage, so far as Indians are concerned; and it requires sympathetic encouragement. It will be a great hardship for Indian girls if they are required to offer Burmese in lieu of their mother-tongue for the Matriculation Examination. Most of the girls will probably go out of Burma by marriage or transfer of guardians. A knowledge of Burmese will not be of any use to them, if they are required by force of circumstances to join other Universities of India for general education. And if they are prevented from joining the University of Rangoon (while they are in Burma) they would be denied the elementary right of general education.

Kapurthala and Rampur

The state of affairs in Kapurthala and Rampur and, in many other states too, makes one wonder of what use the absentee princes are to their subjects. The Nawab of Rampur is not, of course, an inveterate absentee.

Kidnapping and Abduction of Girls and Women

Hindus in public meeting assembled have in many places in the Panjab, N.-W. F. Province and Sind raised their voice of indignant protest against the frequent kidnapping and abduction of Hindu girls and women. This state of things must not be allowed to continue.

Lifting Ban on Congress

The lifting of the ban on Congress organizations generally on the part of Government has been a wise act. It should be completed by lifting the ban on each and all of them and by the release of all leading and other political prisoners not guilty of acts of violence, and of course, also of all detenus. In the case of the latter, if Government have a case against any, why not try them?

India Asked to Keep Faith With England

On June 1, 1934, Sir Frederick Sykes, ex-governor of Bombay, declared at the Bombay dinner in London:

> "I feel we have kept faith with India. We may accordingly ask that India keeps faith with us."

Every Indian school-boy knows all about the redeeming of British pledges to India. Hence repetition would be unnecessary. But what pledge or promise did India ever make to Britain? Sir Frederick has perhaps dreamed that India promised to be eternally ruled by Britishers, to provide jobs for Britishers, to purchase British manufactures (only or mainly), to produce raw materials for Britain, not to turn her (India's) raw materials into manufactured goods, and so on and so forth. He has called upon India to keep this imaginary promise.

Wanted More Women in Parliamentary Board

Mrs. L. R. Zutshi of Lahore demands that as women have been comrades in arms with men in the fight for Swaraj, there should be more women in the Congress Parliamentary Board, and not merely Mrs. Naidu. She is right.

War Debts

Except Finland, all European countries which borrowed huge sums from America during the War have failed to pay the June instalment of their debts, following the high and mighty example of Britain. Britain said in effect: "Not that I cannot pay—I have a surplus budget. But after 15 lean years, my children are entitled to a little relief. Besides, my debtors have not paid me, and so how can I pay you? And moreover, paying you huge sums in dollars or gold would disturb your exchange rates." So, it is more honourable to feast than to pay your debts. America has rightly reminded Britain that the payment by Britain of her debts was never conditional on Britain receiving money from her debtors. And we suppose, America can take care of her exchange problems without British expert advice. America has said in her reply to the British war debt note that she has no desire to place impossible burdens on her debtors. But the beauty or the pity of it is that America's debtors do not want to bear any burden of debt at all.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in Europe

In a statement sent from Belgrade Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose draws attention to anti-Indian propaganda in Europe, *e. g.*:

> "In many countries I have been asked why Mahatma Gandhi is against the untouchables and why he undertook his fast in September, 1932 against their cause."

Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald also professed to think at the time that Gandhiji's fast was calculated to injure the cause of the depressed classes.

Congress Constructive Programme

The Congress constructive programme contained in the Working Committee's Wardha resolution is good—though there is nothing new in it. It was pointed out by us that Mahatma Gandhi's Patna exhortation to Congress workers did not mention

education. The Wardha resolution has supplied the omission.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Health

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's health has not improved in Dehra Dun jail. There is no sense in keeping him confined in summer within the limits of a high-walled small enclosure.

Neither is the joke of supplying him with a hand-fan enjoyable, when there are electric fittings in his cell and an electric fan can be easily supplied.

Honour to Anna Saheb V. R. Shinde

Those persons in Bombay who, in public meeting assembled, presented Anna Saheb V. R. Shinde with an address and otherwise showed their appreciation of his lifelong labours in the cause of the depressed castes, honoured themselves. Forty-one institutions took part in the function, which was presided over by Sheth Mathuradas Vasauji. Mr. Shinde took up the cause of and worked for these humble people before Mahatma Gandhi and Congress did so. In fact it was at his instance that the latter took it up.

Bengal Mill-owners' Association

The formation of a Bengal Mill-owners' Association under the presidentship of Sir P. C. Ray is a move in the right direction. Its object is to look after the interest of cotton mills in Bengal. Bengal can and ought to supply all her requirements of cotton yarn and cloth. There is in Bengal good agricultural land, too, for the production of cotton. The Bengal Government's agricultural department ought to initiate and encourage such production. The progressive development of Bengal's cotton industry is a sure, though of course not a complete, remedy for unemployment in the province.

Madras "Justice" Party to Admit Brahmins

The Madras Non-Brahman party is known by two other names, the South Indian Liberal Federation and the Justice Party. It has resolved to admit Brahmans into its ranks. The abandonment of an exclusive policy on its part is commendable. In wishing it God-speed *The Indian Social Reformer* points out its advantages over the Congress, *viz.*, twelve years' administrative experience, no communal commitments, and no restrictions as to the kind of cloth to be worn and the language to be used at meetings. *The Guardian*, a Christian weekly of Madras, observes:

> One outstanding feature of the Justice Party has been its virulent anti-Brahmin bias. It manifested itself in the severe exclusion of Brahmins from official jobs, from legislative seats and from nominations to local boards. The first of these will remain in full force, as the rule of communal rotation has been widely adopted. The second will likewise continue, as non-Brahmins have reserved seats in the Madras Legislative Council. It is in the third that Brahmins may have henceforth freer scope. There will therefore be little material difference in the position of Brahmins........

The Servants of India Society

The Servants of India Society has celebrated another, the 28th, anniversary of its foundation day. It is characterized by the high ideal of service of its members, their spirit of sacrifice and self-abnegation and their expert knowledge. We wish it a long life of ever-increasing usefulness.

Bihar Earthquake Relief

The Bihar Central Relief Committee and the Bihar and Orissa Government have hitherto exerted themselves in various directions to relieve the distress caused by the earthquake The advent of the rainy season will necessitaet. other forms of relief. For, in addition to the usual floods, there may be unusual ones caused by the lowering of the level of land in large areas, the silting up of river-beds and the shrinking of their banks. The Central Relief Committee and the Government have, with commendable energy and foresight, made arrangements to meet emergencies.

A Blind Boy's Success

We join our contemporaries in cordially congratulating Sriman Sadhan Chandra Gupta, son of Mr. J. C. Gupta, on his remarkable achievement in passing the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University with great distinction in spite of his blindness.

Sir John Thompson on White Paper Generosity

The following extract from a speech at Bristol of Sir John Thompson, ex-Chief Com-

missioner of Delhi, gives some idea of the amount of power which the White Paper proposes to transfer to Indian hands :

The Ministers will have the spending of 20 to 25 per cent. of the central revenues. They will not control defence and foreign affairs, which will be under the Governor-General. They will not without the Governor-General's permission be able to touch these thorny subjects of currency and exchange. They will not have the control of payments on account of loans, the pay of the principal services or their pensions, and they will not have the administration of the railways. They will not be able to amend the constitution, and if they menace the interests which are to be specially committed to the Governor-General's charge they will find that he has ample resources of persuasion and of power to protect them.

Progress of Non-violence !

War may break out again any moment between Japan and China. There may be war between Japan and Russia. Recently there has been regular war in Arabia. In South America some countries are still fighting. In addition to these a sort of civil war has been going on in many countries. They are the many acts of terrorism in Austria, the peasant revolt in Spain, the fight between Sir Oswald Mosley's blackshirts (Fascists) and anti-Fascists like communists and others and the riots in various parts of France between Fascists and anti-Fascists about the 24th of June last.

"Over a hundred were injured at L'Orient in a pitched battle in which a mob numbering over two thousand charged the mounted police. One policeman had an eye gouged out, while 28 others were seriously injured.

Devastating Floods in Bengal, Assam and Bihar

There have been devastating floods in parts of Assam, Bengal and Bihar, houses being swept away, villages under water, crops destroyed, and people in many places living on *machans* (improvised platforms on tops of bamboo poles). A vast area in Assam has been cut off from the world. At Susang in Mymensingh, elephants and horses from the Maharaja's stables have been swept away. Harrowing details, including many certain and more probable loss of lives, are reaching the public. Relief societies are up and doing.

Graduate and Under-graduate Constables

Though unemployment among middle-class people in Bengal is most widespread, it exists in other provinces also. In consequence, at Agra one graduate and two F. A. or Intermediate passed young men have accepted posts of constables on Rs. 16 per mensem. Good would come out of evil, if the presence of educated men in the lowest ranks of the police had the effect of raising their moral tone.

New President of the Theosophical Society

Mr. George Arundale, known to Theosophists as Bishop Arundale, has been elected president of the Theosophical Society in succession to Dr. Annie Besant. To non-Theosophists he is best known as sometime principal of the Benares Central Hindu College and Dr. Besant's able and energetic lieutenant in her Home Rule campaign, who was interned with her and Mr. Wadia. It is to be noted that up till now the leading persons in the Theosophical Society have been all Occidentals —Olcott, Blavatsky, Besant and Arundale. Among Indian Theosophists Babu Bhagavan Das is known as a great scholar, a profound thinker and a spiritually advanced brother to persons of all faiths.

Another Extension of Life to Bengal Council

The Bengal Legislative Council has got another—the third—year's extension of life. Why? Bengal did not want it, but rather opposed it; some M. L. C's themselves did not want it, but opposed it; the Council has become unrepresentative, if it ever was representative; owing to its subservience, Government has already got a record number of highly repressive "martial" laws and cannot possibly require more; and it is not likely that in another year India will get a new constitution. It may be the intention of Government not to have a less subservient Council before the inauguration of the emasculating White Paper constitution. If so, the present Council would require at least another year's extension. The only gainers by extensions are M. L. C's like Chaudhuri Haji Badi Ahmed, Khan Bahadur Muhammad Abdul Momin, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Babu Amulyadhan Roy, etc., who drew allowances of Rs. 2947, Rs.2080, Rs. 2208, Rs. 1937, etc., in 1933 for attending Council meetings.

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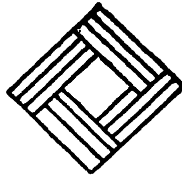


PUNISHMENT OF THE SEA

By Saradindu Sen Roy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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SUPREME MAN

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE scientist solves the mystery of a piece of iron and says that it is nothing but the constant movements of electric particles of a special rhythm. The intervals between them in such a system are, in proportion to their size, immense. If our unaided eyes could see what has been discovered by scientific vision, then, like the individuals in human society, we should have seen the particles as distinct and separate. However distinct these may be, a force,—for let us call it a force—is working among them. It is a relating force,—the community force of the piece of iron. When we see the piece of iron, we do not see the multitude of electrons, we see the mass. In fact, the visible appearance of the iron is a symbol; it is not what it ultimately is. To take an analogy we are given a ten-rupee note. He knows it truly who at sight recognizes the piece of paper as a symbol of unity that represents ten separate silver coins.

We see the piece of iron to be iron, and yet it is only a physical symbol revealing the mysterious spirit of relationship which cannot be seen by the bodily eye. Likewise, the distinctions of time and place between individual men are very great, and yet there is a large and deep unity encompassing all men. This unity, imperceptible by the senses, is not that of a numerical aggregate, for it transcends all aggregates. Those who have in them the great capacity of feeling within themselves the one Spirit in all men, are the people to whom we give the name Mahatma or Great Soul. It is they who can lay down their lives for the good of all men. It is they who can address the comprehensive spirit within and without them and say

"तदेतत् प्रेयः पुत्रात् प्रेयो वित्तात् प्रेयोऽन्यस्मात् सर्वस्मात् अन्तरतर यदयमात्मा।"

— He is dearer than a son, dearer than wealth, dearer than all else is this spirit who is in our inmost heart.

The scientist condemns such statements. He says that we attribute humanity to God in calling Him our Beloved. I reply that it is not *attributing*, but *realizing* humanity. It is by developing the sense of the dignity of his human truth that man has attained to his God. The human mind cannot therefore protest against the attribution of humanity to his God, and it would not be at all true if he did so. Man does not attribute lighthood to the vibrations of ether, he feels and uses the vibrations themselves as light and is not deceived in such use.

There is the ultimate world entity even beyond the immediate entity of man, as we have the stellar sphere beyond the solar system. But it is primarily the solar system of which the earth is a part, it is solar heat that is the life of the earth, and it is the solar connection that governs the earth's movements and its day and night. We have knowledge of the stellar sphere, but it is the solar system we fully comprehend with our body and our mind. Similarly, the greatness which is supremely cosmical is for us an object of knowledge, but the greatness which is human is a matter for the fulfilment of all our body, mind and character.

But even the impersonal world with regard to which we can trace no distinctions of good and evil, beautiful and ugly, about which nothing more can be said beyond the fact that it exists, is bound-

ed by human knowledge. And therefore by knowing it we become aware of the extension of our own consciousness and we are glad. The world we know or hope to know sometime through scientific experience is itself a human world. *Man* alone perceives this world in the form of *his* thought within the scaffoldings of *his* Understanding and Reason. It is possible to conceive of a mind which perceives a world that is beyond the range of our mathematical measurements and does not exist in the space which *we* know. But how shall we call extra-human the world whose fundamental truths are found by man in conformity with the innate principles of his thought? That is why a modern scientist describes the universe as the creation of mathematical mind. But even this mathematical mind is not beyond the bounds of the human mind. If it were, then we could not have at all known the scientific theory of the world, like the dogs and cats who can never reach it.

The true character of Him who is the Qualified Reality, *Saguna Brahma*, is defined in our scriptures as *Sarvendriyagunâbhâsam*. All the qualities which belong to the external and internal faculties of man have their suggestion in Him. The very meaning of this is that the ultimate Truth for us is *human* Truth, and that is why this world we know is necessarily a *human* world. Even if there be any other world beside this, it is non-existent for us, not only for today, but for ever.

We give the name Love to that relation of one soul to another which is the deepest and truest. Our actual acquaintance with the physical world is through sense perception, but our true comprehension of the spiritual world is through love. In the love of his parents, man begins his acquaintance with the spiritual world from the very moment of his birth. Here we find immeasurable mystery,—the contact of the indescribable. The question may arise, wherein lies the basis of the truth of parenthood. It must be in Him, who is *Pitritamah pitrînâm*. पितृतमः पितॄणाम , who contains the perfection of the fatherhood of all fathers. We can understand the characteristics of this earth to which we are born by scrutinizing it from outside, but the mystery of parenthood we can comprehend only in the depth of our own spirit, and it is there in this depth that we realize the Supreme Father. This Supreme Father does not dwell in any particular heaven, nor is He to be found in the history of any particular time or country. He has not expressed Himself once and for good in any particular individual but extends His love over the past and future of humanity and pervades the whole world of man.

We hear of the God of man:

यद् यद् विभूतिमत् सत्त्वं श्रीमद् ऊर्जितमेव वा
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोंशसम्भवम् ।

Whatever has splendour, has beauty and excellence, is born of an aspect of my own divine energy.

In the universe there are many things great and small. So far as bare existence is concerned, they all have the same worth. From the point of view of mere actuality, there is no distinction for better or worse between the lotus and the clod of earth. But man has in his mind a standard of value, which does not judge by need nor by the measurement of size or degree. In man, there is the sense of perfection transcending all quantitative standards—a consciousness of the inmost satisfaction. This is what he means by excellence, and yet we find no unanimity of opinion about this excellence. How then can we say that this excellence is based upon an impersonal and eternal truth which is in the universal man.

We know all scientific truths have passed through innumerable errors. In fact, the errors are many, the truth is one. The errors are personal, the truth belongs to the all. The astronomer wants to study the planet with his telescope, but he has many obstacles to overcome. In our sky there are the dust of the earth, the enveloping atmosphere, the veils of vapour and many kinds of disturbances all around. Defect possible in the instrument, and the mind which observes is clouded by its predispositions. Pure truth can be attained only when all the obstacles internal and external—have been overcome.

It is easy to admit that the realization of pure truth is the manifestation of the universal mind, but it is possible to doubt whether in aesthetic experience, we realize the universal mind. How can there be an absolute standard of beauty when our sense of joy in it often varies with the country, time and the individual? And yet, when we look at human history over a large period, we find that the minds of all artists of all times tend to agree in their judgment of the merit of artistic beauty. It has to be admitted that it is not absolutely every man that finds complete joy in an artistic creation. Many have minds blind to beauty: their personal preferences do not agree with universal appreciation. There are also among men many who are naturally impervious to science. Their conceptions of the world are confusingly irrelevant and antagonistic, because their minds are prejudiced, for the prejudice of one does not agree with that of another. Yet they are so inordinately vain of the truth of their own parti-

cular wrong view that they are prepared to go to any lengths in support of their doctrine. Similarly, there is no lack of persons in the world with naturally deficient taste. In their case also, differences of opinion become dangerous. We cannot question the universal perfection of knowledge simply because there are different levels of born stupidity, of every variety, from the lowest to the highest. It is the same with regard to the ideal of beauty.

Bertrand Russell has expressed in some writing of his, that Beethoven's symphonies cannot be regarded as creations of the Universal Mind, for they are personal to him. Russell means that a symphony is not like a mathematical truth, which is an object to all minds and has the mind of the individual as merely the occasion of its formulation. But if it has to be admitted that everyone ought to appreciate Beethoven's creation, that if there is no natural deficiency of the mind, everyone must appreciate it when with proper training the opposition of ignorance and unaccustomedness have been dispelled, then it must also be admitted that the appreciation of the best composer is to be fully met with in the mind of Man and is impeded only in some particular men as listeners.

The intellect is indispensable for the preservation of life, but there are many instances of worldly success in spite of an imperfect sense of beauty. The sense of beauty has no sanction of vital urgency, nor does licence in this sphere carry with it its own necessary punishment. And yet a stupendous amount of effort is being applied to the task of creating beauty although in the maintenance of life it serves no purpose: only its influence is for transforming our inner being.

In the Upanishads we again and again find mention of this attainment through being. From these we understand that man is one in spirit with the Supreme Object of his strivings.

नाविरतो दुश्चरितान् नाशान्तो ना समाहित:
नाशान्तो मानसोवापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात् ।

It is said that He cannot be reached through mere knowledge. He has to be realized through the perfection of being, by refraining from evil conduct, by achieving a steadfast mind through the control of the passions. In other words, this realization is the attainment of one's own eternal truth.

I have stated before that we must remove all impurities and disturbances of the environment and all individual idiosyncrasies if we want to see physical truth in its purity. This applies even more to spiritual truths. It is when we attribute to spiritual truth the perversions arising out of our lower nature that our mistakes become most dangerous. We can understand how much more ruinous than mistakes in knowledge are our mistakes in being when we find that the very forces which we have brought under our control through science become our medium of the hatred and avarice of man and extend the sphere of his self-destruction from one end of the earth to the other. It is for this reason that perversion of the nature of some particular individual or group in the name of the community or religion incites man's will to evil far more than scientific mistakes or conflicts of material interest. The communal god thus becomes the receptacle of hatred, vanity, snobbishness and stupidity. Insulted Godhead degrades man and keeps him in constant fear of his own fellows. This calamity strikes at the very root of power and fortune in our country.

There are instances of this in other countries as well. The traditional Christians express their contempt for the degradation and cruelty in the characters of the traditional gods and modes of worship of some Indian communities. On account of habit they cannot however see that their own conception of God is equally possessed by the evil genius of man. The community, whose sacred books condemn to eternal hell a child that has died before its baptism, has attributed to God a degree of cruelty that is perhaps unparalleled anywhere else. In fact, the conception of eternal hell, for any sin however heinous, is the most potent invention of human cruelty. Herein lies the explanation of the anti-scientific and anti-religious persecution practised in mediæval Europe in order to preserve intact the faith in scriptural religion. Even today that conception of hell pervades with horror the prisons of civilized man, where there is no principle of reformation but only the ferocity of punishment.

It is with the development of humanity that the realization of God gradually grows free of prejudice, at any rate, it ought to be so. The reason that it is not always so is due to the fact that we take anything and everything connected with religion to be eternal. It does not follow from our reverence for the eternal ideal of religion, that we must accept any particular religious dogma as also eternal. If we were fanatically to assert that every scientific opinion is eternally true, because there is eternal truth as the foundation of physical science, then we should have to assert, even today, that the sun is revolving round the earth. It is this mistake we generally make with regard to religion. The community gives the name of religion to its own traditional opinion,

and thus strikes at Religion itself. The conflict, the cruelty, the unreasoning and unintelligent superstition, which then emerge, are without parallel in any other sphere of human life.

Mistakes in science, or in our code of conduct, arise from our inability to comprehend the wholeness of truth. In spiritual life we realize the wholeness of our being when it is conscious of a centre in a great and eternal meaning.

The earth revolves round its own axis and yet it circles round the sun along its vast orbit. Whatever happens in human society also exhibits these two tendencies. On the one hand, the paraphernalia of wealth and power are accumulated through the urge of the individual ego and yet on the other, under the inspiration of the Universal Man, men unite with one another in their activity and their joy and make sacrifices for one another's sake.

Some years ago there was a report published in the London *Times,* which I came to know through the *Nation* of America. The British air-force was destroying from the air a Mahsud village in Afghanistan. One of the bombing planes was damaged and came down. An Afghan girl led the airmen into a neighbouring cave, and to protect them, a Malik remained on guard at the entrance of the cave. Forty men with brandished knives rushed forward to attack them, but the Malik dissuaded them. All this time, bombs were dropping from above and people were crowding in to take shelter in the cave. Some Maliks of the neighbourhood and a Mollah proposed to help the Britishers and some of the women offered to feed them. After some time they at last disguised the airmen as Mahsuds and brought them out to a safe place.

In this incident, we find the two aspects of human nature revealed in their extremest forms. In the bombing from aeroplanes we have an instance of the wonderful development of human power—the vast expanse of his mailed fist from earth to heaven. But to forgive and protect the enemy engaged in dealing death reveals another aspect of man. The natural instinct to kill enemies is the prompting of man's animal nature, but he transcended it and uttered the strange command: Forgive your enemies.

Our scriptures lay down that at the time of battle a charioteer must not attack the man who is not in a chariot but on the ground. Nor must he kill one who is impotent, or a supplicant, nor one who is seated or has his hair untied, nor one who humbly offers to submit. Nor yet must he kill one who is asleep or unprotected, naked or unarmed, a spectator or a non-combatant, or engaged in fighting another. He must remember the teachings of virtue and refrain from killing one whose weapons are broken, one who is afflicted with sorrow, one who is wounded or frightened.

We have heard Man say, न पापे प्रतिपापः स्यात् । —Do not sin against those that sin against you. Whether or not the individual conforms in his conduct to this law he does not laugh it away as the ravings of a lunatic. In human life, we only occasionally find conformity to this principle and generally we find its opposite. In other words, its truth is hardly seen in a mere count of heads, and yet its truth is acknowledged. Where lies the basis of the aspect of man which realizes it? Let us see what answers have been given by man to this question.

य॰यात्मा विरतः पापात ॰ल्याणे च निवेशितः
तेन सर्वमिदं बुद्ध प्रकृतिर्विकृतिश्च या ।

He whose spirit refrains from evil and attends to the good has comprehended the *sarvam*, the totality. He therefore knows what is natural to him and what is an aberration.

Man comprehends his nature only when he abstains from evil and works for the good of all. This means that only the great among men understand human nature. How do they know it?

With a transparent heart, they comprehend the totality. The true and the good are in the totality. It is when man refrains from the sin which belongs to his nature as limited by the ego that he knows his own spiritual wholeness—it is then that he understands his own nature. His nature does not concern the individual alone: it concerns Him of Whom the Gita says, "पौरुषं नृषु" –He is the humanity in Men.

All that we have said so far about the good and evil is not from the point of view of the preservation of society. The code, based on the solid foundation of praise and blame, which society promulgates through commands and precepts for its own preservation, gives but a secondary importance to the eternal principle of Truth: the preservation of the traditional society is its primary object. We are therefore told that it is harmful to introduce into society the Religion of Truth in all its purity. It is often said that there is a great deal of stupidity in the common man To keep him away from evil, he must therefore, if need be, be kept engaged with delusions, frightened or comforted with false fears or hopes, in short, treated as eternally a child or a brute. It is with society as with religious communities. The opinions and customs prevalent at some previous time are loath to give up their rights even at a later age. In the insect-world, we find some harmless insects that adopt the disguise of terrible

ones and thus secure themselves. It is the same with social laws. They try to make themselves powerful and permanent by disguising themselves as eternal truths. On the one hand, they have the external show of piety and on the other the terrors of torture in the after-life, various strict and sometimes unjust means of social punishment, compelling blind conformity to needless conventions under the threat of a made-to-order Hell. The Andamans, the Devil Islands of France, and the Lipari Isles of Italy, are the symbols of this very attitude in the field of politics. The inner truth about them is that the pure law of Truth and man-made laws do not move with the same rhythm. Those who revere the True, the Good, the Human as the ultimate goals of man have throughout the ages fought against this attitude.

It is not the object of this lecture to estimate the value of the good as conformity to society or the State. I want to discuss the basis of man's acceptance of the Truth, to discuss wherein Truth lies. In the many fields of interest in society and the State, we find at every step contradiction of the Truth in daily conduct, and yet man has given to it the highest place in his self-knowledge, called it his *dharma*, which means his ultimate nature. In spite of the many differences of opinion with regard to the ideal of the good that different countries, times and individuals have, all men have honoured the reality of the good. What I have discussed are the implications of this fact with regard to the nature of the Religion of Man. The conflict of "It is" and "It ought to be" has raged from the very beginnings of human history. In discussing the reason of this conflict, I have said that in the mind of man, there is on the one hand the Universal Man and on the other the animal man limited by his self-seeking. It is the attempts at harmonizing the two that reveal themselves in different forms according to different religious systems. Otherwise, only advantage and disadvantage, the pleasant and the unpleasant, could have prevailed in the law of life. There would have been no significance at all of sin and virtue, of good and evil.

The question has been asked about the truth, in the Universal Mind, of the pain and pleasure one feels in his individual mind. If we think about it, we find that the pleasure and pain within the limits of the ego are transformed at the borders of the spirit. The man who dedicates his life for Truth, for the sake of his country and for the good of man, who thinks of himself against a vast background of ideals, finds that personal happiness and misery have changed their meaning for him. Such a man gives up his happiness with ease, and by accepting pain, he transcends it. In the life of self-seeking, the burden of pleasure and pain is very great, but when man transcends his self-interest he feels the burden so light that his patience when faced with the bitterest suffering and his forgiveness in spite of the heaviest insults seems to us to be superhuman.

Discords become too evident when the tuning of the instrument is going on, but they are not a part of the music itself. Discords jar on us, and if they did not, we should not progress on our quest after harmony. That is why we give the name Rudra or Terrible to the Infinite—He draws us towards freedom along the path of the pain of disharmony.

Upanishad declares:

एषास्य परमागतिरेषास्य परमा सम्पत्
एषोऽस्य परमो लोक एषोऽस्य परम आनन्दः ।

Here we have the dualism of He and this, the individual man and the other One who is within him and beyond him. It is said that *He* is the ultimate aim of *this*, its richest possession, its final rest and supreme joy. In other words, it is in Him that *this* has its perfection.

He is not a mere abstraction. He is an immediate object of the most intimate awareness, just as much as the self which I call my own. When my devotion yearns after Him and in Him I find my joy, it is my self-consciousness that is enlarged, deepened and extended to the Truth beyond the limits of my narrow existence. It is *Eshah*, this great He who challenges man to strike after perfection through endeavours to struggle from the unreal to the real, from darkness towards the light, from death towards immortality.

This challenge never allowed man to stop anywhere; it made of him an eternal wayfarer. Tired and worn out, those who abandon the road and build themselves a permanent house have in fact built their own mausoleums. Animals have their lairs, but man has taken to the road. Those who are great among men are the road-builders and the path-finders. The lure of the call of the infinite in him has brought man out on the way in quest of the unattained. Empires rose and fell by the roadside of his journey, riches were amassed and then lost beneath the dust. Man built many an image to give form to his desire and again smashed them to pieces, like childhood's toys when childhood is over. He tried again and again to construct the magic key and open with it nature's treasure-house and again he discarded them all and started anew to search out the secret path leading to its depths. Age follows age in human history, and man continues in his ceaseless search,

not for the satisfaction of his material needs, but in order to strive with all his might for the revelation of the Universal Man in the world of men, to rescue his own inmost truth from the crude obstacles set up by himself. That is the Truth which is greater than all his accumulated wealth, greater than all his achievements, greater than all his traditional beliefs and knows no death nor decay. Man's mistakes and failures have been many, leaving their ruins on the way along which he came. The strain of his sorrow and suffering has been infinite, but they mark his strong perseverance to shatter the bonds of his imprisoned ideals. Who could have, even for a moment, endured all this struggle, if it did not have an eternal significance in an inspiration which ever urges him to realize a greater unity in wisdom and love with him who can lead his heart and mind into the truth of all things. Who among men can seek for comfort and where for him is rest? The only goal of human life is to offer freedom and be free, the freedom that guides it to the life which is worth while.

The article is principally based upon my "Religion of Man" and the Kamala lectures delivered at the Calcutta University. In the translation of it, I have been greatly helped by Mr. Humayun Kabir of the Calcutta University. In the present revised form it was delivered at the Andhra University, Waltair, on the 9th of December, 1933, being one of a series of three Readership lectures.

— RABINDRANATH TAGORE

'BREEZY APRIL, VAGRANT APRIL"

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Breezy April, Vagrant April,
Rock me in your swing of music !
Thrill my branches with enchantment
Of your touch of sweet surprises.
In my idle dream by wayside
You come startling me from slumber,
Wilful in your mood fantastic
Tease me with inconstant courting.

Breezy April, Vagrant April,
I live with my lonesome shadows.
I know all your fitful fancies
Language of your flitting footsteps.
All my secrets burst in blossoms
At your passing breath of whisper,
And my new leaves break in tumult
Of surrender of their kisses.

PACIFIST POLICY IN THE FAR EAST AND INDIA'S FREEDOM

By WILFRED WELLOCK (ex-M.P.)

THE issue of total disarmament is at last coming into the domain of practical politics.

Owing to its revolutionary character, however, there is little likelihood that this policy will be adopted by general agreement among the big Powers. In all probability its general adoption will depend upon one Power first applying it. To do this it will have to take its courage in both hands.

Opinion in Britain is strengthening in favour of the adoption of unilateral disarmament -by Great Britain, that is. During the last year or two the Churches especially have more and more veered round to this view.

Those of us who support this line of action are being asked to state our case in relation to the existing world situation. Hence the present article on the situation in the Far East, with special reference to unilateral disarmament and Japanese Imperialism.

In presenting a case for a pacifist policy in the Far East, I should not be warranted in assuming that were a British Labour Government, say, wholly to disarm, other Governments would immediately follow her example, although it is quite possible that the U. S. A. might.

Psychological Effects of Disarmament

What most people entirely overlook when discussing pacifist policy is its psychological effect, not so much directly upon Governments, as indirectly, through a change in public opinion. In disarming herself voluntarily, Great Britain would perform one of the most courageous deeds recorded in history, and this would not be a gesture to Governments merely, but to world democracy, whose acclaiming response would be instantaneous. There is every reason to believe that the direct result would be strong revolt and growing against the old order of things, and ere long changes which would amount to a social revolution. Britain's prestige and influence would be greatly increased both in a general way and in all international assemblies.

For more is involved in total unilateral disarmament than meets the eye, especially if the Power which disarmed controlled an Empire. Were Britain to disarm, she would prepare for that step by the issuing of a Declaration explanatory of her intentions. These would include the freeing of the Empire from military control, therefore the giving of freedom to India, for instance, and the institution of a sound democratic policy in Africa; a promise to place all international disputes not settled by agreement before the appropriate International Tribunal; and proposals for the constructive use of the £110,000,000 now being spent annually on militarism.

Such a policy would strike the imagination of the world, and point the way to an era of sanity and progress which the heart of mankind would endorse.

The new psychological situation thus created would constitute a powerful bulwark against Imperialism, and make it very difficult for any Government to support an Imperialist policy, not to speak of setting out to create an Empire.

Imperialism no longer Pays

Moreover, Great Britain would now be in a strong position to tell Japan that Imperialism does not pay; that whatever may have been the value of an Empire in the past, its cost today is far greater than its worth. Imperialism is the greatest stumbling-block in the way of disarmament, and its upkeep is costing this country annually more than the annual value of all British investments, public and private, in the Empire. Furthermore, such preferences as those arranged at the Ottawa Conference, given to the Empire at

the expense of the British farmer and the British taxpayer, in many cases, were given primarily to assist the Empire to keep up its annual interest payments to the British investor. Indeed, when these concessions jeopardize other investments, such as those in the Argentine, modifications have to be made. Then, to crown all, when the national consciousness of a ruled people awakens and the demand for self-rule asserts itself, Imperialism can be very costly indeed, as we are discovering in India today.

The U. S. A. is making the same discovery in regard to her financial Empire in the S. American Republics, in consequence of which President Roosevelt has renounced the policy of collecting interest dues by means of gunboats and declared in favour of discussion and co-operation.

Is it beyond belief that Japan can be made to see these things? There is good reason to believe that Japan will very soon learn this lesson in Manchuria, as already that venture is proving extremely costly, while the fruits of conquest are slipping from her fingers. The Chinese, moreover, are a patient and intractable people, and have methods all their own of defeating the conquests of usurpers and bullies. It is more than likely that Japan will very soon discover that in these days of enlightenment and awakening conquest and Imperialism do not pay.

Japan's Perilous Ambitions

At the moment Japan is credited with entertaining Imperialist ambitions in China, Siberia, India, Singapore and Hong Kong, in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific. A pretty tall order. A century's hard work, if things went well. But a good deal is likely to happen both outside and inside Japan before she proceeds very far on her path of conquest. Let us face the realities of this situation.

It is generally agreed that Japan's first objective will be the conquest of part or the whole of China, and that afterwards she will make a bid for the conquest of Siberia. The attack upon India would come later. But if a subjugated India has been able to hold up Imperial Britain by means of pacifism, a free India would know how to deal with Japan should the latter attempt to conquer the country. Regarding the conquest of Siberia, if Japan does not feel equal to that task now, it is difficult to see how she hopes to be equal to it after she has been decimated and rendered bankrupt by her conquest of China. It is well known that even now Russia has 700 aeroplanes within easy striking distance of Japan; that she is constructing a large number of roads on her South Siberian frontier; that she is pushing on with the completion of the double railway line through Siberia, and that she is encouraging emigration to Eastern Siberia and developing industry there on a large scale. Soviet Russia is more than a match for Japan now and the disparity will increase in Russia's favour as the years pass. As for Japan being assisted by a simultaneous attack from the West by Hitler as is frequently being suggested these days, the latter is not likely to play so completely into the hands of the Communists. Were Hitler to attack Russia, before many weeks were passed revolution would be rife in Germany, which might very easily be the prelude to a European and indeed a world revolution. Hitler will think twice before making such a gift to Communism. Thus the invasion of China by Japan would be attended by tremendous risks which a disarmed Britain would point out to Japan.

How a Pacifist Policy would Operate

The question which now emerges, therefore, is what effect a totally disarmed Britain would have upon the proposed Japanese invasion of China. The conduct of Sir John Simon during the last two-and-half years is a proof that no Conservative British Government is likely to give serious opposition to such an invasion. Now while a Labour Government would definitely side with China and oppose Japan were the latter to invade the former, it is highly improbable that a Labour Government, even were it to retain its arms, would support China to the extent of going to war. And Japan would probably feel safe in counting on that fact. But I contend that a bloc of Powers which were ready to pledge their military forces to aid China could defend China equally well by other means. That

bloc would include Britain, U. S. A., Russia and France—the four strongest Powers in the world—financially and economically. That bloc along with other Powers that would come in with them, would be able to place an embargo upon Japan which would be deadly. This embargo would be on finance, armaments and on certain specified materials used in the manufacture of armaments. If need be, they might even make a world appeal for the voluntary boycott of Japanese goods. That would be tremendously effective, for the U. S. A. is Japan's best customer, and Japan knows very well that the easily accessible market of America consists of a population three or four times that of her own, whose standard of living and purchasing power exceeds that of any other country. Japan, faced with the united opposition above described, would think twice before jeopardizing a definite and very lucrative market for a nebulous one which depended upon an exorbitantly costly war.

Then, as Manchuria is teaching Japan, the cost of conquering China or some part of it would not be nearly so great as the cost of holding it afterwards. And China has an uncanny capacity for absorbing her conquerors, and she could absorb many Japans. Moreover, Japan may learn to her cost that the proposal to invade Siberia might provoke an attack upon herself by Soviet Russia should Japan invade China. Since a number of Fascist States have been set up in Europe, in all of which the fear of counter-revolution is rampant, the Western border of Soviet Russia is safer from attack than it has ever been. In such circumstance, Russia might feel justified in taking time by the forelock and either attack Japan or go to the assistance of those Chinese Provinces which have set up a Soviet system of Government, should they be attacked with Japanese assistance.

But as already indicated, a powerful deterrent to a Japanese invasion of China would be the example of Britain in granting freedom to India and substituting voluntary co-operation for domination.

Let us Understand Japan

But the strongest argument of all in favour of a pacifist policy (starting with a disarmed Britain) in the Far East is that it would be accompanied by measures which could allay Japan's fears and avoid most of the catastrophies above discussed. Our first duty is to try to understand Japan's position. Japan fears the future, the possibility of being overwhelmed by mightier Powers than herself in the Far East—Soviet Russia on one side and an awakened, industrialized and united China on another; the British Empire holding sway in the South and the United States in and across the Pacific. She needs some assurance. The voluntary disarmament of Britain would give her that assurance in great measure, while the declaration which would attend it regarding India, Australia, etc., would set her thinking and cause her to see the possibility of the dawn of a new era in international relations.

Sooner or later the emigration question, *e.g.*, will have to be raised in regard to Australia. The holding of Australia for high grade European citizens is a policy which cannot be defended. While the East is overcrowded there can be no excuse for allowing a vast continent like Australia to be at the disposal of a handful of people. Australia lies midway between the East and the West, and might fittingly be the meeting-place where East and West unite in the fullest sense of the term. On the other hand, Australia's fear that her standard of living might be jeoparodized by this proposal is a real one. But it could be met. There are plenty of people in Japan, India and China who are accustomed to a high standard of living and would fight to prevent it being lowered. Hence a solution would appear to be possible in a policy of selective emigration—a policy to which the Governments concerned would readily agree. Also, were the U. S. A. to disarm, that step would probably be followed by the restoration of the immigration quotas to Japan and China, as is being proposed by the advocates of disarmament in the U. S. A.

In my opinion action along these lines would revolutionize world thinking in regard to international affairs. Incidentally it would increase the prestige of Great Britain and make her counsels on all international bodies all powerful, while the common people of all lands would demand action in their own

countries on the lines of that taken by this country. Thus it is not unlikely that ere long Great Britain would have gathered around her a strong body of Powers which were ready to follow her example and disarm.

As I see the situation, therefore, a pacifist policy in the Far East, which of course would have to be started by one country alone, (I have assumed that it would be Britain,) is perfectly sound, would be beneficial from every point of view, and be the quickest way of ending militarism and Imperialism and of leading the nations to the methods of reason and co-operation on all issues, including the Economic, the right of all nations to adequate supplies of raw materials, etc.

CHRIST OR THE KAISER OF CHRISTENDOM

By MANILAL C. PAREKH

MORE than a century back, India registered its protest against Christian Missions through the mouth of its greatest son, Raja Rammohun Roy, whom Mr. C. F. Andrews speaks of as the greatest religious genius of modern times, in these words :

> It is true that the apostles of Jesus Christ used to preach the superiority of the Christian religion to the natives of different countries. But we must recollect that they were not of the rulers of those countries where they preached. Were the missionaries likewise to preach the Gospel and distribute books in countries not conquered by the English, such as, Turkey, Persia, etc., which are much nearer England, they would be esteemed a body of man truly zealous in propagating religion and in following the example of the founders of Christianity. In Bengal where the English are the sole rulers, and where the mere name ot Englishman is sufficient to frighten people, an encroachment upon the rights of her poor, timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act. We have been subjected to such insults for about nine centuries and the cause of such degradation has been our excess in civilization and the abstinence from the slaughter even of animals.

Rammohun Roy followed up this protest by issuing three big books which he called "Appeals to the Christian Public," pleading with them not to carry on such mission work as was done by "introducing a religion by means of abuse of and insult to the religions of the people of India, and by affording the hope of worldly gain to its converts." This was not merely an Indian protest but the protest of one who had openly declared himself a follower of Christ.

It is needless to say that this protest was not heeded in the least, and Protestant missions in India carried on their work in the objectionable manner described above. The methods of mission work, however, became still more objectionable and anything but Christian after about half a century from the time that Rammohun Roy voiced his protest. This was immediately after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. During this Mutiny a German mission working among the Kols offered (10,000) ten thousand Kol Christians, and an American mission working among the Karens in Burma, offered 3,000 Karen Christians to fight for the East India Company against the mutineers. The Company did not accept this help, mainly from prudential motives, especially as the Mutiny had arisen from a belief on the part of the people that the British were going to convert both the Hindus and the Moslems to the Christian faith. The Mutiny was quelled and these facts, *viz.*, that in India there were millions of people—the Untouchables and the Aboriginal Tribes—whose interests were not in some respects identical with those of the major portion of the nation, and if these could be converted to Christianity, the Government could have a large body of people on whom it could rely for support in times of trouble, came to be known all over England, and from Queen Victoria down to the commonest man an enthusiasm for mission work in India grew as never before. The churches and missions of other countries, such as, America, Germany,

etc., joined hands with the British missions, and from 1858 onwards we have had in India the now much-boomed Mass Movements. The number of these Mass Movement Christians grew in every part of the country by leaps and bounds, and from that time practically whatever little conversion there was among the upper classes came to an end. This is the genesis of the Mass Movements in India and what has been said here can be verified in Richter's History of Missions in India word for word.

We have in this story an example of Missionary Imperialism at its worst, and this in a country where religion means so much to the people, and where because of that Christianity should have been saved from being the scandal that it became. Christianity in India has been made a wrong use of in a way the like of which it is doubtful if anything in the history of entire Christendom has been known. I well remember a statement that was made to me by a well-known missionary in India who said, "Mr. Parekh, whenever any man comes to us for Baptism, the first question that we ask ourselves is, what does this man want ?" About the same time I was told by a young Salvationist : "The moment a man is baptized he is materialized." The situation is only a little better in China from where we have the words "Rice Christians." It is perhaps as bad in Korea. While I was coming to this country (America) first time *via* China and Japan, I met an Anglican Bishop working in Korea, who told me words such as these in regard to mission work there : "It is all bribery and I feel that even I am bought up : I am, however, prepared to work with my own hands."

In these countries and others we are face to face with Missionary Imperiailsm, which is a compound of five kinds of imperialism, *viz.*, religious, racial. cultural, political and economic, and Jesus Christ has been made into what may be called the Kaiser of Christendom, a figure as different from the meek and crucified Jesus as could be. This is the great tragedy of Christian missions in the Orient, and in it lies a real menace to the civilizations and cultures of these oriental countries. On the so-called uniqueness of Christ has been built up an edifice which is the very negation of the Christianity of Christ. Intelligent and honest missionaries are fully aware of these facts, and although they among themselves discuss these matters frankly and fully, they are afraid to do so before their home constituencies for various reasons. They dare not face the fact of failure of their life work and of the cause they have sponsored. Once in a while a man like Mr. C. F. Andrews has the supreme courage to break himself loose from this godless system and his very loyalty to Christ is doubted by his erstwhilé co-workers for almost all his life. Indeed, things are so bad that a very eminent Anglican missionary, the head of one of the finest Christian missions, told me : "Real mission work has not even begun. What we have done so far is only philanthropy." I had to correct him by saying that the so-called mission work was or could be called philanthropy only when it was at its best ; on lower strata it could not be called even that. This was a correction which he gladly accepted.

The results of work done on these lines have been such that the Missions have now stuck in the mire of their own creation or Karma. The so-called National Churches are neither national nor churches. This is especially true of India. The church there is a socio-economic community the outlook of which is largely secular and materialistic. It is entirely parasitic to its Western patrons and what is worse is pharisaic in its relation to the people of other faiths. This attitude has been generated in it by the constant dinning into its ears of the indictment of faiths other than the Christian. The moral results of all this pharisaism have been disastrous. A very eminent English Bishop just before his retirement from India said to me : "Things are so awful that nothing that you can tell me would surprise me." One can find the same from the Regional and Fact Finders' Reports issued by the Laymen's Commission.

This is not the worst of it. The so-called National Church in India is now filled with a desire to swell its numbers. Backed up by the Missionary system of the Western World, it has generated enough momentum for this at least. Islam divided the Hindu society into two communities by its proselytizing work done during the last eight or nine centuries,

so much so that the Hindu-Moslem problem has now become a permanent problem giving the deepest anxiety to all lovers of India and of God among both the Hindus and the Moslems. To this problem Christianity is now adding another by dividing the Hindu society further (it has been able to make no impression upon the Moslems in India). In 1928, when Dr. Mott was in India, after a long talk with me about the way I came to know Christ and profess myself as a disciple by baptism, he asked me as to what it was that weighed upon my mind the most, I replied to him that it was the creation of this new community in the name of Christ and Christianity, a community which would add to the evils of communalism already rampant in India, and which would, moreover, be a stumbling block in the path of people who wanted in earnest to acknowledge Christ as their Master. The creation of the so-called National Church, which really is a community with a special non-Hindu legal and social status and with almost an anti-Hindu cultural and religious bias, is a powerful disintegrating factor in the life of India, and, what is worse, it is a huge bar in the program of the Kingdom of Christ inasmuch as it makes that Kingdom coincide with this socio-economic community.

Four years ago, when I came to this country (America) first, I tried to tell some of these things to the American Christian public and what I said was deeply resented. Indeed, one man in California, who had been once a missionary in China, went so far as to say that, if I said these things, he would see that I had no opening for speaking to the public. I then told him that there were many things in regard to the missionary problem which I had not told the people of India and which I wanted to tell the people here in order that the situation might be remedied, and he climbed down. None the less, the people of this country, especially the Christians here, were not prepared to listen to the truth about the Missions.

Since then a great change has come for the better, thanks be to the Laymen's Report, and one cannot be too thankful to God for this. The churches and the Mission Boards have been at least a little more humble and they have been rudely shaken in their dogmatic and imperialistic assurance that what they have been doing so far is the best that could be done. The Report, however, steered in the middle path. It could have been as orthodox in its belief as any group in this or any other country and yet its criticism of Missions would be valid. In this, however, it took the middle path, and surely in this it is truly representative of the best Christian mind in America and Europe. But the Report could have gone much further in its criticism of Missions. It has been largely silent in regard to the worst aspect of Missions *viz.*, their Imperialism. Dr. Fisher was the only one who pointed one to this shortcoming in it. Mr. C. F. Andrews has mentioned this matter in an article of his in one of the issues of *The International Review of Missions* of 1933, though he does not speak of the Report making this omission there.

This Report, however, has rendered the greatest possible service, not to the cause of Missions—the sooner we forget this term with all its unfortunate but almost inherent connotation of religious, cultural and racial superiority the better—but to the Kingdom of Christ, which after all is the thing that matters. It has been charged, falsely though, with syncretism, but even if there be any such element in it, it is far better than this Missionary Imperialism which has confounded in the past the Kingdom of Christ with Western culture and civilization together with various Colonial Imperialisms, and which would still persist in confounding the same with the various churches and Christianity. As both a Hindu of Hindus and a disciple of Christ, let me appeal to the Christians of America and Europe no more to confound the spiritual Kingdom of Christ Jesus with the secularized, materialized and carnal Christianity which the Churches and Missions represent both in the East and West. It is against all the principles and above all the spirit of Jesus Christ, and the time has long since gone, if it ever was, to divide the human race into Christian and non-Christian by the mere fact of baptism, which has been misapplied to such un-Christian and even anti-Christian ends both in the past and in the present. This confusion of thought induced by the lurking missionary imperialism lies behind the book, *The Christian Message in the*

World Today, which has been recently published.

Jesus Christ is a far greater reality on the Indian Road and among non-Christians in India and perhaps in other non-Christian lands, such as, China, Japan. etc., than in so-called Christian lands. Even the churches in these latter lands require as much to be converted as the "heathens" of Asia and Africa, and if Jesus Christ came today he would convict them of the sin of self-righteous pharisaism, the greatness of which is in proportion to what Christendom is to Jewry of His day.

What has been written here is a plea from a Hindu disciple of Christ for a return to Christ from the Kaiser of Christendom, and for ending this Missionary Imperialism, which is a compound of five types of Imperialism, in order to make room for a real and vital Christo-centric (not Christian) international, inter-racial and inter-religious unity of the world.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

By IDA M. GURWELL

IV. Exit Orthodoxy

It may be truthfully said that at many intervals during the sessions of the World Fellowship of Faiths, Orthodoxy gracefully made its exit in favour of many waiting active groups, religiously speaking, not known as Orthodox.

Lest we forget, we shall repeat again the purpose of the World Fellowship of Faiths; "To unite the inspiration of all faiths upon the solution of man's present problems."

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, National Chairman, in an article in the *Literary Digest*, in comparing the Parliament of Religions forty years ago and the World Fellowship of Faiths says there are two vital differences :

> The first difference is that, instead of a comparative parade of rival religions, all faiths will be challenged to manifest or apply their religion by helping to solve the urgent problems which impede man's progress.
>
> The second difference is that the word 'faiths is understood to include, not only religions, but all types of spiritual consciousness of conviction which are determining the actual lives of significant groups of people.
>
> Educational, philanthropic, social, economic, national and political 'faiths' will thus be included.

Under the second difference, we extend the horizon and bring into the Conference the educational, philanthropic, social and economic groups. They are present. Needed too. Who more than they know what is going on in the world ? Who in a position to have a truer reflection of life ? These groups are working daily with the conditions as they are, and not as some Idealist wishes them to be.

Such groups for want of a better name, might be called practi-religious. Their activities are important not only to the soul of man, but, his material well-being. These groups are the active end of religious thought. Our wide-visioned leaders know this. They welcome them.

Idealism is not so popular in the world today. Everywhere there are real problems to be solved if civilization is to endure. Perhaps these "unprofessionally" religious groups can show us a way. They do present many practical, adjustable ideas, and let us honestly say they seem to be working unselfishly for the greatest good for the most people.

Jane Addams, Honorary President of the World Fellowship of Faiths, said in her opening address :

> I am sure the soul of this complex age of ours must be discovered through the bringing together of many people from various parts of the earth.

We have carried out a part at least of Jane Addams' plan, namely, "brought together many people from various parts of the earth."

Such questions as the following were discussed :

> Proverty admidst plenty—How to cure it ?
> Men and machines—Which shall be master ?

Non-violence—A key to world Peace ?
Racial and Religious persecution—How prevent it ?
How Faiths, in fellowship, may save civilization ?
Youth and the future.
How realize World Unity ?
Russia's Soviet Faith.
Public Ownership.
Motion Pictures.

There were many other questions equally important, but we give these that you may see the variety of interests considered throughout these sessions. Specialists in their particular field introduced each question. There can be no doubt as to the authenticity of information. Speakers taught us to respect statistics. They did not disguise facts. They spoke of tottering civilization and gave possible reasons, which those conversant with current problems must realize are truths.

Attending these meetings classified properly as un-orthodox, came groups widely known for their influence in shaping many thinking minds of the world. Each was given an opportunity to tell of his plan for World betterment. Leaders of Theosophy, Spiritualism, Unity, and Bahai, and many "cults" and "isms" not so well known were present, all responding in the earnestness of his accepted Faith. Large audiences assembled to hear these leaders, for many thousands of people in America and elsewhere are followers of these plans for living.

Theosophy was well represented. Mme. Rukmini Arundale gave an excellent talk on India. Her subject, "India, her past Contribution and Present Potential Power for World Progress". Rt. Rev. George S. Arundale, who is also a Bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church, gave an address on—"Theosophy, its Light on Living Today". This was a thrilling message. Attending almost every session was a representative of the *National Spiritualist* published in Chicago by The National Spiritualist Association. Sir Oliver Lodge's message was given in an earlier article. *Unity* was represented by the Founder who gave a most excellent and understandable talk.

The Bahai Movement, which originated in Persia, was represented by Rev. Albert R. Vail, Ph. D., who is Editor of the Bahai magazine, *Star of the West*. He talked on "The Bahai Program for World Re-construction." Chicago has been selected for the centre of Bahai activites in this country, and a beautiful temple, significant in traditions and symbolism, is being completed.

Motion Pictures were covered by Dr. Worth M. Tippy, New York. He gave definite instances where sermons, powerful ones, had been preached through Motion Pictures. In the United States, more than 60,000,000 people see pictures every week.

Mrs. Margaret Sanger talked on, "Women of the Future."

Dr. Carl D. Thompson, LL.D., Secretary of Public Ownership League of America, gave an enlightening talk on "Public Ownership the Way Out." He gave names of municipalities operating under this plan, that were free from debt.

Dr. James Yard, formerly of Northwester University, Chicago, talked on "Youth of the Future." He spoke in glowing terms of the intelligent way in which the Youth of the world are facing the problems that have come to them through the disruption of the present social order.

Dr. Manly Hall, Los Angeles, Calif., whom many of us in America have acquired the habit of always hearing in his lectures, spoke on "How Man may Master Fear." He is a forceful and dynamic speaker and he talked to one of the largest audiences of the entire Parliament.

Mrs. Charles Church Terrel, Washington, a graduate of Oberlin College in Ohio, the first College in the United States to open its doors to coloured and white alike, told of her struggles and those of her coloured sisters in trying to overcome race prejudice. Others of her race talked on this question too, which is a problem in America, gradually being overcome.

Miss Muriel Lester, Social Worker, London, in whose home Mahatma Gandhi lived for three months during Indian Round Table Conference, gave several talks from her experience in Social Work and touched upon the fine qualities of India's well-known man and brought comprehensive plans for the betterment of the world's conditions.

There were 247 speakers on the programmes of the World Fellowship of Faiths. It is impossible even to mention the many splendid talks given.

In seeing the splendid co-operative work

of all these groups we might ask the question, just what is religion? Are not all groups and all men religious in the fullest meaning of the word?

In speaking of Religion, Hon. H. A. Wallace, U. S. Secretary of Agriculture, in his address on "Machinery, Economics and Religion" says:

"By religion I mean that instinctive, fundamental, underlying attitude, which everyone has to the World outside of himself and especially toward the less tangible, more enduring, spiritual force." "The religion I am talking about has nothing to do with creeds or churches."

V. Hostess Chicago

Everywhere in this vast city is seen people from all parts of the world. Not only has the World Fellowship of Faiths brought to us the great religious leaders, but the world's Fair has centred the interests of the educational, economic, industrial and scientific world in Chicago.

In the official welcome extended by Mayor Kelly to this Conference he said,

Perhaps no convention ever held in Chicago has represented such a cross-section of the whole world. From all the corners of the earth you come, free of prejudice, abundant in love for your fellow-men, and earnest in your desire to add the the friendliness of your own particular faith to a common objective." "Out of this great convention must come plans which, if they are carried out, will exert a vital influence upon the whole world.

At the Morrison Hotel where the headquarters for this Conference was located, were registered many great names. Some for a few days only; others for the duration of the Convention. On the platform the opening night were many leaders who contributed greatly to the success of the Convention. They were as follows:

Bishop Nakayama, Patriarch of the Tenrikyo Church (Shinto), Japan. (Translated by Prof. H. Kishimoto.)

Vidya-Vibhushana Pandit Dr. Shyama Shankar of India and Geneva, representing Hinduism.

Dju, Shwen-Ching, of China, for Confucianism.

Dr. Bhagat Singh Thind, of India, for the Sikh Religion.

Dr. Maneck Anglesaria, M. A., PH. D., of Bombay, India, representing Zoroastrianism.

Bishop Kenju Masuyama, Buddhist, from Japan. (Translated by Rev. Terakawa).

Mr. Champat Rai Jain, of India, for the Jain religion.

Pandit Ayodhya Prosad, B.A., of India representing the Arya Samaj of Bombay.

Sufi Mutiur Rahman Bengalee, of India, for Islam, read a Cabled message from His Holiness Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, Khalifa-tul-Masih II, Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, Qadian, India.

Dr. K. V. Mulbagala, of India, representing His Holiness Jagadguru Shri Shankaracharya, Head of the Hindu Seat (ranking as an independent State) established 1,100 years ago.

Rabbi Abraham Nowak, of the Temple on the Heights, Cleveland, Ohio [JUDAISM], Rabbi Jacob Singer, of Temple Mizpah, Chicago, responded for Judaism.

The Rev. William Franklin Slade, D. D., of the South Congregational Church, Chicago, spoke for Christianity.

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, of Washington, D. C., called to represent Christian Coloured Women.

Rt. Rev. Callistos, Bishop of San Francisco, of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Duke Kwesi Kuntu, of the Gold Coast, West Africa, representing the Ashanti religion, was introduced to audience.

Rajah Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh, a Prince of Nepal, closed the programme on the opening evening with a greeting to All Religions after a Peace Song, written by Rajah Singh, was sung by Emery Darcy.

Most of the above-named were guests from the Orient. We have said little concerning the leaders from Europe who were guests in Chicago. Still less has been said about those who attended as delegates from America. It would be unfair not to name a few of them, as they are Inter-nationally known, and contributed some of the finest thoughts of the Western world.

To us from Europe came representatives fully aware of the problems within their own borders as well as having a knowledge of the affairs of the world. Two of these delegates were outstanding. Their talks as well as their attitude of helpfulness and understanding won for them a place in our hearts.

Prof. Herbert von Beckereth of Bonn, Germany, delegated by the America Institute and the Authorities of Germany, gave an address that showed detailed study. His talk,"The Moral Basis of the Economic Order," reflected unbiased truths.

Dr. Herman Neander, Rector of Estuna, Sweden, was broad and sympathetic in his views. Nearing the completion of a three-year tour of the world, in which he made a study of the Religions of the different countries, he was able to give us much first-hand information. His angle on Russia seemed unprejudiced. His fairness to all nations was appreciated by his audience. He believes

thoroughly in the great helpfulness that must come to mankind through freedom of thought. It would seem that his talks were built of the proper amount of spiritual and the correctly measured amount of material that made them well-balanced. Through them he added the strength of conviction without inciting the sometimes accompanying argument. Dr. Neander talked many times while a guest in Chicago, but it seemed his discourse, "The Necessity of Co-operation among Religions," brought forcibly to his listeners the purpose of the World Fellowship of Faiths.

So many dalegates from America were present that it is possible to mention a few only. We listened to John Dewey, of of Columbia University, who is known as one of America's greatest Educators; Bishop Montgomery Brown, D. D. of Galion, Ohio, who spoke to large audiences on his chosen subjects, first, "A Faith for a New World," second, "The New Faith from the view-point of Science." From the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City, came Hon. Brigham H. Roberts, who gave a most interesting talk on, "The Standard of Peace". Dean Roscoe Pound of Harvard University, "Faith in Civilization" and Dr. Preston Bradley, Chicago, "Ideals for a new world Order".

From the Jewish Faith, Judaism, came many delegates. In additlon to Rabbi Nowak whose response on the opening night proved his breadth of vision as well as sincerity of purpose; Rabi Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi Felix Levy, Rabbi Samuel Goldensen, all nationally known, came with others to join the Conference. They spoke eloquently on subjects of great interest to Jew and Gentile alike, and it may be said of these learned men that they spoke with an earnestness and sureness that comes only from deep convictions.

Because we feel poetry is related to religion, we must not omit our guest, Dr. Percy Mackaye. From his inspiring talk, "The Faith of Poetry", we quote here,

"The founders of all World Faiths that have swayed Humanity—Jesus, Buddha, Confucius, Moses, Homer, Aknanton,—the seers of all philosophies, mythologies, religions—have been the supreme poets of their varied faiths." "Christian and pagan, Gentile and Jew, underlying and supporting all their creeds is the faith of poetry. The creative law of imagination."

A glowing purposeful group !
With my heart and my head,
I salute the Soul in you.

You taught us the Hindu Saluate. When we analyse it we find it means all ! We are practical in the Western World and direct. How better can we welcome you ? When one man recognizes the soul in another, then we have gone far toward Universal Brotherhood.

VI: To All Intent

To all intent, the second Parliament of Religions has been the Spiritual success of the age. Many facts have been brought to us, the principal one being, that TRUTH is vari-hued and can be broken up and viewed as colours of the spectrum ; like a well-cut gem it scintillates prismatic rays from each facet. It is a many-sided thing of fire and beauty. The great truth that *God is* reaches the consciousness of man through various channels.

There were no world problems solved at this Conference. How could there be ? The purpose of this body is, "To unite the inspiration of all faiths upon the solution of man's present problems." These meetings have brought about the "united inspiration", now it remains for the mind of the world to acknowledge this unity as one of the greatest steps yet taken toward helpfulness to all mankind. Remember this is a Religious union ! What could be more important to the world ? We have learned that religion shapes thoughts ; thoughts become words and deeds, and if the world deals with the concrete then in time it will accept what has been done here.

The Great Soul Lincoln in his Gettysburg speech, a speech that has been preserved in England as an example of pure English, and in America as an example of pure Spirituality as well, said, "The world will little note or long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here." The bigness of the Parliament of Religions justifies the use of the quotation.

Before leaving the Conference, we shall quote Manly Hall, well-known Publisher and Lecturer. He has never been known to shy

at truths, and his address on, "True Fellowship of Faiths" evaluates World religions as the practical worker finds them. He said,

"For thousands of years the function of Theology has been to divide and confuse." "There can be no Christianity while five hundred Christian sects compete with each other in creedal barriers." "There can be no Fellowship of Faiths while several great religions of the world ignore the unity of their spiritual aspirations and emphasize their sectarian differences." "We fail utterly to be religious because we fail to realize Zeus and Brahma, Jehovah, Allah, and God are not different divinities, but the same Divine Essence interpreted through the language mediums of these different races."

He further said,

"Co-operation toward a common purpose is the most acceptable sentiment which modern religion can preach to a troubled world."

It has been said in speaking of the East and West, "Never the twain shall meet". It would seem they have met in the World Fellowship of Faiths, in mutual sympathy and understanding. The meeting has been brought about through the needs of a troubled world. Here all have learned to say meaningly, not *My* Lord, *Your* God, but *Our* Father, thus proving brotherhood ; and not *My* East, *Your* West, but *Our* World, thereby acknowledging Universal Togetherness.

On this the closing day, the lobby of the Morrison Hotel is still crowded with delegates from many lands. Emerson said, "The Old Religions have a charm for most minds which it is a little uncanny to disturb." Whether because of this charm, or through actual interest manifested, the Representatives of many Faiths have remained.

Great minds agree that when the problems of the world are solved, it will be done with religious thought back of it. What matters whether by the studied circuitous route of the East, or the youthful directness of the West ? The very best in religious thought from both East and West must be used if the devastating, undermining influence of selfishness and greed is to be overcome.

Maharaja Gaekwar of India gave the opening address. A long list of other men from the Orient held an important place throughout the Conference.

In conclusion came the benediction, used so many times during the World Fellowship of Faiths. It was repeated in unsion. All earnestness went into it.

From unreality lead us to truth,
From darkness lead us to light,
From death lead us to immortality.

The beauty of this benediction falls like a rich mantle upon the activities of the Parliament of Religions. In the benediction, there is something of the quiet of the brood at evening when the sunset purples into night ; Something of the Peace and Wisdom of the Himalayas ; and behind all—hidden away in the heart of humanity a universal desire for right living to merit the crown—Immortality.

CONFESSION

By CHARLES C. MARSHALL

(After hearing Rabindranath Tagore at Carnegie Hall, New York, November 21, 1916.)

"Out of the Orient Light !" It shines again,
O Sage of India, from thy message wise
Athwart our Western World, unto our eyes
Starkly disclosing all our age-long sin,
Our lust for empire and our greed for gain,
The temple vowed to God and given to Baal,
And all the twice one thousand years' betrayal,
The red world-welter on the Danube's plain,
The iron rule that came with Christ's own bread
To India, and all the vast machinery
We sent to break the Orient's revery—
From West to East the Gospel we have spread.
And now the judgment ! We have not sufficed.
We wrought for Cæsar while we spoke for Christ.

New York. November 29, 1916

CAUSATION OF GEOLOGICAL DISTURBANCES AND CLIMATIC CHANGES

By D. C. Nag

I. Geological History

The periodic recurrence and worldwide extension of mountain-making and volcanic activities, the great continental floodings and the Ice Ages are the most remarkable geological events. There have been about a score of epoch-making geological cycles and as many marine transgressions since earliest known geological age. The upliftings of the Himalayas, Alps, and Rocky Mountains, during Tertiary Age, were thus more or less simultaneous; many other instances of contemporaneous world-wide volcanic activities and geological disturbances may be cited from definitely established geological history. There is definite evidence that at certain times glacial condition and at certain other times warm climate extended from Pole to Pole.

II. Evidence

Geological history is built on evidence found in the rocks of different ages, in fossils, stratigraphy, glacial boulder-beds, etc. The *true* density and chemical constitution of igneous rocks also throw considerable light on their condition of formation, particularly the relative temperature and pressure at which the rocks were formed—density varying directly as the pressure and inversely as the temperature. Accordingly, examination of density and chemical constitution of the basic substrata (consisting of diorites, gabbros, etc) shows that the rocks are products of crystallization from the parent basaltic magma at about 1200°C and 200,000 atmospheric pressure. This condition of temperature and pressure just below the crust is essential for the maintenance of dynamic equilibrium and the presumed viscous state of the subcrustal magma which may be defined as rocks in a state of incipient fusion.

There is therefore good reason to infer that an enormous subcrustal magmatic pressure constantly tends to uplift and burst the crust. The crust at the present time must be sufficiently rigid and strong to withstand the internal pressure and prevent world-wide violent explosion. This view throws new light on the outstanding problems about the causation of periodic world-wide geological disturbances (*Khando-Pralaya*) and climatic changes for which, at present, there are hardly any satisfactory explanations.

Seismology shows that the crust is rigid and solid to a depth of about 25 miles, where there is a marked *Discontinuity.* The average temperature gradient (50°C rise per mile of depth) according to which the subcrustal rocks should fuse at about 25 miles' depth, strongly supports this view. The solid crust consists of about 2 miles of sedimentary (porosity about 30 per cent), 7.5 miles of granitic (porosity about 0.4 per cent) and 15.5 miles of basaltic (porosity 0.2 per cent) rocks. Fissures and cavities are most likely confined to the upper zone (say, 8 miles) below which the weakness in the solid crust may be expected to exist in the form of local strains in molecular aggregation. The subcrustal magma under high pressure at times suddenly intrude through the local planes of weakness in the substratum and produce commotion or earthquake tremor in the upper zone.

For a solid crust of about 25 miles' thickness and 2.8 as density, the gravitational pressure on the magma below could utmost be 11000 atmospheric pressure and that only if the continents were isolated floating bodies. If the crust were rigid, as it apparently is, the gravitational pressure on the magma should be practically nil—the crust should retain its shape even if it were hollow inside.

III. Explanation

There is evidently an enormous magmatic pressure, which at normal times like the present, appear to be about 200,000 atmospheric pressure and this can by no means be due to gravity. There must be some other cause. The high pressure is apparently developed by steady increase of volume of the fluid materials in the interior caused by ceaseless atomic disintegration which is more active where the heavy and possibly the more radioactive elements predominate.

According to modern physical theory all elementary atoms are liable to atomic disintegration by which heavier elements are as a rule transmuted into lighter ones with increase of volume of the products and liberation of considerble amount of latent heat. The heavier atoms which have high atomic number and more complex structure disintegrate more readily than the lighter and simpler ones—those which have atomic number above 80 are highly radioactive. The disintegration is ceaseless and should be more active in the interior of the earth where the heavy elements predominate, particularly in the core the density of which is between

10 and 12. Enormous heat and pressure are thus developed in the core of the earth where the temperature possibly exceeds 100,000°C and the pressure (according to Daly) ranges between one and 3·4 millions atmospheric pressure. The solid crust as an insulator resists the outward flow of heat and pressure which slowly and steadily accumulate below the crust. Eventually, at intervals of tens of millions of years, the subcrustal pressure gradually attaining maximum intensity, ruptures the crust, pours out lava flows, uplifts mountain ranges, raises oceanic beds causing continental floodings, and lets out the subcrustal store of heat which with the help of oceanic water, atmospheric agencies and solar-heat primarily governs the climatic condition and the evolution of this planet. This conclusion is strongly supported by its consistency with many important geological and palæometeorological observations of eminent authorities. It accounts for geological cycles, Ice Ages and Interglacial warm periods.

IV. Climate

Schuchert in his *Climates of Geologic Times* (1914) observed some close relationship between geological disturbances and climatic changes. The marked climatic changes of geologic times are apparently the after-effects of worldwide sub-aeriel and sub-marine mountain-making and volcanic activities. How the two different conditions of geological disturbances produce opposite effects on climate appear to be simple enough. Under the sub-aeriel condition the internal heat poured out with lava flows is quickly lost by radiation, while under the sub-marine condition the heat is long retained by oceanic water and distributed all over the globe maintaining a prolonged tropical and subtropical climate most suitable for the evolution plant and animal life. Thus, as Schuchert observed, Ice Ages or cold climates appear, as if *suddenly introduced*, during or immediately after the periods of marked mountain-making and volcanic activities and at times when the continents are more or less emergent; while worldwide tropical and subtropical climate, marked by maximum coal and limestone formations, falls in with times of great continental floodings. Continental flooding or marine transgression has been ascribed by some authors to the melting of polar ice; it is more likely to be chiefly due to upheaval of oceanic beds by sub-marine igneous activities which introduce heat into oceanic water and thus melt the polar ice. The melting of polar ice may be thus only of secondary importance.

There are definite evidences that shortly after the grand Himalayan upheaval glacial condition prevailed along the foot-hills of the Himalayas at low levels considerably below 5000 feet elevation; glacial condition also appeared in Jodhpur State shortly after the outburst of Melani rhyolites and in Cadapah (Madras Presidency) after the local volcanic activities during Cambrain Age. Many other instances may be given (see, *Climates of Geologic Times* by Schuchert, 1914).

Hence, it is evident that local climatic condition and climates of geologic times have been primarily governed by the intensity of subcrustal magmatic heat and the way the internal heat is transported to, retained at and dissipated from the surface. Accordingly, at high elevation the rarified atmosphere by facilitating quick radiation produces cold climate; for similar reason the moon, which has thin atmosphere, gets very cold at night by quick radiation.

Solar-heat and atmopheric agencies are evidently chiefly responsible for the seasonal and diurnal variations. They also serve as moderator of extreme climates which invariably appear during and immediately before and after the great geological disturbances; they shorten the duration of Ice Ages which rarely exceed 100,000 years—a very short period according to geological time scale. It is quite evident that solar-heat could not prevent the recurring Ice Ages on earth nor the present frigid condition of the moon. Variation of solar-heat cannot account for the Ice Ages nor there is any other satisfactory explanation for repeated worldwide refrigeration. (See *Ice Ages Recent and Ancient* by Coleman, 1926.)

The short Inter-glacial warm periods in Ice Ages, which have been found so very difficult to account for by any of the existtng theories, are evidently produced by a series of minor later outbursts of heat through fractured zone developed in the crust by the original igneous activities. It may be noted that quicker succession of the minor outbursts of heat may even retard actual glaciation, as in the case of Deccan Trap which it seems was not followed by local glacial condition—the Inter-trappean beds present definite evidence of such intermittent minor outbursts of lava flows, during the late Creteceous Age, over an extensive area in Southern India.

The latitudinal variation of climate is commonly ascribed to the angle of incidence or slanting of solar rays. This seems hardly satisfactory; there must be other important factors. The latitudinal variation should be, to a large extent, due to distribution of subcrustal magmatic heat. The hotter and the more fluid magma should traverse the Equatorial zone being driven there by the stronger centrifugal force generated at the Equatorial region by the diurnal revolution of the earth. The cooler and the more viscous magma should, for the same reason, be in the polar subcrustal region. Accordingly, the Arctic and the Antarctic zones should be naturally cooler, but the extreme glacial condition of the present day is considered abnormal being remnant of the Pleistocene Ice Age which intensely affected the Polar region immediately after local volcanic activities. The extreme volcanicity abundant lava flows and the numerous geysores of Iceland and other evidences are suggestive

of intense snb-aerial volcanic activities at the fringe of the Arctic Circle, perhaps extending to the North Pole, which evidently originated the polar glacial condition. Further evidences of polar volcanic activities are likely to lie hidden under the thick sheets of ice which are now melting and slowly receding towards the Poles as the Polar climate is tending to become warmer again.

It is noteworthy that the Permian glaciation was chiefly confined to the Equatorial zone and Southern Hemisphere; the Poles were then very much warmer. According to Coleman and other eminent scientists there is definite evidence that at times warm climate extended from Pole to Pole. Unmistakable biological evidence shows that "in early Meocene time the climate was at least warm temperate in Arctic America." The North Pole was very likely habitable immediately before the Pleistocene Ice Age as suggested by Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Aryan Migration Theory.

V. Discussion

Considering the geological and paleo-meteorological evidences some of the principal theories regarding geological disturbances and climatic changes need considerable modification. The suggestions made in this paper are worth careful consideration and critical review.

The old theory of a cooling and shrinking earth and its surface corrugation is no longer acceptable as geological and pœleo-meteorological evidences indicate that no appreciable cooling has taken place since the earliest known geological age, nor there is any evidence of sufficient gradual contraction of the earth during the time (Schuchert). On the other hand, it seems more likely that the earth is increasing in volume; the growing excess of volume in the interior is apparently poured out as lava flows and this is also indicated by the mountain-making phenomena and the uplifting of oceanic beds. The increase of volume should be more consistent with modern physical theory and an *Expanding Universe.*

The commonly accepted view that the uplifting of mountains might be due to lateral or tangential pressure developed by the gravitational potential energy of the crust itself appears untenable as the horizontal component of gravity should be too small to cause the majestic upliftings of the Himalayas, Alps and other high mountain ranges of the globe. Besides, it is unable to explain the evident correlation between geological disturbances and climatic changes, nor can it account for the intense metamorphism, wrinkling and over-thrusting of the apparently too rigid strata of rocks in the upper zone.

The most widely accepted Theory of Isostasy is regarded by many as established fact. The theory is principally founded on the important geodesic observations which show that "density of rocks beneath the mountains is low and beneath the oceans it is high." The continents and high mountains are accordingly more or less isolated floating bodies capable of re-adjustment with loading and unloading at the surface, or it must be presumed that the crust is traversed by a system of deep fissures or viscous magma-dykes which allow isostatic re-adjustment. Such presumptions are too speculative and highly improbable though they might explain the geodesic observations.

The high magmatic pressure as determined from the density of the deep-seated plutonic rocks and the apparent rigidity of the crust deny the possibility of isostatic re-adjustment at the present time. But a suitable condition for isostatic re-adjustment or even for the drifting of floating continents (Taylor's and Wagner's Theory) possibly arises periodically at times of epoch-making geological disturbances when the sub-marine sub-strata are fused and the overlying granitic and sedimentary layers are rendered more or less plastic by the periodic maximum accumulation of sub-crustal heat; the crust then loses its normal rigidity and the continents possibly behave like isolated floating bodies. Isostatic adjustments, as periodic phenomena, can just as well account for the geodesic observations about the density of rock below mountains and oceans. During this periodic weakened condition of the crust the high sub-crustal magmatic pressure can easily produce the revolutionary geological disturbances and topographical changes and at the same time induce the wholesale metamorphism and the intense folding, over-thrusting and wrinkling in the upper granitic and sedimentary layers; it is then chiefly the rocks acquire the gneissic and schistose structures. As soon as the excess of the sub-crustal heat is released the crust rapidly regains the normal thickness and rigidity by re-crystallization of the partially fused upper layers and the more completely fused basic sub-strata. The alternate fusion and re-consolidation of the rocks, by increase and decrease of volume, would certainly cause extensive crustal movement and minor geological disturbances; many fractures and planes of weakness are then developed in the crust which eventually become sources of fault-slips and earthquakes, and less frequently of igneous intrusions and volcanic activities.

VI. Earthquakes

Earthquakes are geological disturbances of extremely minor importance. Severe earthquakes are comparatively rare. They are ascribed by the majority of geologists to loading and unloading at the surface and isostatic re-adjustment. The present writer is inclined to think that severe eathquakes which often extend over a hundred thousand square miles are as a rule originated by sudden plutonic intrusions through zones of weakness in the sub-stratum at about 25 miles' depth which cause fault-slips and

originate secondary centres in a series of pre-existing faults at different levels in the upper fractured zone. For minor shocks it is not necessary to presume any underthrust or deep-seated plutonic intrusion; they may be originated even by heavy rainfall and loading and unloading at the surface. Thus 95 per cent of the severe earthquakes are confined to well-known fractured zones and their centres are more often found at about 25 miles' depth. The local variations of barometric pressure and alternations of hot and cold climates immediately before and after severe earthquakes are probably due to local disturbances of temperature gradient in the rocks immediately below the surface caused by fore-shocks and after-shocks; they are thus the after-effects of earthquakes and not the cause as suggested by some.

VII. Radioactivity

Joly has very ably shown the importance of radioactivity in geological history, particularly its thermal aspect. He has ascribed the causation of geological cycles to radiothermal energy of rocks and isostasy. According to him the radiothermal source of heat in the crust can produce local fusion and minor geological disturbances. The effect of increase of volume resulting from radioactive or atomic disintegration is of no less importance; how it causes the periodic worldwide mountain-making and volcanic activities has already been explained.

Besides, it is very probable that atomic or radioactive disintegration in the crust itself, by its tendency to increase the volume, produces more or less strain according to high or low radioactivity in the rocks and thus induces fractures in the upper zone and formation of high pressure minerals, such as garnets (which are abundant in the deep-seated Eclogite Series) in the deeper zone where the rocks are more compact and there is no available space to allow fracturing. The frequent disastrous rock-bursting phenomena in the deep Mysore gold mines appear to be due to local radioactivity but confirmative evidences are needed; the pegmatitic character of the gold quartz is congenial to radioactive concentration.

It has been argued in this paper that there is high radioactive concentration in the core of the earth. This might seem apparently improbable as it is inconsistent with the more or less established fact that the upper granitic layer is more radioactive than the underlying basaltic layer and the magma below. But a more careful consideration would show that the concentration of radioactive elements (Uranium, Thorium, etc.) in the outer crust is chiefly of secondary origin, evidently caused by infiltration of gaseous compounds through the crust from below and their deposition at low temperature and suitable condition in the upper zone (*pyrometasomatism*). Accordingly, some of the radioactive gases are found occluded in volcanic glasses and also found dissolved in many hot springs; some even escape into the atmosphere. Many of the heavy metals, by similar process, become highly concentrated and are found as ore-deposits near the surface. The higher concentration of radioactive elements in the outer crust should not, therefore, preclude their far greater concentration in the core; according to density distribution in the earth the primary store of the heavy elements should be in the core.

VIII. Nature's Organization

Philosophical speculation and scientific study of terrestrial Evolution shows that Nature has worldwide organization and there is a system of uniformity in all her activities. The earth itself and all the inanimate things are apparently struggling, like an ordinary living organism, between destructive and preservative forces. It seems as if the living things are constantly striving for a happier or more peaceful state while the non-living for a more stable condition; they are actuated by similar motive forces. Analogy and uniformity thus lie at the basis of all sciences and scientific speculation.

Geological disturbances periodically threatens the earth with destruction. Various agencies, both physical and chemical, are kept vigorously engaged for the reparing and strengthening of the weakened portions of the crust (its fractured zones, oceanic depressions, etc.) and re-establishing the normal condition after a destructive geological disturbance. Accordingly, materials are being constantly denuded and brought down from high lands, particularly from high mountains where wind and rain maintain maximum denudation, into the oceanic beds which coincide with the weakest parts of the crust and are thus found most liable to frequent subsidence and upheaval; it may be noted that all the high mountain ranges of the globe originated by the uplifting of oceanic basin where sedimentation was thickest

According to natural process, the fractured zones, developed by geological disturbances, are eventually utilized for the pouring out of the internal excess of heat and materials, particularly the refractory silicates, which are essential for the building up and strengthening of the crust. The earth is young yet and its crust, which serves as protective armour, is perhaps still growing thicker and stronger. If the internal heat were not thus let out, it would possibly soon convert the earth into an extremely hot uninhabitable desert; if there were no intermittent outburst of lava flows, the crust would certainly burst with more explosive violence. Thus volcanoes act as safety-valves and the apparently destructive periodic geological disturbances are essential for the preservation of earth and maintenance of an equable mild climate suitable for the evolution of plant and animal life. In the same manner atmospheric and oceanic currents minimize the rigour of local climate by transferring heat from

place to place; accordingly the deep-sea regions are kept cold by the circulating cold water from the Poles as if for the preservation of deep-sea animals as also for maintaining the rigidity and strength of the more fusible and vulnerable sub-marine sub-strata.

IX. EVOLUTION

The motive forces of all evolutions are inherent in atoms and these are set free with progressive atomic disintegration in which *time* and *space* are important factors. Thus, with the progress of time new materials (refractory silicates, new elements, etc.) are being chemically manufactured by natural process and new forms of life are being gradually evolved, under constant change of environment by the co-operation of protoplasmic matter and new forms of energy set free with progressive atomic disintegration. The mechanism of atomic dintegration is yet very little understood but it is evident that atomic and sub-atomic constitution lies at the bottom of all sciences. Atoms are now considered as bundles of energy congealed Modern physical science and atomic theory have, during recent years, undergone revolutionary changes. Modern scientists are now more inclined to support the Mechanistic Theory which maintains that life is a "dynamic molecular organization" kept going by physico-chemical reactions. The old Vitalistic Theory has undergone considerable modification and is surviving only as "Lingering Dryads"* or superstition. The secret of life and both physico-chemical and metaphysical properties of the living and non-living appear to lie in the grouping of "ultimate units" which are neither electrons nor protons but are almost infinitely finer units than either of them. It is now an established fact that electronic configuration in molecular structure imparts characteristic physico-chemical properties to molecules.

* Persisting belief in nymphs of the woods among superstitious people.

X. CONCLUSION

The future geological history and climatic condition are thus likely to be governed by the material constitution of the earth. Density is an important factor; the heavier elements more readily supply the energy which causes geological cycles and maintains the temperature of the earth. The moon has become frigid and uninhabitable as it is considerably lighter than earth and contains lesser proportion of heavy elements. The earth will eventually become frigid and uninhabitable when, perhaps thousands of millions of years hence, its density by the natural process of progressive atomic disintegration will approach the present density of the moon; accidental collision with a heavenly body may in the meantime bring about more drastic revolutionary changes.

The present writer's conception of high sub-crustal magmatic pressure is fundamentally different from the generally accepted view; it is based on important scientific observations. Some of the arguments may be decried as speculative but speculation based on observational data has been the main spring of scientific advancement.*

* This article is an abridged summary of a paper read in 1932 in one of the meetings of the *Geological, Mining and Metallurgical Society of India*. The details are expected to be published shortly in the Journal of the Society.

HOME OF TANTRICISM

By Prof. NAGENDRANARAYAN CHAUDHURI M. A., Ph D.

TANTRICISM was not born in the soil of India. The introduction of the worship of Śakti and of other similar rites in Tantricism which are clearly un-Indian in character, makes the conclusion indubitable that it must have been of foreign origin. And this view is confirmed by the following Śloka of the Kulâlikâmnâya or Kubjikâmata Tantra which has been discovered by late Mahamahopadhaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, where Śiva says to Pârvatī:

gaccha tvaṃ bhârate varṣe adhikârâya sarvataḥ ।
yâvannaivâdhikârâste na saṅgamastvayâ saha ॥

"Go forth to India and assert yourself in the whole country. I will not unite with you unless you establish yourself there."

Now it is quite clear from the above śloka that Tantricism has been imported from outside of India and for this reason, I think, the Tantras bear also the name of Āgamas, though

we find the following fanciful interpretation of the word âgama:

âgataṃ śivavaktrebhyo gatañca girijâmukhe ।

"It has come out of the mouth of Śiva and delivered to the mouth of Girijâ."

Let us now find out the fountain-head from which it first originated. The Indian tradition that Tantricism derives its main teaching from the Śruti, is corroborated by the following lines of the Sûtasaṃhitâ where it is said:

śrutipathagalitânâṃ mânuṣâṇântu tantram ।
śrutipathagalitânâmeva tantroktapûjâ ।
"Tantricism has been evolved from the Śruti."
"Tantric worship has also come out of the Śruti."

Basing on these lines and on such other similar evidences and out of their profound devotion to Tantricism, the orthodox Hindu minds, in order to justify their theory, put forward quite a good number of arguments, though they are without any acceptable foundation. And they endeavour to establish a connection between the Śruti and Tantras. But it will be clear from a deeper study of the subject that instead of a link, there is a big gap between the Śruti and the Tantras.

In fact Tantricism has little connection with the ancient religion of the Hindus. There can be no questioning the fact that Tantricism is beyond the pale of the Vedic religion and built up on foreign elements. Tantricism is not included in the list of the fourteen branches of literature. Excepting in the Agnipurâṇa, the mention of Tantricism, found in some Purâṇas, is generally about the low sacrilegious character of Tantric cults. It is, therefore, quite evident that it was not at first accepted by the Brâhamaṇas, since it owed its origin to a foreign religion and therefore was opposite to the Vedic rites. There is a well-known myth regarding the sacrifice of Dakṣa where all the gods of the Hindu Pantheon were invited save and except Śiva. At this, Śiva became furious and destroyed the Sacrifice while it was flying away in the shape of a deer. He broke Savitṛ's arms, kicked out Pûṣan's teeth, knocked out Bhaga's eyes and paralysed all the gods who did not honour him. This also clearly shows that Śiva, who is the supreme deity and promulgator of Tantricism, was not, at first, included in the Hindu Pantheon and was always ignored for his foreign origin. Later on, he is, of course, regarded as a Hindu god and became the historical successor of Rudra of Vedic age holding a very exalted position in the Hindu Pantheon.

The statement that Tantricism owes its origin to the Śruti, has also been nullified by the following accounts of the Śrîmadbhâgavata and the Padmapurâṇa in which the followers of Tantricism have also been highly vilified:

bhavavratadharâ ye ca ye ca tânsamanuvratâḥ ।
pâṣaṇḍinaste bhavantu sacchâstraparipanthinaḥ ॥
naṣṭaśaucâ mûḍhadhiyo jaṭâbhasmâsthidhâriṇaḥ ।
viśantu śivadikṣâyâṃ yatra daivaṃ surâsavam ॥
brahma ca brâhmaṇâṃścaiva yadyûyâṃ parinindatha ।
setuṃ vidharaṇaṃ puṃsâmataḥ pâṣaṇḍsmâśritâḥ ॥
Śrîmadbhâgavata, IV, ch. II.

"Those who worship Śiva and those who follow them, are the opponents of holy scriptures and let them be pâṣaṇḍins. Let the silly-minded who with matted locks, ashes and bones have lost their purity, be initiated into the worship of Śiva in which wine and brewage are regarded as gods. As you are vilifying the vedas and Brâhmaṇas, the bridge and sustainer of humanity, so you have accepted the views of pâṣaṇḍas."

kapâlabhasmâsthidharâ yo hyavaidi-
kaliṅginaḥ ।
ṛte vanasthâśramâcca jaṭâvalkaladhâriṇaḥ ।
avaidikakriyopetâste vai pâṣaṇḍinastathâ ॥
—Padmapurâṇa, Uttarakhaṇda, ch. 235.

"Those who wear skulls, ashes and bones—the symbols, contrary to the Vedas, put on matted locks and the barks of trees, even without entering into the third order of life and are engaged in the rites, not sanctioned by the Vedas, are Pâṣaṇḍins."

In the Bhâgavata as well as in the Padmapurâṇa, the follower of Tantricism is called Pâṣaṇḍa which is a contemptuous term.

Tantricism has its origin in the Bon religion of Tibet According to the Tibetan and Chinese traditions, it was Asaṅga who first introduced Tantricism to India from Tuṣita heaven where he learnt it from Maitreya Buddha. The word Tuṣita, has been, I think, sanskritized from the Tibetan word, Ti-rtse or Ti-se, the name of a mountain which lies to the north of the Himalayas near the Manasa Lake and is indentical with the Kailasa mountain. Zaṅ-Zuṅ is the ancient name of a province in Tibet and it comprised the district near the Kailasa mountain bordering on the west of the Manasa Lake where the Bon religion was first promulgated and where shenrab (gśen. rabs) or simply shen (gśen), the founder of the Bon religion, was born. It is also known from the Gurbum (mgur. bum.) of Mi. la. ras. pa. that at one time the Bon religion of Tibet was pravailing in the Kailasa mountain and there lived a great Bon priest in that mountain. It is now quite clear from the above that the home of the Bon religion is the Kailasa mountain in Tibet. We know from the Tantras that God Śiva, one of the deities of the Hindu Triad, promulgates his teaching on Tantricism from the Kailasa mountain to the world below. From these evidences, we are led to one positive conclusion that the home of the Bon religion is the home of Tantricism, which is the Kailasa mountain. Even in the modern days, this mountain is still an object of pilgrimage both to Bon people and to the followers of Tantricism.

In the colophon of the Sâdhana No. 127 of Ekajaṭâ, in the Sâdhanamâlâ there is a remarkable sentence :

âryanâgârjunapâdairbhoṭeṣu uddhṛtam ।

Here it is distinctly said that Ârya Nâgârjunapâda brought to India the worship of Ekajaṭâ from the country Bhoṭa (Tibet) where her worship was very popular and current. Ekajaṭâ is also known as Mahâcîna-târâ i e. Târâ of Mahâcîna or greater China. The greater part of Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet was administered by the Chinese and was under the direct control of the Chinese rule and for this reason this part of Tibet constituted what was called rgya. chen. or Mahâchîna (Greater China). This part also constitutes what is called bod. chen. or greater Tibet.

It is said that once Vaśiṣṭha, one of the greatest sages of Brâhmaṇism, went to Mahâcîna and there he saw the Buddha surrounded by a large number of women in a deeply drunken state and also engaged in obscene rites. At this very sight, he got horrified and asked the Buddha to remove all his doubts. Being thus implored the Buddha made everything clear and then Vaśiṣṭha attained Siddhi (Perfection) with the help of the Mantras and of the free use of the five Makâras, namely, madya (wine), mâṃsa (meat), matsya (fish), mudrâ (postures), and maithuna (copulation). This system of worship is quite un-Indian and has been imported into India from the country of Mahacîna which I have already indentified with Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet.

In the pre-Historic age before the advent of the Aryans into India there was a colony

of the Tibetans from Kashmir to Assam along the Himalayas on the Indian side. Though the Tibetans were pushed back by the new-comers, yet in course of time the Aryans took up the Bon religion of their Tibetan neighbours and incorporated it in their own religion, mostly in a refined form so as to suit their own religious requirements and tenets. In ancient times two land routes connected both Kashmir and Assam with Western and South-Western as well as with Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet respectively. These two routes were generally followed by the immigrants from Tibet. Thus Kashmir and Assam were in colse communication with Tibet. For this reason, though Tantricism has never been universal in its acceptance, we find its magnetic influence over the religious life of Kashmir, Bengal and Assam. Kashmir and Eastern India have been two great centres of Tantricism ; the former is famous for its sixty-four tantras and the latter has also contributed its quota to the spread and popularization of Tantricism. There are traces of Tantricism at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the history of which goes back to the Chalcolithic Age when the Aryans were never heard of. Abbinavagupta, Kṣemarâja, Vasugupta and other Tantric teachers of Kashmir contributed very highly to the evolution of the wide range of Tantric literature. Bengal is also very proud of having produced a host of Tantric saints and savants like Sarvânanda, Pûrṇânanda, Brahmânanda, Kṛṣṇânanda Āgamavâgîśa and others whose services in the cause of Tantric literature are equally invaluable. The Tantric forms of dikṣâ and worship of the goddess Kâlî and her different manifestations are still to be largly found in Bengal and Assam. In the Āgamaprakâśa, written in the Gujarâti language, it is said that the worship of the Goddess Kâlî was introduced into Guzrat and other places in Western India from Bengal I think that from Eastern India Tantricism also went to the Vindhya range and thence to southern India. The Vindhya range is also a great seat of Tantricism. The Śakti of Śiva bears also the name of Vindhyavâsinî (the female dweller of the Vindhya range) Southern India too is famous for its siddhântâgamas which are twenty-eight in number. Pûrṇagiri, Uḍḍiyâna, Sirihaṭṭa and Kâmâkhyâ—these are four Pîṭhas or sacred places of Tantricism, These are the four places where Tantricism first developed and was transmitted to the other Pîṭhas and to the rest of India Uḍḍiyâna (Oḍḍiyâna, Oḍiyâna, Odryâna) is identified with Udyâna in the Swat Valley. Pûrṇagiri whose Tibetan name is gaṅ. baḥi. ri., is, according to the Tibetan work Kâlacakrapariccheda dus. ḥkhor. gyi. ye. śes. kyi. leḥu, on the north of Udyâna whose Tibetan name is u. rgyan. in the Swat Valley. Both Sirihaṭṭa and Kâmâkhyâ are in the province of Assam. Sirihaṭṭa is modern Śrîhaṭṭa (Sylhet) and Kâmâkhyâ is in the neighbourhood of Gauhati. Thus the first two are situated on the Kashmirian side and the two others are in the province of Assam.

In course of time, in the 7th century A. D. when Buddhism penetrated into Tibet, its rulers embraced it and Lamaism began to grow, the Bon religion was actively crushed down and its establishments in the Western part of Tibet were totally destroyed by the Tibetan rulers. This is the cause of the decline of Tantricism, in later times, in the Valley of Kashmir as it did not receive any fresh inspiration from the Bon religion of Tibet. When the Bon religion was, thus, being annihilated in Western Tibet, the people of Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet, made an appeal to the Chinese to protect them and their religion which induced them to rule over these provinces on behalf of the

Bon people. Thus these provinces shook off the yoke of the Grand Lamas and for many centuries, have been under the sway of the Chinese Government. Thus the Bon religion, flourished in this part of Tibet, has, for many centuries, supplied new religious thoughts and ideas to the Tantricism of Eastern India. The practice of five Makâras, specially in Bengal and Assam, is due to their close touch with Eastern and South-Eastern Tibet, the most populous part of the country, where this kind of practice was, at first, originated. This is why we find even to-day the dominating influence of Tantricism in Eastern India, specially in Bengal and Assam.

Let us now explain the term Tantra. According to the Indian tradition, it is this :

tanoti vipulânarthâṃstattvamantrasamanvitân ।
trâṇañca kurute yasmattantramityabhidhiyate ॥

"As it profounds (tanoti) great things with their truths and Mantras and protects (trâyate) (its followers), it is called Tantras."

But this interpretation is very fanciful and does not cover the real significance of this particular class of religious literature. Practically all the Tantras chiefly deal with Magic and for this reason Tantricism is called indrajâlavidyâ, mohanaśâstra, rahasyavidyâ, *etc.*, i. e., the mystic science dealing with Magic. The Bon religion, too, which is the sources of Tantricism, mainly deals with Magic. The name of the Supreme Bon deity is gto. rgyal. ye. mkbyen, one who knows great magic.

Let us now compare the gods and goddesses of the Tantric Pantheon with those of the Bon.

Tantricism fundamentally deals with Śiva and his Śakti Umâ in their various aspects and for this reason, it is quite probable that Tantricism is also called Śâmbavi-vidyâ. As a form of worship, Tantricism is the same as Śaivism or Śâktaism. Later on the Tantras are generally classified under four heads, namely, Śaiva-Tantra, Śâkta-Tantra, Vaiṣṇava-Tantra and Bauddha-Tantra.

Śiva who is the main factor as well as the promulgator of Tantricism, is a god of external origin. The use of the word Śiva in the Ṛgveda has naturally led us to search for its Indo-European origin. But it has no Indo-European name and even in the Avestic language we do not come across with this word. This word has come from the Tibetan word, shi.ba, meaning auspicious, the name of a god. shi.ba. belongs to the Bon pantheon and holds a very unique position in the Bon religion He is also very fond of dancing with his attendants. It is quite likely that the god Śiva of the Tantric pantheon, who has been, later on, identified with Rudra of the Vedic age and who is also very fond of Tâṇḍava dance, originated from Bon Pantheon of Tibet. There are, of course, many words in the Tibetan language which have been directly borrowed from Sanskrit. And in Tibetan we find that Sanskrit palatal sibilant (ś) has been transliterated by Tibetan palatal sibilant (ś) *i.e.* the twenty-seventh letter of the Tibetan alphabet, *e g.*, śaṇa, hemp (Tib.śa.na) ; śata, hundred (Tib.śa.ta) ; Śâriputra, the famous disciple of Buddha (Tib. śa.riḥi.bu) : Śâkya, name of a race to which Gautama Buddha belonged (Tib.śâ.kya), śakti, spear, lance (Tib.śag.ti) ; śaṅkara, an epithet of Śiva (Tib.śaṅ.kar) ; śâlmali, name of a tree (Tib.śal.ma.li) ; śirîṣa, name of a tree and its flower (Tib.śi.ri.śa) ; śubha, happiness (Tib.śu.bham) ; śloka, sanskrit verse (Tib.śo.lo.ka) ; śrî, beauty, glory (Tib.śrî) ; etc., and nowhere we find a single instance where sanskrit palatal has been transliterated by sh, the twenty-first letter of the Tibetan alphabet. Had the word Śiva been borrowed from Sanskrit into Tibetan, as suggested by some, this word must have been transliterated by Tibetan palatal sibilant (ś). We find

another word śi.ba, (secondary form of ḥchi.ba), meaning 'death,' in the Tibetan language. I think that in later times both shi.ba (auspicious, prosperity, name of a famous Bon deity) and śi.ba (death) have been confused owing to their similarity in pronunciation. This is the cause of attributing 'destruction to Śiva, the Auspicious one' and he gets the epithet, 'god of destruction. For this reason it is quite likely that Śiva and Rudra of the Vedic age who is described in the Ṛgveda as fierce and destructive and as a god of destruction, have been identical and the former occupied the place of Rudra in post-vedic mythology.

The worship of the Female principle of Divinity in Tantricism has its origin in the Bon religion of Tibet. In the Bon religion the active principle is personified as ha.mo (Goddess). She is the active will of Divinity.

Umâ is unknown in the Vedic Pantheon. In the Pauranik as well as in the Tantric pantheon, she, as Śakti of Śiva, occupies a very high position. Umâ is said to be fancifully derived from 'u mâ,' 'O (Child), do not (practise penances)' said to pârvatî by her mother Menakâ. But really speaking, Umâ has been Sanskritized being borrowed from Tib. 'yum,' meaning mother, the Female principle of Divinity. As a goddess, 'yum' is worshipped in the Bon religion from which I think, she has been introduced in Tantricism.

Goddess Durgâ, wife of Śiva, is also unknown in the Vedic Pantheon. But she holds a very exalted position in Tantricism. She is very much fond of flesh and drink. According to popular interpretation, she is called Durgâ, because she saves her followers from 'durga' (Difficulty). But this interpretation is very poor and far-fetched. This word might have been derived from the Tibetan word 'gdug' (here the Tibetan feminine suffix 'mo' is left out) and the worship of the goddess Durgâ has been introduced into Tantricism from the Bon religion where the goddess dgug. mo.—a terrible goddess is most commonly worshipped.

Kâlî, wife of Śiva, who is also a very famous deity in Tantricism, is not traceable in the Vedic pantheon, The worship of the goddess Kâlî, in Tantricism, appears to have been borrowed from the Bon religion where the goddess 'rgyal. yum' is worshipped and she is one of the most popular deities in the Bon Pantheon. The word 'Kâlî' has been derived from Tib. 'rgyal'. Here the suffix 'yum' has been left out as it does not form an organic element in the whole name. There is a well-known Tibetan mantra, addressed to this deity. Even to-day this Mantra is chanted. And the Mantra is this :

rgyal. yum. sgrol. ma. khyed. sku. ci.
ḥdra. daṅ ।
ḥkhor. daṅ. sku. tsheḥi. tshad. daṅ. shiṅ.
khams. daṅ ॥
khyed. kyi. mtshan. mtshog. bzaṅ. po. ci.
ḥdra. ba. ।
de. ḥdra. kho. nar. bdag. sogs. ḥgyur.
bar. śog ॥

Ḍombî is also a very famous deity in the Tantric Pantheon. We find her worshipped in the Bon religion of Tibet. 'Ḍombî' has come from the Tibetan word 'gtum. mo.'—a fierce goddess.

Next we find the worship of spirits and demons in Tantricism and this kind of worship has been adopted from the Bon religion of Tibet where spirits and demons are most commonly worshipped.

Ḍâkinî is one of the Yoginîs. This word is feminine from the word 'ḍâka' which is unknown in the Vedic speech as well as in old classical sanskrit. This word has been introduced into later classical Sanskrit from the Tibetan language where 'gdag' means

'prajñâ' (wisdom) and then deified, meaning the god of wisdom. So Ḍâkinî means the goddess of wisdom and is expressed in the Tibetan language as ye. śes. kyi. mkhaḥ. ḥgro. ma. I have fully dealt with Ḍâka and Ḍâkinî in my 'Studies in the Apabhraṃśa Texts of the Ḍâkârṇava' which will soon be published and also in the *Baṅgalakṣmī*, a Bengali monthly (Kartik, 1340. B. S.)

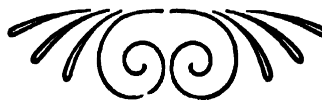
Cumbikâ and Khaṇḍarohâ are also mentioned in the Tantras as the female energies (śaktis). Their worships have been introduced into Tantricism from the the Bon religion of Tibet. Cumbikâ has been derived from the Tibetan word 'gtso.mo'—a female spirit. Khaṇḍarohâ is also derived from the Tibetan word 'mkhaḥ. ḥgro. ma,' a female spirit with the infix-n- and the suffix 'rohâ' instead of 'mo,' the Tibetan feminine suffix.

We find the worship of Karṇapiśâcî in Tantricism. And in the Bon religion, ka.ra.naṅ, who is the source of Tantric karṇapiśâcî, is also worshipped as the mystic form of Ḍâkinî.

Guru plays a very important part in Tantricism as in the Bon religion. In the Bon religion, lama (bla. ma) holds a very high position and even he is equal to and sometimes superior to gods. In Tantricism too, the qualifications of a Guru are identical with those of Divinity itself. In the Vedic as well as in Pauranik religion, we do not find such a unique position of a Guru. There is no doubt that this is due to the influence of the Bon religion.

Tantricism, as we have said before, has kept in tact a system of religious practice which has come down to us as the offshoot of a very ancient religion which is quite un-Indian. I have shown above that the form of worship incorporated in Tantricism has its origin in the Bon religion of Tibet. The organic kinship between the Bon religion and Tantricism has been clearly brought out on the evidence of a number of deities of the Bon religion whose worship forms an integral part of Tantric cults. So far as the mystic teaching is concerned, Tantricism runs parallel to that of the Bon religion. Magic, fetishism, demon-worship and propitiation by means of incantations are features in Tantricism which go to show the affiliation and adjustment of Tantricism to the Bon religion of Tibet.*

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THE BENGAL MONEY-LENDERS ACT, 1933

BY PARIMAL ROY, M. A.

THE history of legislation against usury in India is briefly told. The Regulating Act of 1774, modified by later enactments, fixed the maximum rate of interest in India at 12 p.c. per annum. Subsequently in 1885 the Usury Law Repeal Act empowered the Courts to adjudge or decree a suit in which interest is recoverable at the rate stipulated by the parties or in the event of its absence, at a rate deemed reasonable by the Court. The law was undisguisedly in favour of the creditors and the rates of interest on loans became in consequence competitive. The menace spread far and wide, until by amendments of Sections 16, 19A and 74 of the Indian Contract Act in 1899, the Civil Courts were allowed equitable jurisdiction with a view to relieve the debtors and arrest the practice of usury. Lastly came the Usurious Loans Act of 1918 by which further powers were granted to the Courts, in cases where the rate of interest was excessive or the transaction substantially unfair, to reopen the transaction as between the parties in a suit brought by a creditor for the realization of his dues, and relieve the debtor of any excessive interest.

The effectiveness of these legislations to regulate terms of contract between the creditor and debtor was, however, soon doubted. For example, quite a large number of judicial officers in their memoranda to the Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee complained that the Usurious Loans Act of 1918 was quite an inadequate legislation. It was extremely difficult, they said, to establish the "unfairness of a transaction or the excessiveness of a stipulated rate of interest", and the scope of the legislation was also alleged to be "considerably limited."

The Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee appreciated the weakness of the situation and laid down a number of suggestions for the better control of money-lenders. Much on the basis of these suggestions and greatly after the English Money-lenders Bill, 1927, the Bengal Money-lenders Bill was drafted, and it was passed into law in August, 1933, - bringing in effect "to the perspiring labourers in the fields a promise of delivery from the extortionate money-lender."* We shall discuss briefly in the following pages one or two of the more important features of this new legislation.

The necessity for a law against usury cannot be disputed. There *are*, however, a few dissentients† who condemn the usurers' plough for going even on Sundays and yet belittle the importance of a usury law on the ground that the rate of interest is exclusively a question of demand and supply. But if economic laws are inexorable, the money-lenders are, it is alleged, relentless. A law penalizing usury is not therefore always futile.

But the Money-lenders Bill which has recently become law is not all that could be done to relieve the situation. One of the greatest defects of the law is that it is much too ambitious. While it ought to have been taken as purely an experimental legislation applicable with caution and with an eye to practical defficulties the law as passed by the Legislature extends its provisions to the *whole of Bengal* (outside the Original Jurisdiction of the High Court*) and to *all classes* of money-lenders.

On the ground of securing uniformity in law relating to money-lending, the position is certainly unassailable. But some questions naturally arise. If the principle of the Bill is to protect debtors from the rapacity of money-lenders, there is no reason for discriminating between rural or urban areas as between the city of Calcutta and the muffassil.† And if the discrimination is once allowed, there is also no warrant for withholding its extension to the various *classes* of money-lenders. An amendment providing that the Local Government shall have the power of determining the area and classes of money-lenders to which the law would be applicable, was thrown out on the ground that it was against the principles of democracy.§ In pure theory, however, the Legislature was right. But there was certainly no harm in providing for a little of caution so that the application of the law could proceed by stages. This would not have gone against the principle underlying the legislation. For, if all debtors are to be relieved, all money-lenders need not be indiscriminately penalized.

The Act defines a money-lender as a person

* *The Statesman*, August 26, 1933.

† Bengal Leg. Council Debates, Nov. 22, 1932, P. 96.

* The *Damdupat* system applies within the Original Jurisdiction of the High Court.

† The *Damdupat* does not adequately justify the exclusion of Calcutta. Why not extend its application to non-Hindus and to areas outside Calcutta, if uniformity in law is the main object, without creating a new law ?

§ Bengal Leg. Council Debates, August 22, 1933. Pp. 71-72. The Government, however, recognized the experimental nature of the law and was prepared to accept the amendment in a spirit of caution; for, they were rightly apprehensive that the desired results would not otherwise come about.

who grants a loan of money. Now a money-lender may either be a resident *Mahajan* or an itinerant *Pathan, Kabuli* or *Peshwari*, or a casual shopkeeper, pensioner or widow. If a *Mahajan* proves rapacious, the Act will certainly—and with justice—put a check to his malpractices. But the Act will be of no avail in the case of the itinerant money-lenders who do not keep any form of documents at all. Nor will it contribute to much social good if it purports to penalize a casual widow who ensures herself a precarious livelihood by lending out her little capital to neighbours. Besides, there is the question of the village credit societies, loan companies and other indigenous institutions. These rural credit agencies of Bengal—none too abundant—do not all deserve the check which the Act will impose upon them. The contention that "usury is more practised by these banking companies and loan offices, than by private persons" is open to question. On the contrary, the existence of these credit institutions has had in many quarters a very wholesome influence over the private money-lenders. Dealings being less personal and the credit operations more organized, they are always given preference to the ordinary money-lender who is in consequence compelled to bring down his rate of interest in order to face competition.* The Act will, therefore, succeed only in suppressing a large number of rural credit agencies, precipitating thereby a very heavy loss of credit. And with a retrospective effect it will all the more seriously affect the accommodations and investments previously made by these banks.

It thus appears that it has been extremely unwise not to have differentiated between the various *classes* of money-lenders all of whom do not equally deserve the consequences of this legislation. The Local Government, indeed, could have easily been given the power to extend the operation of the Act in respect of such classes of money-lenders as it would think fit. There is no point in fearing that this confidence would be abused.†

And then arises the question of the rate of interest. Section 3 of the Act provides that if the interest charged exceeds the rate of 15 p. c. per annum in the case of a secured loan and 25 p. c. per annum in the case of an unsecured loan, the Court shall presume that the interest charged is excessive and that the transaction is substantially unfair.

A legal maximum rate of interest has thus been fixed in respect of both secured and unsecured loans. The Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee did not fancy the idea of fixing a legal maximum for unsecured loans.* But the legislators apparently did not take it seriously. It is, however, not suggested that since a loan is *unsecured* the interest on it should be *unlimited*. But it ought to have been realized that any restriction of interest must always divert loanable capital to other avenues of income; so that a double check both on secured and unsecured loans will render the already slender rural credit all the more scarce to the greatest handicap of agriculture and the peasantry.

The wisdom of fixing a legal maximum rate of interest is also open to question. What may have presumably led to the provision is the complaint that a number of judicial officers made before the Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee about the inadequacy of the Usurious Loan Act. Among other causes which were alleged to have led to its failure was the "difficulty of proving that the interest is excessive," and one of the suggested remedies was the "fixing of a maximum rate of interest," Presumably the demand was not for *one* legal maximum rate for the whole of Bengal. For economic conditions vary from district to district and from villages to villages. A rate of interest which is regarded as usurious in Western Bengal is only tempting to the peasants of the East.†

The Central Banking Inquiry Committee was also unable to agree with the suggestion of fixing a definite statutory limit to the rate of interest. This, the Committee recognized, would be "neither practicable nor effective." § But unfortunately, the legislators missed the point and inexpediently enough laid down categorically a maximum rate applicable everywhere. The Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee recommended that "the maximum rates should be fixed according to the *special circumstances* of each province and if necessary for *different parts* of the same province and for *different classes* of borrowers."** It is difficult to see why such an excellent recommendation did not appeal to the House.

Besides, the rates of interest that have been suggested are not also properly chosen. A rate of 15 p. c. interest on secured loans is particularly disputable. The original figure in the Bill was $12^1/_2$ p. c. which was raised by an amendment to

* See an article "Indigenous Bankers" in *Capital*, Aug. 31, 1933.

† *Cf.* The proposed Bill to enable Local Governments to fix sugar-cane price in pursuance of the recommendations of the Tariff Board that "no direct measures can be taken to ensure that a definite rate for cane is paid to producers." P. 99, para 101.

* They thought that the Usurious Loans Act could easily check abuses in case of unsecured loans.

† There is an extraordinary variety of rates all over Bengal, Vide Table at p. 198, Bengal Banking Inquiry report.

See also Central Banking Inquiry Committee report, vol 1, part 1, p. 79. The rate of interest is lower in western and central Bengal than in eastern and northern Bengal Minimum rate varies from 10 to 37½ per cent and the maximum rate from 37½ to 300 per cent.

§ Cent. Bank. Inq. Com. Report, vol. 1, part 1, p. 86.

** Beng. Bank. Inq. Com. Report, vol. 1, p. 171. Italics are mine.

15 p. c. But even then the rate is low and is not supported by the custom of calculation in India. If the Calcutta and other city banks can charge in normal times 8 to 12 p. c. interest, with monthly rests, on money advanced against very sound and excellent securities, the money-lenders can easily go up at least to 18 p. c. for loans against securities which involve risk and uncertainty. For, in this province the land laws do not adequately protect secured loans from risks. Even under the new Tenancy Act (Sec. 26 D, Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act, 1928, although occupancy holdings, which are generally taken as securities, have been made transferable, heavy premiums have to be paid.* The interest must not only cover this premium, but must also provide against the risk of losing the holding in case the landlord exercises his right of pre-emption. And it not unfrequently happens that a mortgager refuses to pay rent when the mortgagee has himself to pay up the arrears in order to save his own interest. If all this is taken into consideration it will certainly be appreciated that a rate of 15 p. c. interest on the so-called secured loans is rather inadequate.

As for unsecured loans the rate of 25 p. c. interest is not also quite happy. In the absence of any security the realization of the decretal amount is always a question of time. Now, if this time is taken into account as also the rate of interest that the Court would usually allow for such period, it will be easily found that the actual amount recovered by way of interest is very small and falls much below the rate stipulated. A solitary Councillor who apparently felt this argument, suggested that the rate should be raised to 37½ p. c. But the counsel went unheeded.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the legal maximum of 15 p. c. and 25 p. c. for secured and unsecured loans respectively have not been very properly chosen, being a trifle too inadequate. Curiously enough, the legislators, were afraid that the rates stipulated were already too high and therefore hastened to provide that the provision laid down in Sec. 3 "shall be without prejudice to the powers of the Court under the said section where the Court is satisfied that the interest charged, though not exceeding 15 p. c. per annum or 25 p. c. per annum as the case may be, is excessive"!

There is also in the Act a half-hearted attempt at eliminating compound interest. "Good opinions" for the retention as well as abolition of compound interest were offered and the legislators could not apparently make up their minds definitely in favour of either. So a compromise was made and compound interest was "discouraged". If a person, says the Act, contracts for compound interest in contravention of the Act, he would not be able to recover interest of any kind at a rate exceeding 10 per cent per annum. Thus the money-lender is not deprived of interest altogether, but the habit of charging compound interest is discouraged. As the mover of the Bill explained, "while we do not intend at this stage to abolish compound interest, yet . . . we want to discourage it".* We fail, however, to appreciate the special reasons for this unexpected measure of caution here,—particularly when it has been refused in other provisions of the Bill where it was far more necessary.† It is strange that the experimental nature of the legislation is recognized only in connection with compound interest!

Apart, however, from all this, the Act itself is based upon a wrong assumption that all money-lenders practise usury, and should therefore be brought under a 'more effectual control'. And consequently the money-lenders' point of view has been totally disregarded. One need not seriously press the argument that since the rate of interest is purely a question of demand and supply, no money-lender is usurious. But it remains a fact that in many places of Bengal interest at a rate exceeding 15 per cent is only too readily offered by the peasant if he is sure that it is going to fetch him a substantial capital for his soil. We have already mentioned that in the evidences it received and the enquiries it made, the Bengal Banking Inquiry Committee found an extraordinary variety of rates prevalent in the Province. For example, in Jalpaiguri the rate varies from 10 to 50 per cent per annum, while in Pabna it is between 37½ to 300 per cent per annum. In most other districts the minimum is 24 per cent and the maximum varies between 100 and 200 per cent.§ In such circumstances it has been extremely arbitrary to have stipulated a rate of 15 per cent per annum as excessive in order to penalize indiscriminately all classes of money-lenders including many who are not necessarily in the habit of usury.

* In many districts it is usual to find the price of the land falling below the average level to the loss of the outgoing *ryot*, but the landlord takes advantage of his position to extort a capital sum, called *nazarana*, in consideration of recognizing the purchaser's status, a sum which is incommensurate with the average profits from the holding.
— *Land Problems of India*; Mukherjee, P. 159. *vide* also *Ibid.*, page 167.

† A glance at the table given at page 198 of Beng. Bank. Inq. Com. Report will show that 15 p. c. is the minimum rate usually charged in Bengal. On the average it varies from 20¼ p. c. to 103 p. c.

The English Money-lenders Act, 1927, puts the legal maximum at 48 p. c. The Uniform Small Loans Law of U. S. A. makes it 42 p. c.

* Beng. Leg. Council Debates, August 25, 1933. Page 219

† We have already mentioned how the Act ought to have proceeded cautiously in its application to *various classes* of money-lenders living in *various localities*.

§ And 'in spite of the very generally accepted view to the contrary, the rates of interest charged are not exorbitant'. *Capital*, August 31, 1933. P. 357.

Incidentally, this brings us to the question as to what exactly usury is. Formerly, this term was synonymous with interest. By common usage it now denotes "the practice of lending at interest which exceeds a lawful or reasonable rate".* A 'lawful' rate certainly refers to a legal maximum—from which the ridiculous conclusion is that there is no usury so long as there is no law against it. If, however, usury means a rate of interest exceeding a 'reasonable' rate, the idea is not clear until we define a 'reasonable rate'. And the 'reasonableness' of a rate being strictly relative, there cannot be *one* usury law against *all* money-lenders.

As a matter of fact the idea that has generally grown in every mind is that a rate of interest is not usurious so long as the borrower is able to pay it (should we say, without feeling it ?). The money-lender's point of view has thus been sedulously avoided. It is a common knowledge that "interest rates vary with the supply of money, the demand for it, the risk incurred in lending it and the trouble and expense of collecting it."† So that the rate depends not only upon the *readiness* with which a borrower would pay it, but also upon the *willingness* with which the money-lender would agree to it. This important aspect of the whole situation has been totally lost sight of. The law, indeed, has gone so far as to penalize a money-lender if on account of the default of the debtor, any arrears of interest accumulate in excess of the principal. For, there is a section in the Act limiting the total accrual of interest to the amount of the principal originally lent.§

Ency. Brit., vol. 22. Ed. 1. Page 908.

† *Cf.* 'The money-lenders' expenses of collection and management of loans given to innumerable small borrowers are much higher than similar expenses of, say, joint stock banks.' Cent. Bank. Inq. Com. Report, vol. 1, part 1. P. 83.

§ The mover of the Bill declared that this section was inserted exclusively with a view to penalize the *Kabuli* money-lenders. But the *Kabuli* menace could have been easily removed by a separate and exclusive legislation. Besides, their loans are not represented by any documents.

The Central Bank. Inq. Com. said, 'we do not think that legislation on the lines recommended is practicable'. Vol. 1, part I, page 86-87.

Before we conclude we shall point out another important fact which is sometimes very conveniently overlooked. The money-lender is not an extraneous element—far less an unnecessary appendage—of the present rural credit system of the country. His calling, indeed, cannot be abolished at a moment by making it illegal. The Royal Commission on Agriculture very rightly said that "if he is ever driven from the land it will not be by legislation but by the growth of the co-operative movement and more specially by the habits of thrift inculcated by that movement."* The same opinion was also given by the Central Banking Inquiry Committee which pointed out that 'a real and lasting solution can only be found by the spread of education, the extension of co-operative and joint-stock banking and by the training of the borrower in habits of thrift and saving.'†

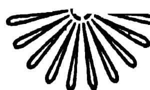
The merits of the co-operative movement cannot indeed be over-estimated. But while we recognize the potentialities of the movement and even foresee its eventual success, we must not lose sight of the fact that in spite of everything, the money-lenders are going to stay with us for a very considerable period of time. For, "in spite of the large strides which co-operative credit societies have made of recent years and in spite of the excellence of those institutions, they have, as yet, touched the fringe of the banking problem of the rural districts."§ The Linlithgow Commission which advocated the growth of co-operative movement had itself to admit that the money-lender alone is in a position to provide the bulk of the capital required for current agricultural needs and on a recurrence of severe distress he alone will continue as ever, to support the peasants by timely loans till we have universal primary education which may not be till years have elapsed.

If that is the situation, why all this legislation against the money-lenders ?

Royal Comm. on Agriculture. page 433, para 363.

† Cent. Bank. Inq. Com. Report, vol. 1, part 1, page 90.

§ *Capital*, (Indigenous Bankers), August 31, 1933, page 357.



A HUNGARIAN EYE ON INDIA

By Prof. Dr. JULIUS GERMANUS

I am aware that it is a bold assertion to make that Baktay's two volumes* take an eminent position in the huge literature on India. Numberless books of travel, descriptions of the customs, studies in the religion, philosophy, art and history have appeared in various languages, indifferent or excellent. Still this work differs from all of them, for it comprises India as a whole, it presents its throbbing heart and its spirit, which mightily heaves up out of the depth of Mother Earth towards the pinnacles of human intellect and sentiment.

Writers might view particular sides of a compound phenomenon and describe them with the accuracy of a photographic camera, the artist first imbibes the spirit of his object and projects it before his public, after it has become part and parcel of his individuality. The two volumes of Baktay's India are the work of the artist who, after ten years' intensive study of Indian literature, philosophy and art, has visited the country of his yearning and stayed there for three years, travelling across it from one end to the other, visiting the palaces of the rich and sleeping under the thatched roof of the poor, investigating the museums of the capitals and researching these objects of curiosity in their far-off original sites.

Imbued with an extraordinary love for Mother India, the author sees her with the eyes of a European and appreciates its majestic grandeur with the heart of an Indian. This rare capability renders his book unique in its kind. He stops for hours where the ordinary tourist would pass untouched, he gazes with thrill at monuments of art at which others would only cast a glance. A painter in his earlier days, he uses his talent to pick out the most characteristic views of Indian landscape and buildings for his camera and the hundreds of photographs that accompany the text present a veritable gallery of art on Indian life.

His book starts with the author's travel to India, from Italy to Bombay. His first impression strikes him already on the boat. A European, he feels a stranger among the Englishmen and Englishwomen on board. He has to unlearn his Hungarian tongue, he has to subdue his innate Hungarian love of ideals, which the vast Hungarian low-lands inspire into man and has to adapt his mentality to the



The Hindu Triad (*Trimurti*) in the Elephanta Caves Side View.

[illegible]

"business view" of sea-faring nations. In Bombay, the ancient caves of Elephanta, the force of expression in the faces of Trimurti, which he finds superior to the products of Greek or Renaissance art, elicit a humble prayer from his breast.

* Ervin Baktay *India*, 2 vols 320 pages each, published by Singer and Wolfner, Budapest, 1933 A work in the Hungarian Language.

"Brahma satyam, jagat mithya
Jivo Brahmaiva, naparah."

Nothing can be more suitable to introduce a traveller to the mental world of India! From Bombay he carries his reader to the North and after a vivid description of the landscape he finishes the chapter with a eulogy of the affection Indians bestow on monkeys and on all other animals. "Is it a shame to man to descend from these monkeys who in their motherly love hug the skeleton of their dead young ones?"—he cries, as if to symbolize the Indian conception of unity of the Universe pervading the animal and vegetal kingdoms alike.

The book gives us chapters on the history and philosophy of India and points out that the early speculations have been in many cases justified by recent researches. Philosophy is the motto of Indian life and without its knowledge the rôle of Indians in human history cannot be understood. While other continents excelled in the joys of an earthly existence and developed the material foundations of this existence, India has created a spiritual philosophy which has become the common good of all her children and which philosophy transcends the narrow boundaries of our short life in order to encompass all phenomena of the Universe abstracted from the illusions of space and time. The world to Indians is not this tiny globe with its seducive appearances, but the unchanging eternal reality of the spirit, which reflects itself in all beings. Religion in India is either knowledge of the spirit, or love or virtuous deed—each man may grasp that form of worship, or walk on that path of salvation which is most suitable to his own self, in order to reach his final goal. This liberality of conception has eliminated religious wars and persecutions in Indian history. While Europe has churches, sects and denominations—all outward forms of organizations—India has *religion*. This standpoint of our author smooths the way to explain all customs of Indians, that other European travellers find grotesque and abhorrent—according to their intrinsic meaning. He has not found idolatry in the veneration of symbols of those who can grasp the Infinite only through finite forms—much as we express notions through definite words of sound and form.

One hardly feels how he carries us on deeper and deeper into the mentality of India. At every step some new and startling point of view presents itself before the reader and when he thinks of putting the book down, for a little rest, a new chapter opens new wonderful sights of India. One of the towns appears before us with its bustling bazaars, its sweet smells of spices, its glaring sunlight and resplendent cupolas and shrines, the melodious sounds of music played on fine and delicate strings, the narrow lanes lined with innumerable booths, before which Muslim women



The Hindu Triad (*Trimurti*) in the Elephanta Caves. Side View
Photo by D. K. Sen

covered with their burqas linger like ghosts, where—in short—the pulsation of everyday life awakens in us a queer longing to go to see, to hear, and to feel Indian life, as it has breathed for thousands of years, always the same and always new.

A wonderful panorama opens before us in this book. From Peshawar, where the truculent Afghan scowls at the fertile plains of Hindustan, to the land of the five rivers we reach Lahore "richer than Shiraz and

Ispahan," then the towns of the Rajput nobles who, in their baronial eagle-nests, jealously guard their honour and caste from times immemorial, while the architectural wonders of Mount Abu, the Pushkar lake, Udaipur, Ajmere, Jaipur, lie unveiled at our feet. Unveiled and resuscitated to life, not mere marble, stone and chunam—no, this would be the task of photography—but alive with the explanation of the creeds, legends, poetry, gay or sad, of the people who have built up these towns, enjoyed and suffered in them. We see the pious Jainas preserving "life" and venerating its unity through all the creatures of the earth, we see the law-abiding Sikhs reading their Granth-Sahib with the devotion of a monk and defending it with the valour of heroes, we see the Panjabi Muslims conquering and proselytizing and unconsciously imbuing much of the warmth, softness and intellectuality of the clime of India.



The Hindu Triad (*Trimurti*) in the Elephanta Caves Front View.
Photo by D. K. Sen

Again we lower the book into our lap and our eyes stare at the vast horizon projected before us. Kashmir shawls, ivory figures carved with a minute skill and superior taste, woven stuffs, and leather wares, cotton cloths, known throughout the world, are rolled to our feet. What a richness of human skill and industry! There is a grandeur in the smallest things if art inspires its maker and Indian industry is art unimpeached by the droning note of machinery, it gave free play to fancy and created the most precious trinkets for every-day use.

Each invader bowed his haughty head to the spirit of India. The Muslims, fierce and stiff in fight, humbly stooped down to pick up the fallen columns of Hindu temples and built their mosques from the very stones on which the exuberant Hindu imagination has hewn legendary gods and their faithful satellites. Fatehpur Sikri, the town of a dream, immortalizes Akbar, the greatest of Moghuls, whose heart listened to the whispers of Mother India: a true believer cannot worship God but in all religions. Agra, with the most beautiful building of the world, the Taj, this tear-drop frozen to marble stands out with the noblest monument to conjugal fidelity. Delhi with its fort and historic traditions, Lucknow with its decadent luxury, all pass review before our amazed eyes "So much art, poetry and beauty kneaded out of the sweat and blood of a people can be seen nowhere in the world, not excepting Italy!" Then Benares appears on the plane with its impressive river-view and the burning ghats fraught with legendary memories of old give opportunity to instruct the reader in Indian literature and religion after which the author finishes his first volume with his visit to Sabarmati, to the Saint of India and the world. In all the turmoil of life today one figure stands out contrasting with the fragility of body the strength of his soul. The palaces, the fabulous riches, even the dead relics of art dwarf beside the mighty personality of the Mahatma. Our author

steps in the Ashram with a devotion he is unable to describe. He witnessed the physical cleanliness and moral purity of Sabarmati, he was thrilled by the enthusiasm and endurance with which the disciples work for a better future of India and he felt how the irresistible force radiating out of this focus of true nationality will conquer the whole of India. The time he spent at this earnest training ground of young India remained indelible in his memory and the description he gives of it deeply touches the reader.

The second volume leads us down the rich Gangetic plain to Calcutta, the emporium of India, where the manifoldedness of the country presents a new aspect: Bengal is the granary of the world. The mighty metropolis teems with busy people thousands of vehicles convey the products of the plains and attract the greedy adventurer. Rice, jute, coal, iron, cotton, silk and hides almost stifle the atmosphere and still even in this air saturated with the chinking of gold, the spirituality of India has heaved a sigh which has overcome the avarice of the trader. The Brahma-Samaj with its noble founders Rammohun Roy and the Tagores sprang up in the steaming soil of Bengal. The family of Tagore, the Maharshi and the Poet represent philisophic literature transcending the frontiers of India and reaching the farthest nooks of the world. Our author visited Santiniketan with the intention to stay there for some time but he left the place with some disappointment. The pushing force and sincere simplicity he found at Sabarmati, he missed at the "abode of peace."

Central and South India offers ample opportunity to the author to expatiate on problems which have attracted the curiosity of Europe and on which so many false notions have been formed. The fakirs and their mysterious powers are analysed here in a scientific way, the chariot of Jagannath and the syncretism of pagan rites with Hinduism are expounded in connection with the thousand shrines of Puri and Konarak. While the train carries us through the endless plains he throws a light on the mutiny showing both sides of the medal and paying a tribute to those who heroically fell in the defence of what they thought their birthright.

Old India, as it was before this fatal clash, is best represented in the native States, most of which Baktay also visited and presented before us, with all their splendour and all their romance. The Deccan, with the relics of Muslim empires, the phantastic rocks of Golconda which remind us of the travels of Sindbad into the valley of diamonds, the Ellora and Ajanta caves with the wonders they enshrine in their hand-hewn cells and temples, all appear in plastic description. The chapters on Indian art, painting and sculpture, the instructive digressions on the Indian theatre, old and new, on Indian music, exhale the thrill of the artist who wants to hear and to feel with the senses of the enraptured connoisseur and not as an indifferent or even biassed onlooker.

The description of the mighty temples of South India, the Dravidian culture, its origin and rôle in India, is followed by objective remarks why Christianity had so little practical influence on the Indian mind, and the book closes with the wonder island of Ceylon, where we take leave with a heavy heart from a continent so unique in its manifold riches in the present and the past. In his farewell words Baktay holds review of his experiences in the Indian world of matter and spirit. "India is the huge furnace of spirituality. She has gathered for thousands of years into one focus all that is beautiful, great and lofty which Man has thought of. Today the fight between East and West is still going on. West supports its claim with authority, supremacy and might, India has awoke to the imperishable powers of her primeval cognition: to the truth of the Spirit. The fight must end in a great reconciliation."

"I have witnessed many disquieting, antipathetic and even repulsive impressions in India" he writes, "but no sooner did I observe the complexity of impressions from an adequate distance, these unfavourable impressions faded and disappeared in the brilliancy of the beauty and truth experienced. The embraces of love and sympathy are wiser and truer than the methods of analysing criticism. I have lived in the complex of the great human facts of India and in its organic reality and in this complexity the external faults, the annoying defects dwindled into insignificance. The loftiest cathedral loses the essential beauty

radiant from its general aspect when we scrutinize—magnifying glass in hand—the small chinks in the stones of its walls. Which is the real, the true picture? That which presents the living reality of the whole or that which photographs every spot in the details? The synthetic view comprises every element, to present us the living entirety, the analysing criticism dissects the edifice into the thousands of its bricks and snaringly points to this huge heap of stones.

"I wanted to show India not as foreign eyes view her but as she appears in the light of her own goals and ideals."

These are the closing words of our author, which ring with the sincerity of his deep affection for Mother India.

And with all the merits of this book it has a great drawback: it is written in Hungarian and consequently closed to the great reading public of the world. A drawback, however, which I hope, a clever publisher can, with an adequate English translation, easily eliminate.

Budapest 1931.

TAGORE'S VISIT TO CEYLON

By D B DHANAPALA

RABINDRANATH Tagore's recent visit to Ceylon with a number of Santiniketan students was a veritable eye-opener to the Ceylonese.

I met him on board the "Inchanga" I shall never forget that happy sight. In a sheen of orange light there he sat in his cabin a picture of poetic delight "I am not a politician; I do not want to reform the world," he said to us newspapermen.

He smiled. He smiled more with his eyes than with his lips. But it was a tired smile kindly like a prayer.

"With politics I am not concerned. My mission is of spiritual delights, of art and beauty far and wide."

An anxious request that he would say what Ceylon's contribution was to Indian culture was politely evaded.

"I do not know sufficiently of you culture, but I do hope you have a contribution to make to Indian culture.

"You are really Indians.···We want you to come to us and share our heritage."

We got into a motor-boat to come ashore. A lantern was dimly burning. He sat with his eyes half-closed. He was dressed in a buff-coloured gown of sorts. I sat beside him longing to put yet another question. But it seemed a crime to spoil that unforgettable picture.

A bargee cried to his helpmate somewhere in the distance. Twinkling points of fire moved in reflections in the harbour like so many wriggling worms.

And a poet was sitting inside this boat, with a lantern dimly burning—come with a message of culture from a mother to her daughter.

I felt I was assisting in a mystic ceremony of the spiritual regeneration of a nation.

The whole of Colombo was agog nay, the whole island.

The Poet had come to Ceylon many a time. But this was the first time he landed with a kind of gist or summary of Indian culture—with a special mission to give the people of Ceylon, some idea of the culture that Santineketan represented.

For, with him came the band of his students who gave performances of *Shap-Mochan* in which all modern tendencies in Indian culture seemed to be boiled down into one glorious extravagance entirely executed in song and dance and rhythm.

The first performance of the drama was memorable. Every seat in the hall was booked days previously. Large numbers were disappointed, because owing to the smallness of the auditorium they could not get admission.

Since the unknown artist put the last finishing touches to the frescoes on the face of the rock at Sigiriya, nothing greater in the way of Oriental art has been achieved in the island than that created by the Tagore players in the presentation of *Shap-Mochan* that Saturday night. This is not said through love of hyperbole or any desire for grandiloquent expression. The house was crowded to its fullest capacity from an early hour. In hushed admiration the audience witnessed the performance as though a revelation were taking place before their eyes. And revelation it was, for, perhaps ninety per cent of those present had not imagined that Indian music could satisfy a cultivated mind.



Tagore reading one of his lectures at the Rotary Club lunch in Colombo during his visit

Comparison is the core of criticism. And no criticism is possible of the exquisite performance of that unforgettable evening, for never within living memory has anything similar to it been seen to afford comparison with, in Ceylon.

Once upon a time when the moon was very young, according to legend, there came by chance to Lanka (Ceylon) a Bengali called Vijaya to conquer the primitive tribe that inhabited this island in those days of pre-history.

After the lapse of almost twenty five centuries another Bengali had come, not by chance, with another band of loyal followers for the cultural conquest of what by contrast may be considered the primitive Ceylonese in the way of the highest possession of man—art and beauty and music.

At the first parting of the curtain the great cultural crusader, dressed in a saffron-coloured *dhoti* and *kurta*, with a scarf thrown about the shoulders, Bengali-wise, stood slightly stooping, with his finger tips touching in salutation. He was garlanded by Miss Nalini Wijewardene who paid homage to the greatness of this veteran artist by kneeling at his feet thus composing a graceful picture of youth's obeissance to aged wisdom and the regenerator of a whole nation.

In a little speech full of endearing simplicity the Poet said:

"With some trepidation of heart I stand before you this evening, for this is the first time I meet you from the Stage Some of you who do not know me are apt to exaggerate my merit and go on spreading an absurd rumour that I am a philosopher. I know that you will find it extremely difficult to reconcile your idea of a philosopher with that of a young aged man who revels in music and dancing. But I ask you to begin this evening with some confidence in my power to please you. But for that I ask you to meet me half-way and exercise your will to be pleased. It is needless for me to say that the first important step towards perfect enjoyment is a mutual co-operation between the artist and those who are ready to enjoy."

When the first scene opened it was a veritable feast of dreams and longings, translated into colour, sound and rhythm.

Against an orange background, with a border of peacock blue in between as a contrast, sat Indra's Court. The court's dancers, each in a different costume of shadowy, elusive gold, spotted green, crimson of the blood and creamy white, danced scattering flowers to the rhythm of a haunting melody that seemed to carry the audiedce away from the world of men.

The show was a perfectly woven pattern of marvellously matched colours. Bathed in flooded light the supple bodies of Bengali damsels moved serenely to rhythm. The pageant that moved across the stage flitted some time, with the swift gaiety of running water. At other times it lingered with the mourning of winds, the sadness of hearts and the suppressed ecstasies of great moments.

Each scene seemed a bringing to birth in a dream of beauty the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh with a vividness that almost intoxicated the senses.

Through it all, Rabindranath Tagore himself sat on a side of the stage nearest the audience looking on the great pageant of music, dance, rhythm, fragrance, flowers and flames, like an artist looking at a picture of his own creation—the spiritual offering of a life of poetic cultural work.

Kathakali, Manipuri, Indo-Chinese, ancient Classical Indian dancing and the banal Nautch dancing of modern India—all these had been laid under contribution to evolve something absolutely new, neither Kathakali nor Manipuri nor Indo-Chinese nor classical nor vulgarly modern. And this something new is Tagore's creation original, exquisite, peaceful.

What Tagore has done for the dance, he has done to the music as well.

Classicism and modernism combined together to form something new—a perfect welding of music and emotion, sense and sound.

The whole setting was a lavish simplicity-Greek in design, Javanese in execution.

Tagore has borrowed largely, borrowed beautifully, borrowed extravagantly from all parts of India and the Orient. And the harmonizing of all these precious gleanings into one artistic

whole was the work of a master-artist with the vision of a poetic prophet.

On that first performance the *Ceylon Daily News*, the Island's leading newspaper, wrote in the course of an editorial note headed "A Testament of Beauty":

"The warmth of the ovation accorded to the Tagore Players on Saturday on their first appearance in this country was a tribute to the beauty of their offering as well as a testimony that the artistic sensibility of our people is not yet dead or atrophied. The criticism is frequently made that the Ceylonese of today is an unworthy inheritor of the traditions of the race and unable to appreciate the ministrations of sound, colour and movement to the joy of life.

"It is unnecessary to recount the reasons why the arts suffered a decline in Ceylon. Except for a few scholars whose erudition has been devoted to the editing of works of ancient poets and philosophers, generations have passed without an outstanding exponent of a great art rising amongst us to re-awaken and re-fresh through his medium the slumbering spirit of the nation. The conclusion from this dearth of artistic genius that the people had lost all sense of beauty was pardonable. The response to the exquisite imagery and haunting melody of *Shap-Mochan* with its language of music and rhythm is, however, a proof that the people of Ceylon can appreciate the beautiful when they are brought face to face with it. The fact is that the Ceylonese had been starved of these things to such an extent that they became unfamiliar with them and were in danger of forgetting them. To Rabindranath Tagore we owe a debt for quickening the artistic conscience of the people as it has not been quickened within living memory. While the people of Ceylon accept gratefully and with humility the boon Tagore has given them, they may well ask themselves whether it is not their duty to do something more. It would be a poor compliment to the Poet to praise him but fail to be influenced by his example and his personality. Ceylon is very badly in need of a movement to inculcate a proper appreciation of Oriental art and music and it would be appropriate if she went to India, which has given her many gifts as mother to daughter, for guidance and help. Political advancement alone will not restore the self-respect of the people. If they are to lift up their heads without fear and take their place beside other Eastern nations that are challenging the attention of the world they must be able to show that they are capable of enduring achievements in the realm of the spirit. The magic touch of a supreme artist has brought out the latent forces of beauty and truth, long dormant in Bengal and the rest of India. We may look around in vain for him who is so to deliver us from the bondage of self-abasement. But against his coming we should strive to convey to the minds of the young and the receptive the value and beauty of music, dancing, poetry and colour which can convert human life into a sacrament. If the visit of Rabindranath Tagore and his party inspires us to begin such a task we shall honour the Poet much more than by mere praise. And in so doing Ceylon will honour herself."

The Sunday Edition of the *Ceylon Observer* was not less impressed, for its critic wrote:

"Against a plain, rose-coloured back-cloth, dispensing with superfluous accoutrements and trappings, in the way of Greek drama, the Santiniketan Players were disclosed at the parting of the curtains last night, grouped artistically in one corner of the stage, whilst the world-famous poet-producer sat on a colourful divan by the footlights following keenly and occasionally beating time. The Regal Theatre has rarely experienced such a stupendous attendance as last night when people had literally to fight for their seats on the unique occasion of the presentation of a poem-play by India's greatest poet of modern times. Tagore is the embodiment of all that is finest and loveliest in India's culture and truly is he fit to be the spiritual ambassador of his country to the world at large. It was indeed a great moment for the people of this country to be privileged to hear and see in person one of the outstanding figures of the age—one who has re-made his country and regained for it the respect and admiration that was her due."



Some of the students of Santiniketan who accompanied Tagore in Ceylon and took part in the play.
(Second from the right is a Ceylonese student)

After that first night's performance, the fame of the Tagore Players spread like a rumour all over the island. I know of people who travelled fifty, sixty miles to see them on stage.

Not only in Colombo, where *Shap-Mochan* was

played five times, but also in Galle, Matara, Kandy, Jaffna, the play was a great success. I have never known any play that evoked so much admiration and praise in Ceylon. Mr. D. R. Wijewardene,- the Ceylon Northcliffe--the Managing Director of the Associated Newspapers, which run six newspapers, both in English and in the veranculars, was so impressed by the Play that he opened the services of publicity which flooded the Island from end to end.

Before his arrival in Ceylon Tagore himself was diffident regarding the response to the visit. The organizers of the tour in Ceylon were pessimistic, too.

I well remember that untiring worker, Dr. S. A. Wickremesinghe, suggesting that the workers would have to go round the town, house to house, hawking the tickets, if need arose :

But the newspapers made the whole island Tagore-minded. People read Tagore ; they talked Tagore , they longed to see Tagore and his players. "Going Santiniketan" became a magic phrase that expressed the idea of being artistic.

Not only was the play a success. The Art Show drew crowds.

Mr. Nandalal Bose, hitherto an unheard of name in Ceylon, leapt into the limelight and was featured in all the newspapers.

The retiring artist was induced by the *Ceylon Observer* to explain the tendencies in modern Bengal Art. His contribution was short and simple—but he left out nothing .

"The new Art movement in India, inaugurated by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, is only thirty years young. Here we have brought a small collection of paintings from Santiniketan, representative of this School. You will notice the stages through which the School has passed during her lifetime.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the giant-artist, who has produced about one thousand paintings in a short period of five years, has made the school take a step forward in her march towards the Unknown.

We are marching towards the Unknown because it is only the present that exists for us and not the past or the future

We are Indian because we are trying to keep up the Indian spirit, although irrespective of style and technique, we welcome everything that has life, accept with regard all that those who come in touch with us have to offer.

And it is for this reason that we do not attach much importance to technique and worship Life the spirit of the living.

Nature inspires us and the past. The past experiences of the world guide us.

Here is the exhibition of our works, and they collectively speak all we have to say, because this is the language through which we are trying to speak.

We have tried to express our joy because Art is the expression of Joy (ananda) of Life."

During the visit Tagore spoke frequently and on many subjects. Many were the occasions when the venerable Poet was made use of for personal propaganda and publicity purposes by aspiring politicians and shrewd tradesmen.

How much the Poet himself was pleased with what he achieved during his month's stay in Ceylon may be gauged from the message he sent to the *Ceylon Daily News* before his departure from the Island.

"On the eve of my departure from this beautiful land", he wrote, "I take the opportunity of offering my heartfelt thanks to the people for their very generous and warm welcome and hospitality offered to me and my students.

"We have travelled from the extreme south to the farthest north and everywhere we have been greeted with enthusiastic welcome and untiring help that has done a great deal to lighten the strain of the continuous engagements, too arduous for our party who were not used to such a task. When I was about to take my voyage to Ceylon I expressed my confidence in my power to win the hearts and hospitality of the people in return for some of the best gifts that I had in readiness to offer them. My hope has been amply fulfilled, the credit for which is not mine alone and I gladly acknowledge that your own contribution to the success has been considerable. You came prepared to be pleased which I am sure is a trait of your hospitable nature and as a host you were eager to reward us with your recognition. In this you never disappointed us and I have most agreeably been impressed with the fact that you as a people are not given to carping criticism which usually accompanies the sneering superciliousness born of an ignorance loudly trying to seem clever.

You have the rare gift of friendliness which created a home atmosphere round us wherever we travelled in this island, for you easily banished the natural uncomfortableness of the unfamiliar by the sweet simplicity of your kindly spirit of service. From now the memory of the friends whom I have gained will make concretely real the vision of this country uniting it in the bond of love with my own."

Tagore's visit has left behind it a certain fragrance, an aroma that is subtle and sweet. In the island there is already a vague longing expressed and unexpressed. Whether this is merely superficial or lasting cannot be judged yet.



LITHUANIA'S AGE-LONG FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

By A. POSKA

IN spite of the fact that throughout the period from the 11th to the 15th centuries Christian Europe sent its best Cavaliers and Knights to fight pagan Lithuania—Lithuania expanded from Baltic to Black Sea, from Visla to Moscow. The Russians were very easily subdued, and Lithuanian kings entered into matrimonial relations with Russian principalities.

When constant fighting weakened Lithuanians in the West, they found allies in Russians and even Tartars; when peril menaced them from the East, Lithuanian policy was to become friendly with the crusaders. The Lithuanians frustrated the endless ambition of Chengiz Khan to conquer Europe, and constantly defeated and gave fatal blow to the Golden Horde, the Tartar kingdom in Europe.

With the expansion of Lithuanian territories the doors were widely opened for foreign influence. First we were confronted with the comparatively advanced West, and Lithuanians were absorbed into the East.

Lithuanian statute and the court language were Russian. Western ideas and notions bore their way through Latin, and Lithuanian language, as a language of minority, was neglected in the Lithuanian Empire.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century Poland was in great difficulties and sought union with pagan Lithuania. The Lithuanian king Yogaila married Polish Queen Yadviga and consequently both the States entered into personal union. With joint forces including Tartars and Russians Vytautas the Great gave the mortal blow to crusaders near Tannenberg from which they never recovered. After union with Poland Lithuanian kings baptized large number of people and officially Christianity became the State religion. But the people were for long centuries suspicious of the danger pending over them—for which they so bravely fought for centuries and continued to worship fire in thick forest until late seventeenth century. Slowly the grip of union was strengthened and Lithuania was annexed to Poland. Soon was introduced from Poland the system of vassalage and people were compelled to live in villages. The new type of aristocracy, though it contained some of Lithuanian blood, soon became more Polish than real Poles. The Churches also tyrannized over the villages by heavy taxes and interfering in old customs. In the estates, churches and meetings the Polish language was used despising everything Lithuanian as pagan and working for its disappearance.



Ancient Lithuanian wooden Watch-tower

Lithuanians strongly disapproved of the union with Poland and the new system of slavery and rule, but tired of continuous wars and



Left. To those who fell for 'Lithuanian Independence' an altar monument of blood stained stones collected from battle-fields in various parts of Lithuania *Middle*. Statue 'Free Lithuania" cast from shells and bullets etc used in the Campaign. *Right*. An old Watch-tower

without a leader, cheated in Pollo-Lithuanian congresses, retired to their villages for peaceful life, no more taking any interest in State affairs. And the result was soon seen—Poland was divided between Austria, Germany and Russia.

Several times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Poles and Lithuanians tried to shake off the Russian rule, but without any success.

The darkness of the most severe sway began with the Russian revenge for rebellions. The name of Lithuania was abolished, the language was prohibited to be taught, learnt or spoken. Lithuanian books (religious only at that time) were declared unlawful and to Lithuanians was not granted permission to become teachers, legal practitioners or Government servants in Lithuania proper. The catholic priests were in full sway, denouncing everything Lithuanian and preaching everything that was Polish but in Polish languge no one of the listeners understood anything.

It appeared as if the Lithuanian Nation had been completely washed out of the surface of the Earth, but the last live coal was yet burning, covered with thick ashes.

The last waves of passing romanticism of Europe inspired some of Lithuanian sons like Poska, Duonelaitis, Reza and others and they began to seek inspiration in Lithuania's past for its glory and riches of culture. Such names like Goethe, Lessing, Kant, Mickevitz and later linguists find real gold mines for their plots and studies. Brother Grims exposed celebrated collection of Lithuanian fairy tales Adam Mickevitz, the greatest of the world's romanticists, sang "Litva ojczizna moja"—'Lithuania, my Fatherland, thou art like health, we realize your value only when we lose you." But he wrote in Polish, Kant in German, Dostoyevsky and Solovyov in Russian.

The national feeling of denationalized Lithuanians and those living abroad was roused and they became conscious that it was not a shame to be Lithuanian. But the nation drew the last breath in paws of the Russian bear. No one believed that the dying one was capable of new life.

But the new day was near and "Auszra" (Dawn) appeared in German part of Lithuania as a Lithuanian monthly calling Lithuanians to awake. Soon appeared several more papers and the Russian Empire had a hard



A Market day in Village



Lithuanian "Dobis" washing cloths in a small stream



A Market day in Tow

time to execute, exile and lock up thousands of Lithuanians for distributing illegal revolutionary literature. The Lithuanian book became a symbol of independent Lithuania and was procured and distributed with great difficulty under danger of death and exile. In this fight of the flea with the Elephant, the Russian Empire, Lithuanians lost hundreds of thousands of their best sons in jails, exiles, and executions. Many escaped to some more liberal countries like England, U.S.A., Brazil, S. Africa, Austalia, even now outnumbering the Lithuanian population in Lithuania proper.

Russia, completely defeated, proposed compromise, to print Lithuanian books in strongly Russian jargon, in Russian characters. But the Catholic Church, being afraid of orthodoxy, encouraged fight and boycotted Russian printed books.

Soon on the stage appeared poets Strazdas, Kudirka Maironis, whose songs blew out the last ashes and infuriated inextinguishable fire for Lithuanian resurrection.

The Russian Revolution in 1905 made the Czar grant some liberty and at this time the great Lithuanian National Congress in Vilnius demanded Lithuanian autonomy. But soon came defeat of the Russian Duma (Parliament) and terrible repressions darkened the sky of the great Utopia of Lithuanian freedom.

The bloody drama of the Great War was enacted in Lithuania and after four years hardly left a house standing or a family whose members did not perish from wounds or disease.

The Kultur-tragers of the civilized world occupied Lithuania and ruled it so cruelly that not the savagest tribes living under the Sun can parallel the sadism of the Superman. Before them all Czarist and Cossack cruelties were only "caresses." Terrorizing, robbing and killing innocent women and children just for sport, or using dead women's bodies for intercourse was the nimbus of occupants' triumph in Lithuania from 1915 to 1918.

But in 1918 the crushed ambition of the Superman took revenge in a most severe way in our unhappy land. Peace, and President Wilson declared the subjugated nation to be freed from the despotism of the occupants. A few Lithuanian veterans, women and war invalids gathered in the capital Vilnius on 16th February, 1918, and declared Lithuania independent.

The new Lithuania started a tragi-comical work to realize Lithuanian independence.

Germans got their own plans to put on Lithuanian throne one of their own princes.

The Germans were followed by waves of communists to occupy Lithuania and to spread world revolution into the West. First Lithuanian "troops" was of twelve to fourteen year old boys and girls, who began work between two fires, driving out Germans and guarding from communist invasion. After return of part of long-experienced war prisoners or refugees from Czarist armies defence was easier for the Lithuanians and soon Lithuania made peace terms with Soviet Russia. Seizing the opportunity, part of Russian and German monarchist army established themselves in Baltic States and began to rule, not recognizing local national governments. At the same time Poland, freed from Germans, started with the idea of building Empire to prevent to be united with Germany and Russia, and on the ground of past personal union to amalgamate also Luthuania and Latvia. Once more Lithuanians found themselves between two fires. Fighting all like one Lithuanians defeated Poles and signed a peace-treaty at Suvalkai where Poland acknowledged Lithuanian territory. Lithuania turned all its force against monarchists terrorizing the country and doubtless would have crushed them for ever, if the League of Nations had not interfered.

At the same time after a week of ratification Poland invaded Lithuania taking its capital Vilnius and a large part of Lithuanian territory. The central Polish Government denied responsibility of invasion—declaring that rebellious general Zeligonsky did it on his own account. To prevent new blood-shed the League of Nations and the International Tribunal at the Hague intervened declaring Lithuanian rights. Also the Central Polish Government promised to settle the question in a peaceful manner. But the Poles continued the invasion and Lord Curzon, Himans and other gentlemen from Geneva were busy to draw new lines of demarcation, neutral zones, etc. The same fate attended also Klaipeda (Memel), the only sea-port of Lithuania. which was by Versailles Treaty separated from Germany as



Parade on the tenth anniversary of Lithuanian Independence. Dr. A Smetona, president of the Republic in the carriage



Tenth anniversary of Lithuanian Independence. Prayers over the graves of fallen heroes

Lithuanian Independence celebration in a village



Lithuanian to be incorporated in Lithuania. The sympathy of the League to Poland was known to Lithuanians. So the Lithuanian youth made same as Zeligonsky, but without consent of Central Lithuanian Government and drove away French troops and battle-ships.

But Vilnius, the old Lithuanian capital, and one-third of ethnographical Lithuania is yet under the tyranny of the Poles, who are trying to denationalize Lithuanians by not allowing Lithuanian schools, usage of Lithuanian language in Churches, etc.

Lithuania in protest for the last twelve years has not any communication with Poland, remaining in a state of war.

Soon after the War was over, the first Lithuanian Parliament in 1922 declared Lithuania a Democratic Republic, and a State of farmers where every government outlook will be from the point of view of farmers.

As everything was entirely destroyed, people were demoralized and robbed by endless requisitions,—the first steps of rebuilding were very difficult. The war disadvantage also gave new opportunity to rebuild the country on absolutely new modern lines—not villages but farms, new system of field division, agrarian reform, supplying ground only to those who cultivate themselves personally, etc. Modern hygienic and practical building rose in place of pre-War huts crowded in villages.

Not being able to compete with the grain-exporting countries, Government built national centres for preparing finished products instead of raw ones—butter, cheese, bacon, meat pastes, good bread, semi-finished flax, linseed oil, celluloid, ply-wood, dry fruits and confectionary in place of grain and timber exported in pre-War times.

Education was made compulsory. Higher schools and special schools teaching subjects like farming, agriculture, poultry, carpentry, applied arts, etc., are free to everyone and poor and talented students are sent to Europe at Government expense for acquiring complete education. In the University and the gymnasiums 40% students are allowed free and 25% are given scholarships.

In the whole system of education there is a tendency of selection and only fit and capable students are encouraged to higher studies and given full opportunity for research work.

Lithuanians being conscious of their situation and duties are continuing severe fight for their neglected rights. We decided to win our enslaved part of compatriots and old Vilnius not by sword, but by intellect.

We are conscious that we are not merely beggars to take everything from the treasury of culture without paying our own share to it. So we neglect civilization, but we are building culture,*—that is why Lithuania is different from other Baltic states.

* Civilization consists of things, of artifacts, of machines, of ways of earning a living; culture represents the organization of emotions; through cultural experiences we discover values and learn how to appraise our relation to the physical universe. Civilization is the embodiment of externals; culture is derived from the inner life.

Edward C. Lindeman

THE CHARKHA AS A MACHINE

By MELLY ZOLLINGER (Zurich-Switzerland)

AND

W. LAKSHMANA RAO, M. A., D. SC. (Tubingen)

The Beginnings of Charkha Research

Fifteen years ago Sjt. Maganlal Gandhi began to study the design of the types of spinning-wheels in use in the different parts of the country, with a view to the introduction of an improved type. About five years after Sjt. Maganlalji began, a prize was announced by Sjt. Ravishankar Jhaveri for the design of a spinning-wheel capable of producing an output three or four times that of an ordinary spinning-wheel. This gave a fillip to Charkha research; even though none of the designs submitted satisfied the conditions laid down. About this time, the All-India Spinners' Association established a Technical Branch at Sabarmati under the directorship of Sjt Maganlalji, to which a school for the study of Charkha was attached. This mark the first step in the establishment of a research laboratory devoted to the study of Khadi problems. Unfortunately Sjt. Maganlalji did not live long enough to see the fruition of his labours. His death was an irreparable loss to the Khadi movement and the scientific side of the movement suffered a temporary set-back. But thanks to the labours of a gallant band of workers in the various provinces of the country—

Satish Chandra Das-Gupta in Bengal, Lakshmidas Purshotamdas in Bardoli, and Keshavbai Gandhi and Prabhudasbai Gandhi in Sabarmati—the research outlook is fast being rehabilitated.

NEED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Charkhas designed and made by the technical branch at Sabarmati and Bardoli are largely in use in Gujerat and have proved very efficient. It required years of patient work to produce this improved type of spinning-wheel. Yet the time has not come when we can cry halt. Even though the Sabarmati-type is by far the best spinning-wheel available to spinners, there are a number of problems connected with the Charkha and with spinning that still await solution. The time and labour involved in winding the yarn on the spindle, the consequent falling off of the spinning speed, the necessity of using fresh spindles, the time taken in changing slivers—these drawbacks are inherent in the charkha, which could only be overcome if an entirely new design is adopted wherein these operations could be performed automatically.

There are, however, other defects in the present-day type of the charkha such as, the slippage and creeping effects, the frequent adjustment required to keep the 'mala' (the string passing over the wheel and the spindle) neither too tight nor too slack, the all too frequent snapping of the 'mala' and the trouble and time involved in preparing fresh 'malas', the fatigue produced after a few hours of continuous spinning, the slow spinning speed and the small output realized on the charkha that can be certainly overcome, or at least minimized to a great extent, through a better under-standing of the principles underlying Charkha Sastra and by the elimination of faulty spinninng technique. Patient research is required to correct these defects and the measure in which we succeed in our efforts to this end is the measure in which we emanicipate the poverty of the dumb millions.

The following is a brief resumé of the problems that confront us in this connection and the experimental work done by us to get a better orientation of these.

EFFICIENCY OF THE CHARKHA

The out-put of a charkha and its capacity for high-speed spinning depend directly (not taking into account the skill of the individual spinner) upon the number of revolutions made by the spindle for every complete turn of the wheel (driver). The greater the number of spindle-revolutions per turn of the wheel, the greater the speed with which a spinner can operate. This is a very important factor and the low speeds of the spinners in these parts, is mainly due to the defective design of the charkha, which does not allow a greater spindle-speed to be developed.

The number of revolutions made actually by the spindle is much less than that obtained by calculation. Thus the actual number of spindle-revolutions per turn of the big wheel in the Pattusali charkha has been found by us to be (the average of a number of counts) 172. The discrepancy of 52 revolutions, or 27 per cent represents a loss in actual performance. This means that when we spin on this charkha, we do not get full advantage of all the energy used by us, but that we get an output equal to only 77 per cent of the energy, the rest being lost or wasted. The accompanying table gives the number of spindle-revolutions per turn of the big wheel and the efficiencies in this respect of the different types of charkhas in use in Andhra.

TABLE 1

Type of Charkha	Diam. of Wheel.	Diam. of Spindle.	Calculate Revolution Number.	Actual No. of Revls.	Loss of Revls.	% Loss
Pattusali (10-100's)	28"	1/8"	224	172	52	23
Velama (15-40's)	26"	1/4"	104	83	21	20
Berhampur (10-20's)	25"	1/4"	100	82	18	18
Nellore (6-15's)	24"	1/4"	96	72	24	25
Sabarmati Junior	24"	1/5"	120	101	19	16
Sabarmati Bamboo	28"	1/5"	140	119	21	15
"Andhra"*	30"	1/5"	150	130	20	13

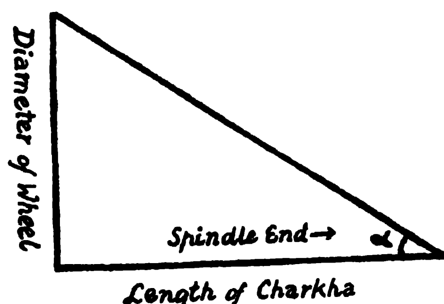
"SLIPPAGE"

The chief factor in the loss in the spindle-revolutions is to be referred to what is known as "slippage" or "slip." When one wheel drives another, a loss in the revolutions of the driven wheel will always occur. This slippage will be a minimum when the driver and the driven are properly aligned. It is not possible to explain how this slippage occurs during transmission. In the charkha it might be that the 'mala' or (the rope passing over the big-wheel and the spindle-pulley) itself does not travel over the big wheel with the same speed as the wheel itself. What-ever be the cause of this slippage, we have to investigate how the various factors in charkha design and spinning technique effect this loss and how best we can minimize this. It is hoped that these investigations would lead to improve-ments in the spinning-wheel, so as to increase its efficiency, without materially altering its simple design.

* This charkha has been designed and made for us for the purposes of research by Sjt. D. L. N. Raju, B. A., B.Sc. (Lond), Managing Director, Andhra Engineering Co. Ltd., Vizagapatam.

The Length of the Charkha

It is not usually recognized that the length of the charkha, or to put it more correctly, the ratio of the length of the charka to the diameter of its wheel plays a very important part in determining the slippage and in consequence the efficiency of a charkha.



From the above diagram it is clear that the 'mala' when passing over the wheel and the spindle-pulley makes an angle at the spindle end; and also that the value of this angle is dependent on the ratio of the length of the charkha to the diameter of the wheel (*i. e.*, this ratio is equal to the cotangent of the angle). From this it would follow that where the angle is greater, the mala grips a smaller surface of the spindle-pulley than when the angle is smaller, when it would grip greater part of the surface of the spindle-pulley. When the angle is small and the mala grips a greater surface of the pulley, there will be a minimum tendency for the mala to slip and for a minimum loss in transmission. In the following table we give the value of the angle and the dimensions of the different types of charkhas (the last column represents the efficiency per cent, as determined in Table 1):

TABLE 2

Type of Charkha	Diam. of Wheel (D)	Length of Charkha (L)	Angle made by the Mala (d)	Length Diameter (cot d)	Efficiency
Pattusali	28"	33"	12°	1.2	77%
Velama	26"	33"	39°	1.3	80%
Berhampur	25"	36"	37°	1.4	82%
Nellore	24"	26"	13°	1.1	75%
Sabarmati-Bamboo.	28"	39"	37°	1.4	85%
"Andhra"	30"	45"	35°	1.5	87%

It will be seen at once how important the dimensions of a charkha are in determining its efficiency. In the Pattusali charkha, which is exclusively used by the high count spinners, and which is considered to be the best type of the country-made charkhas, the wheel is larger than in any other, yet owing to the proportionately smaller length, the angle made by the 'mala' is larger and the slippage greater than in any other charkha. In the Sabarmati and Andhra types, the slippage is minimum, because the length has been made equal to one-and-half times the diameter of the wheel with the result that the loss due to slip has been reduced to a minimum. We cannot, for obvious reasons, increase the length of the charkha beyond a limit which is determined by convenience of the spinner. For all practical purposes, a length equal to 1½ times the diameter of the wheel and a wheel of 28 inches and a length of 42 inches would be very satisfactory for high count as well as for high-speed spinning.

Table 3 represents the results of another series of experiments, which also point to the above conclusions.

TABLE 3

(Type of Charkha: "Andhra." Calculated No. of Revls: 157)

Thickness of Mala (inches)	Spinning Speed	Angle=35° Tension of Mala (grams)	Angle=35° No. of Revolusions	Angle–42° Tension of Mala (grams)	Angle–42° No. of Revolutions
	Slow	115	141	85	132
1/32"	Usual	115	Loss due	95	Loss due
	Rapid	115	to Slip 10%	115	to Slip --16%
	Slow	130	134	110	128
	Usual	125	Loss due	110	Loss due
	Rapid	130	to Slip 13.:	, 90	to Slip = 18%
	Slow	200	116	180	115
1/16'	Usual	185	Loss due	150	Loss due
	Rapid	115	to Slip 26%	150	to Slip

Thickness of Mala

The efficiency of a charkha depends also upon the thickness of the mala used. There is no uniformity among spinners with regard to the mala-thickness. The Pattusali spinners use very fine malas, whereas the medium count and coarse count spinners do not observe any definite rule at all. The Pattusalis, when questioned why they use only fine malas, are unable to give any reason at all, except that of custom. To get a more definite knowledge about the influence of mala-thickness on slip, a few experiments were devised by us, the results of some of which have been included in Table 3. The results are not very conclusive and require more experimental work: it is however more than likely that thinner malas improve the efficiency than thicker ones. (The usual thickness of the Pattusali mala is 3/64", that used by other spinners is 1/16".) It is also very probable that very thin malas (thinner than 1/32") would not be able to drive the spindle at all, owing to the very small surface of contact between the mala and the spindle. It would be interesting to know limiting values of mala-thickness.

The results also indicate that thicker malas exert a greater tension on the spindle and require greater energy to bring the spindle into motion than thinner ones.

Charkha and Motive-Power

To find whether one type of charkha runs more smoothly than another, or whether one set

of bearings are better than another set, it would be necessary to find out the energy required to spin on charkhas under these different sets of conditions, and to compare the energy required, the charkha or bearing requiring the least energy being the more efficient. This has a very important value in charkha mechanics, because for spinning, we have to depend entirely on the power we can exert with our right arm. It is said that the maximum power that a person could exert is only equal to about $^1/_{10}$ H. P. and that too for a few minutes (see *Khadi Economics* by Gregg. Ganesan, Madras). As our energy is so very limited, we must be in a position to use it with the greatest advantage and economy possible, and any knowledge that helps us to this end is of the utmost value to us.

The small amount of power required to spin on the charkha lies at the root of all Khadi economics. While protagonists of the spinning-wheel take their stand on the trifling amount of capital required to buy and maintain it and on the ease with which it can be worked by young and old alike, critics of the spinning-wheel point out to the monotony of spinning, which they allege, involves a wastage of time and labour, in return for a few pice—in short, that spinning is sweated labour. It is unfortunately true that a spinner has to work at least 8-12 hours a day to earn a few coppers and that a few hours of continuous spinning at a stretch induces fatigue, making it impossible for the spinner to work longer hours and earn more wages. We must not, however, be obsessed with the idea that this state of affairs is beyond improvement. A good charkha designed on scientific lines a true axle, frictionless bearings, a light wheel, etc. and a correct spinning technique would certainly eliminate a great amount of fatigue. This is amply proved by the astounding records in continuous spinning and in high-speed spinning set up by enthusiasts during the many exhibitions and competitions. One is forced to the conclusion that a greater appreciation of the principles of Charkha Sastra on the part of charkha manufacturers and on the part of spinners would very effectively minimize fatigue and make spinning more a pleasure than a task.

Weight of Spindle and Spinning Energy

It is often the case that spinners who ignore even the fundamental principles of mechanics are the worst sufferers from early fatigue. We shall instance one such case of early fatigue that has been studied by us.

Amateur spinners often find it trying to commence spinning owing to the frequent snapping of the yarn. But once they get fairly started at a good wheel, they find the 'going' so smooth that they are unwilling to stop even to remove the loaded spindle and replace it by a fresh spindle. They never considered that as their spindles get heavier (as spinning proceeds) it requires an increasing amount of energy on their part to turn the wheel. It is no wonder that they feel fatigued after three or four hours' continuous spinning. Their out-put falls gradually and at the end of this period they are thoroughly tired out; whereas, if they changed over to a fresh spindle in the middle of their spinning, they could not only have turned out greater amount of yarn, but could have spun for a longer time, without feeling fatigued. In this connection, it must be emphasized that the lever-type of handle fitted to the Sabarmati charkha is an immense improvement over the curved type that is common in the country-made charkhas. The lever-type very effectively eliminates fatigue and gives a great comfort to the spinner. (It is a good plan to fit these handles to the ordinary charkhas.)

Initial Torque due to Friction in a Charkha

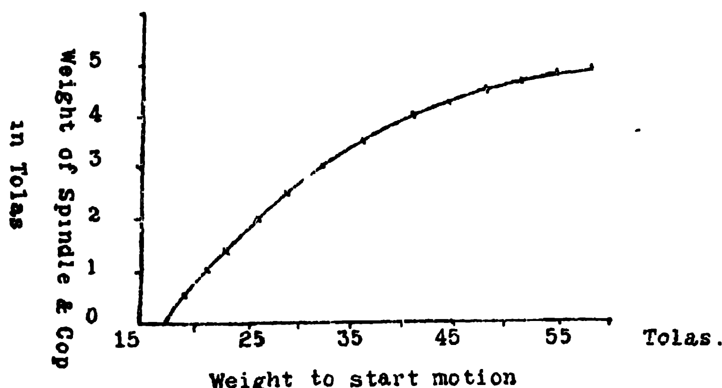
In this connection some experiments were done by us to find out the initial torque due to friction with varying weight of spindle (*i. e.*, with different weights of cops on the spindle). The following table gives the results with the "Andhra" type of charkha, the length of the balanced lever-arm being one foot, diameter of wheel 30″, length of charkha = 15″, thickness of mala = $^1/_{32}$″.

Table 1

Wt. of Spindle (Tolas)	Wt. to start motion (Tolas)	Additional wt. for every 1/2 Tola weight of Spindle	Initial Torque in lb-ft.
Spindle alone	15 Tolas		0.025
0·5 Tola	19	Tola	0.175
1.0 „	21		0.525
1.5 „	23		0.575
2.0 „	26		0.650
2.5 „	29		0·725
3·0 „			0.800
3.5 „	36		0.900
4.0 „	41		1.025
4.5 „	48		1.200
5 „	58	10	1.450

The curve below represents the results obtained in columns (1) and (2) of the above table.

From the above experiments we can gather the following facts: (*i*) We must first overcome the initial torque due to friction. Then we must apply energy to keep the wheel in motion. As spinning is not a continuous operation, we are unable to take full advantage of any momentum gained by the wheel which we set in motion. The force required to operate a charkha with a 2-tola spindle, will therefore be considerably in excess of the force equal to a weight of 26 tolas, (*i.e.*, a force of 0·65 lbs.) required to overcome friction. We would not be far wrong if we assume the force to keep a charkha with a 2-tola spindle in motion, to be



equivalent to 1 lb. (*ii*) From the data given in the above table, we can calculate the energy required to drive a charkha. This would be equivalent to about 0.008 H. P. to operate the charkha used in this experiment with a 2-tola spindle. It would be safe to assume that an energy of 1/100 H. P. would be required in spinning upon an ordinary charkha. (*iii*) The charkha in the above experiments was equipped with ball-bearings. In ordinary charkhas which are not equipped with any bearings, or at best with iron bushes, the initial torque to overcome friction and the energy required to spin would therefore be much in excess of that obtained for the above charkha.

Weight of Spindle-Cop and Tension of the Mala

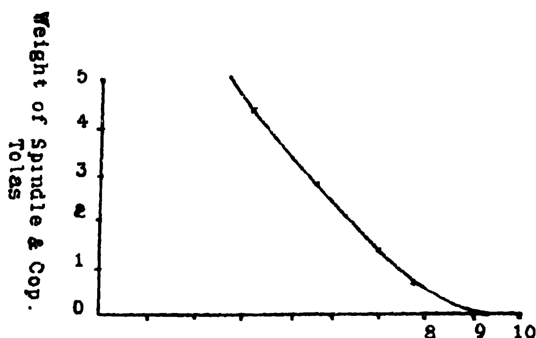
It would also be interesting to know if the tension exerted by the mala on the spindle varies with the increased weight of the spindle-cop during the course of spinning. With this object in view a series of experiments was made, the results of one set (done on the experimental charkha) being given below in Table 5.

Table 5

Wt. of Spindle.	Tension of Mala.
Spindle only	9.2 Tolas
0.5 Tolas	8.0 "
1.0 "	7.4 "
1.5 "	7.0 "
2.0 "	6.6 "
2.5 "	6.0 "
3.0 "	5.7 "
3.5 "	5.4 "
4.0 "	5.0 "
4.5 "	4.3 "
5.0 "	3.8 "

The accompanying curve represents the relation between the weight of the spindle and the tension of the mala.

It will be seen that as the mass of the spindle increases, the tension decreases. This would partly explain why sometimes the spindle does not revolve when the wheel is rotated. As the mala exerts less and less tension, it is unable to transmit the motion of the wheel to the spindle. As a result of this, a great amount of loss due to slippage occurs.



The Practice of Spraying Yarn

Sjt Maganlalji has written in his book that yarn, after it is hanked, should be sprayed with water and that such treatment improves the strength of yarn. The instructions issued by the A. I. S. A, to its members to spray their subscription yarn before sending it to headquarters, is apparently based on this. In the absence of definite information as to how many hours or days the yarn is to be kept in a wet condition, or the increase of strength resulting from such treatment, some of the members do not take the trouble of following the advice, while others spray their yarns for a few seconds and no more, while still some others keep their yarns in water overnight There is thus no uniformity at all as to the procedure in this respect.

With a view to investigate the effects of spraying on the tensile properties of yarn, the following procedure was adopted by us.

Experimental Work

The experimental work done by us falls under two parts. The first part consisted in determining the count and uniformity of count and the tensile properties of the yarn samples. Each sample was divided into twelve smaller hanks. Two of the smaller hanks were kept as controls. Each of the remaining ten hanks were first thoroughly wetted and then kept in water for 1, 3, 6, 9, 12, 18, 24, 36, 48 and 60 hours respectively. They were then hung out dry in the shade. Afterwards they were again tested for variations in count and tensile properties. The material used for this part of the investigation consisted of 25 different grades of yarn, which included all the available grades in Pattusali yarn (in all 10 grades), all available grades in Velama yarn (in all 7 grades) and the medium grades in coarse yarn (8 grades).

The following is a summary of the results obtained by us in the first part of our experiment:

(1) Every sample tested by us showed an increase of tensile strength after being soaked and dried in water.

(2) The increase in strength was proportional to the duration of water absorption.

(3) The increase in tensile strength is not steady and gradual, but shows frequent rises and falls. The strength after treatment is, however, always greater than the initial strength.

(4) An increase in the evenness of count and uniformity of tensility always accompanies the increase in tensile strength.

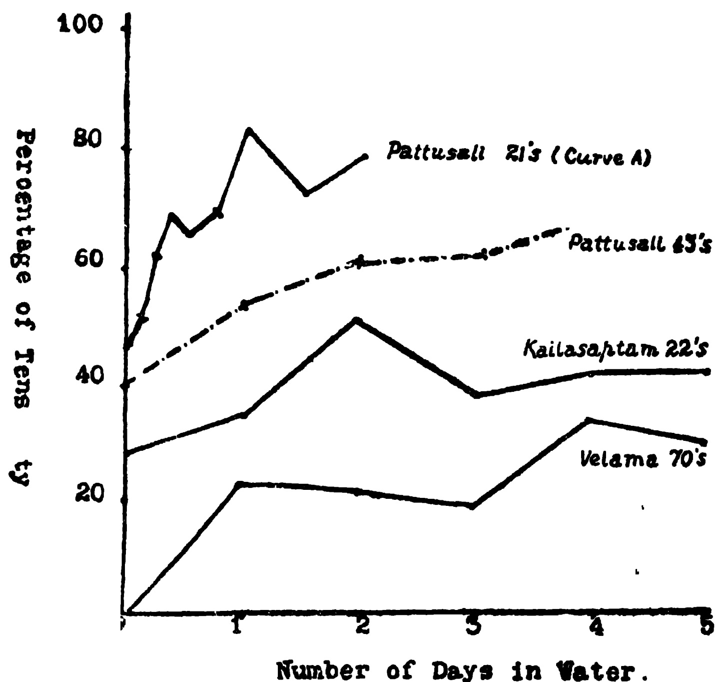
(5) No appreciable change was noted in the count of yarn after absorption of water.

Extended Time of Soaking

After having demonstrated the advantage of water absorption, the period of soaking was increased, so that our procedure might have a definite bearing on the practice followed by weavers in this respect. Weavers, as a rule, wet their yarns before sizing them. In some localities, the yarn is kept soaked in the shallow water of the village tank; in other places, the yarn is soaked in earthen vessels containing water. There is no uniformity of practice among weavers in this respect. Weavers of Pattusali and Velama yarns (high count yarns) keep their yarns soaked overnight. Some fine-yarn weavers in the Berhampur area soak their yarn for one whole day. We have been told that Guntur weavers soak their yarns sometimes for a period of two whole days.

In the second part of our experiment, the duration of soaking was varied from one to five days so as to find out the effects of water absorption for periods much longer than 60 hours, the maximum period covered in the first part of this experiment. The material for the second part embraced only a few of the grades of the Pattusali and Velama yarns (*viz*, Pattusali counts: 43 and 29; Velama counts: 29 and 70). Samples of coarse yarn (*viz*., Kailasapatnum, count 12's) were also used for the purpose of comparison.

The results are represented here graphically.



Wear and Tear of 'Mala'

Spinners, both amateur and professional, are very familiar with the annoyance caused by the frequent wearing out of the 'mala' after only a few thousand yards of spinning and by the time and labour involved in preparing fresh malas. It costs spinners many a pang to be forced to use yarn of their own spinning for the purpose of making fresh malas and for the professional spinners this represents a source of loss. Again, a fresh mala requires adjustment every few minutes, owing to its stretching; this also causes hindrance to continuous spinning. (One has only to witness a spinning competition to realize how defective malas are a handicap to successful spinning.)

The malas used by the Pattusali spinners (these spinners take the greatest care in the preparation of the mala, as in fact in all their processes, which are based on traditional methods and to which they adhere, very rigidly adhere) require to be renewed, on an average, every 3 days roughly 10 times during the course of the month. In summer, a mala lasts for 4 days, whereas in winter only for 2 days. Again, during seasons when good prices are realized for yarn, the spinners work both day and night, and this naturally wears out the mala much earlier The Pattusali women usually spin one tola yarn per day of about 8-10 hours. Thus, taking four days to be the maximum life of a mala, and calculating the yardage on the assumption of 40 count spinning, we find that the maximum yardage spun by the Pattusali mala to be equivalent to not more than 3,500 yards. In the case of coarse count spinning where a thicker mala is used the maximum life of a mala can be taken to be equivalent to spinning 5,000 yards.

About 100 yards of yarn (the Pattusalis are now getting into the habit of using mill-yarn

for their malas, these malas wearing out much earlier than the ones prepared from yarn of their own spinning) and about an hour's labour is required for the preparation of a mala. Thus the loss to spinner during the course of the month on this head would come to: the price of yarn that could be earned for spinning ten hours (approximately two annas); plus, the value of yarnu tilized in making ten malas (approximately 2 annas) a total of 4 annas.

The introduction of a mala having a longer life would undoubtedly be welcomed by the spinners as this would to a great extent minimize the labour and trouble involved. We have therefore devoted some time for finding out a process of making malas which would give a longer and more satisfactory wear.

Folding and Doubling Twist

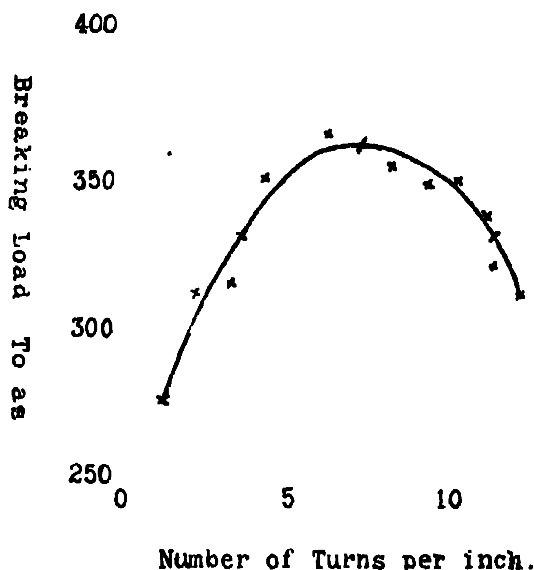
The problem of mala strength resolves itself into finding out the fineness or count of the yarn that should be used, the number of strands of the yarn that should be twisted, the amount of twist that should be put in during the first, or doubling operation to produce the mala rope, and finally, the amount of twist that should be put in during the second, or the folding operation, which produces the final mala.

The procedure followed by us was to take Velama single yarns of different counts (twist constant: 3.75-4.5) and twist them into a rope, by giving to each rope a definite number of twists per inch, equivalent to a Twist constant of 4·5. Each rope was then folded and to each one was given a different number of turns per inch. In this manner 50 samples of full-length malas of 8 different classes were made, each class being characterized by particular count of yarn, by different number of strands, and by a different twist (counts ranging from 10-35's; number of strands in the mala: 8, 12, 1 , 20, 24 and 32; twist put in the folde mala varying from 1-12 turns per inch).

The breaking loads of these different classes of malas were then determined. Those having a breaking load of less than 250 tolas were rejected as not coming up to the standard of the malas now being used by the Pattusalis. The rest were tested for actual wear in spinning. Many of these were found to be satisfactory; specially those having 20, 24, and 32 strands with 5-10 turns per inch, and having breaking loads of 260-300 tolas, spinning from 8,000 to 12,000 yards before they snapped for the first time.

In the second part of the investigation, only malas having 32 strands of Velama 40's were used. A number of test-lengths were made, each with different number of twist-turns per inch. The breaking-loads of these test-lengths were found.

The relation between the twist and the breaking-load is represented graphically by the following curve.



From the curve we find that with a 32-ply, 40's Velama mala, a twist of 6-7 turns per inch, gives the maximum strength.

In order to confirm these results, a few full-length malas were made with 6-7 twist-turns per inch and are now being used in actual spinning. One of these spun 15,000 yards before napping; a third spun 20,000 yds; and was unfortunately lost by mistake; a fourth has already spun 40,000 yards and is still in use and does not show any signs of wear. (This mala is being used by Sjt. M. Kodandaramaswamy, Manager of the Fin Yarn Centre, A. I. S. A., Chicacole).

There are still a variety of problems that require investigation. Some of them are of scientific interest and some of them are of immediate practical importance. It is hoped that Indian University men would devote attention to tackling these in a scientific spirit and do their best to help the spinner and the weaver earn a living wage.

BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE NABOBS: *By T. G. P. Spear, Ph. D. (Cantab). Published by the Oxford University Press, London. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

This is an interesting and fully documented description of the social life of the English in India during the eighteenth century, divided into three periods: (*i*) from the beginning of English Settlements down to 1750, (*ii*) from 1750 to 1785 and (*iii*) from 1785 to the end of the century.

During the first period, the number of Englishmen in the different settlements was so small that a strong corporate life naturally developed. There were meals at the common table at which the Governor presided. The Company's servants in those days "believed in liberal fare washed down by copious draughts" of wine. Such hard drinking was partly responsible for heavy mortality which gave rise to the proverb "Two monsoons are the age of a man." Englishmen in those days generally lived in isolation from Indian society. What little Indianization there was, was "only superficial, a thing of clothes and food and not a radical transformation of essential ideas."

During the next period when the Company's servants were changed from mere traders into masters of a vast empire, fortunes were more easily made. There was naturally more frequent contact with Indian society. Englishmen in India became so many 'Nabobs.' They acquired not only 'the wealth of Ind' but also the tastes and habits of the Indian gentry.

Indian dishes like 'palau' and 'cabob' which Ovington lovingly described towards the close of the seventeenth century, became more common. "By the sixties the fashion of *hookah* smoking had become firmly established" among Englishmen in this country. It extended even to the ladies. The highest compliment they could pay a man was to give him preference by smoking his *hookah*! Two other Indian vices became more widespread among Englishmen in India during this period, were the institution of the zenana and the addiction to the nautch. The acquisition of quick fortunes combined with the comparative paucity of English women, made the former practice possible and perhaps inevitable. European taste for a nautch disappeared by the end of the period, though in the army, enthusiasm for it continued a little longer. Throughout this period of transition from the old factory life to the more settled order, two opposite forces were at work, firstly there was "the cumulative effect of numbers in fostering a class spirit" among Englishmen and secondly "the orientalizing effect of contact with Indian society." Former influence ultimately triumphed and by the end of the century there was a growing contempt among Englishmen in India "of everything Indian as irrational, superstitious, barbaric and typical of an inferior civilization."

This ushered in the next phase when the racial gulf between the rulers and the ruled widened. "The frequency of grand dinners and reciprocal entertainments decreased, the formation of intimate friendship with Indians ceased....The higher posts of the Government were filled with appointments from England, its designs became more imperial and its attitude more haughty and aloof." As the author points out, "the days of corrupt officials, of ill-gotten fortunes, of oppression of ryots, of zenanas...were also the days when Englishmen were interested in Indian culture, wrote Persian verses, and foregathered with Pandits, and Maulvis and Nawabs on terms of social equality and personal friendship. The tragedy of Cornwallis...was that in uprooting the acknowledged evils of corruption, he upset the social balance without which mutual understanding was impossible." Then followed "a period of social segregation and it was left for Rammohun Roy with his advocacy of western reforms and Bentinck with his greater sympathy towards India to lay the foundations of a new and better spirit."

Dr. Spear has given us an able and impartial description of social relations between Englishmen and Indians during the formative period of modern Indian history. He has not minced matters when he has referred to the rôle played by English ladies and missionaries. He finds a solution of present-day difficulties in better mutual understanding. The reviewer however has some misgivings. For, even if the social relations between the two

communities be as happy as possible, even if there is no trace of racial hauteur in the one, and of inferiority complex in the other, shall we have "rose trees and lotus flowers" instead of "stubborn cactuses of criticism and bitterness" ?

J. C. SINHA

PERSONALITIES IN PRESENT-DAY MUSIC: *By E. Krishna Iyer, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Madras (Jt. Secretary of the All-India Music Conference of 1927 and of the Music Academy of Madras, 1928-31): Rochouse & Sons, Esplanade, Madras, December 1933. Pp. 99, with a number of portraits. Price One Rupee only.*

This is quite an out-of-the-way book, which will interest all lovers of Indian music. It gives an appreciation together with short biographical sketches of some of the best known musicians (singers and players on the various instruments) and dancers of South India. In Northern India we do not know the name and fame of most of these experts in the Karnatak system of Hindu music, though occasionally in Calcutta, Benares or Lucknow we may have the privilege of listening to them and admiring their genius. Mr. Krishna Iyer has rendered a service of love to these eminent personalities of his part of our country, and we can form some idea of the *milieu* and manner in which the genius of these *Bhagavathars* --religious singers-- and other exponents of vocal and instrumental music finds its expression An interesting section is on those South Indian *prima donnas* who are famed as the best exponents of classical Indian dancing, such as has been described in Sanskrit treatises like the *Abhinaya-darpana* and the *Bharata-Natya-Sastra.* The author has written with enthusiasm, and on the whole with its portraits and with the sidelight it throws on the music and dances of South India it will be a book to keep in all libraries of Indian music.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE RASHTRAKUTAS AND THEIR TIMES: *By Anant Sadashiv Altekar, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt. (Poona Oriental Series No. 36).*

A book on this subject was reviewed in the May issue of this Journal, and regret was expressed that it was neither critical nor exhaustive. It is gratifying to note that within two months a new book appears on the field which is a scholarly production in every sense of the word.

Mr. Altekar has studied not only the political history and the system of administration of the Rashtrakutas but also the religious, social, economic, literary and educational conditions of the times. In dealing with these topics he has given clear evidence of a wide reading and a thoroughly critical judgment. His discussions on the origin and early history of the Rashtrakutas will, I hope, set at rest the controversies inspired by local or clannish patriotism. It is not possible or desirable to enumerate the various topics on which the author has thrown new light or made a critical study of all the relevant facts in a calm judicial spirit. We may refer, for instance, to his dissertation on pp. 139 *ff.* on the numerical figures attached to territorial divisions. Nor is it necessary to refer at length to some of his statements which appears to us to be open to criticism. *e.g.*, his statement that Govinda III compelled Dharmapala to recognize his suzerainty (p. 67). But we have no hesitation in saying that the book under review is the most critical and complete history of the Rashtrakutas known to us and that it reflects the greatest credit upon its author.

It is a matter of sincere regret that neither the printing nor the general get up of the book is at all commensurate with its intrinsic merits. The Rashtrakutas have at last got their historian, but not the publisher.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

NATURE'S FINER FORCES: *By Rama Prasad. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 275.*

As the name implies, the author seeks to interpret some of the mysterious powers that are there in nature and that modern science and philosophy have overlooked or have failed to understand. It is an occult science of the body in which Theosophy believes. The book abounds in occult phrases too: *e.g.*, 'auditory transparency' (p. 5), 'mental matter' and 'spiritual matter', (p. 17), 'cardiac soul' (p. 210), etc. It professes to give us the deeper science of the body but quietly ignores the existence of modern physiology and anatomy. We are told of the differences of opinion that existed in the ancient world as to the centre of the system of the body (209), it being the navel according to some, the heart according to others. The difference, however, is considered "immaterial" (p. 210). And we are not even remotely asked to remember that modern physiology also may have to say something on the matter.

Adverse critics would probably think that such a book is only an amalgam of pseudo-science, pseudo-religion and sheer unintelligibility and that no useful purpose is served by translating worn-out Sanskrit texts into English and trying to pass them off as profound science Though we would not entertain such uncharitable views about our author, we certainly regret the absence of any comparison of ancient theories with modern science. The book would have gained in value if occult truths could be tested and proved with the aid of modern science. With all the glamour of secret knowledge, the world cannot be persuaded to repudiate science so easily.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

MY EXPERIENCE AS A LEGISLATOR. *Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddy, M. B. & C. M. Rs. 2.*

Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddy, as is well known, is a prominent physician and public worker and she was nominated a member, and elected Deputy President, of the Madras Legislative Council in 1926, continuing in that capacity till 1930. Her career in the Council is by itself a vindication of the rights of women, and she stands as a triumph for Indian Women's Association, which agitated for and secured suffrage in course of only a few years. In these pages she gives an account of her work in the Council, quoting liberally from her speeches to show the reforms she fought for and her achievement in the department of welfare of women and children. Her narrative extends from December 1926 to 1930 and is a record of practical reforms that she advocated for during the period. It is designed to serve as an incentive to other Indian women to enlist their services in the public cause, and there is a quiet note of satisfaction that is gained while doing one's duty. A little more personal touch would have added to the zest of the reading.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE PROBLEM OF EVIL. *M. V. N. Subba Rau, M. A. The East and West Publishing House, Rajahmundry.*

This was delivered as an Andhra University Extension lecture Mr. Rau shows how Shakespeare viewed the problem of evil and he tries to find out the philosophy of life that formed the background for the view that he held. Shakespeare recognizes the place of suffering in the scheme of the world but he never makes the wicked prosper in the long run, and though "perfect justice" (as Dr. Johnson had pointed out) is generally absent from his plays, he never makes us lose faith in goodness and virtue. Dowden has discovered a *new* note of *reconciliation* in the last group of Shakespeare's plays; Mr. Rau contends that this note is not new, but it is a characteristic note, present in his earlier plays as well,—in this, however, Mr. Rau has been misled by the term *reconciliation* which Dowden has used in a wider, one would like to add, in a more spiritual, sense.

THE CALL OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS. *A. S. Wadia, M. A. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London & Toronto. 6s. net.*

Prof. A. S. Wadia has already made his mark in travel books and in this volume he has given his impressions of a four mouths' tour in Australia and New Zealand. He started on his voyage in October 1929 and "took" Australia and the two islands, north and south, that constitute the latter with undimmed enthusiasm. It is remarkable that the Professor finished his tour exactly as he had planned it—to the minute. He takes delight in praising men and nature alike, but in his most enthusiastic praises he never loses balance and never slips into a hyperbole, he tries to correct other people of such lapses. Mr. Wadia's commonsense seldom deserts him and it tempers his enthusiasm for the scenes he visits: he has an insight into human nature and the processes of civilization, and his evident enjoyment of the different phases of external nature is certain to be shared by the reader. The delightful pictures of Australian landscape and the map of the route traversed enhance the value of the book.

A WORLD IN DISTRESS: *the remedy as seen by the theosophist. A Ranganatha Mudaliar, B. A., B. L., M. L. C.*

This is Adyar pamphlet No. 171 in which the writer, taking up for his subject the whole of the world, confines himself to the distress in rural India: is not India a world by itself, and is it not an important—some would say, the most important part of the world? It is, moreover, so true that India lives in her villages, not in her towns. The writer's analysis of the causes of India's suffering is lucid, and the exposition is delightful reading.

"The remedy" he prescribes is nothing but recognition of the principle of brotherhood in all spheres of life and acting up to it. A counsel of perfection! But the idealist is always open to this objection, and Mr. Mudaliar's lecture (for this was delivered as a convention lecture) contains besides some useful statistics. It should be made welcome by the nationalist and widely circulated.

MY LIFE AS GERMAN AND JEW: *Jacob Wassermann. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street. London. 1934.*

The Jews constitute a problem in Europe. There they have been ever regarded with suspicion, distrust and contempt: the Nazi aggression of recent date is but an outbreak of deep-seated discontent, seething and rumbling underneath the surface of society. The problem is not for the Jews and the Europeans only, but it has its reflection in India as well, where provincialism and nationalism are in mutual conflict as well as grating against internationalism. The Bengalis are being ousted from the other provinces of India, the spirit of nationalism is silenced by the bogey of provincialism, and at last it is having its repercussions in Bengal as well, while mere humanity as such is generally given the go-by in our so-called enlightened circles watching their own interests argus-eyed. We thus come to the fundamental problem: how to root out the germs of hatred and racial bitterness from our midst—hatred that corrodes into the soul and chills all genial currents. Wassermann, the gifted novelist, could not cease to be a German because he was a Jew, nor to be a Jew because he was a German. The problem was so acute: he felt it deeply, thought deeply, and over his life, life in its freshness and with its early crises, there hung the shadow of this racial bitterness. He had to pay heavily all through his years in suffering and distress for having been born a Jew and for persistence to retain his nationality as German. He does not hint at the remedy for he has none, his mood is despair, and he merely presents the problem vividly and feelingly, but this sketching should draw us to the mystery and help in its solution. We are told his books have been proscribed in Germany, ever since the Nazis rose in power; and this autobiography (it is not a formal account of his life but the spiritual struggle of his life sketched out with a few bare but important incidents for its background), published in German in 1921, has been published in Great Britain only this year and after his death. The permanent interest of the book should be recognized and appreciated.

GOLAK, THE HERO: *By H. G. Bombay. The Times of India Press. 1932.*

The story of a hero is always refreshing reading, provided he is a real hero. Golaknath was such a one, born in Bengal in the early years of Victoria's reign; influenced by the teaching of early Christian missionaries, he left house and home at what he considered to be the call of duty, at the bidding of a new-born faith. In a spirit of asceticism, he went so far as to shed off his surname. The result was that he sought for light and found it in Christianity. He settled down at Jullundur and his home there was a refuge for all in the Panjab who had been toiling in darkness. It is, in short, the story of spiritual adventure of a Bengali who stamped his personality on the lives and thoughts of many in the Panjab, the province of his adoption, and as such he deserves to be better known.

The writer, however, in his account of the early struggles of Golaknath, has failed to do justice to the different faiths; this is but natural and his bias may be overlooked. His ignorance of things in general may be proved from a single instance, his rendering of 'Golaknath' as 'lord of ten million cows.' The language is generally faulty, though the thoughts are easy to follow.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

EVOLUTION OF GITA: *By Kumudranjan Ray, M. A. Published by K. Ray, 17 Bhawani Dutt Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4. Pp. 222.*

The title of this book is rather a misnomer. The

author has discussed various topics, such as the metaphysical and ethical ideas of the Gita, the date and philosophy of the Upanishads, the different systems of Hindu philosophy and their dates, *sutra* literature, Charaka Samhita, Buddhistic philosophy, Puranas, Tantras, the dates of Bhasa and of Kalidasa, etc. Many of his observations are thought-provoking and extremely interesting. The author has sometimes allowed his imagination to get the better of his reason. He has found descriptions of "ostrich-like flying reptiles, such as dinosaur, atlantasaur, etc., in the Vedas." But perhaps the "chronic brain disease" from which he suffers, as he himself says in the preface, is responsible for the discovery. The author has come to the conclusion that the Vedas were written long before 3000 B. C. The best chapter in the book is that which deals with the age of Kalidasa. The author has put forward very strong evidence to show that Kalidasa flourished during the time of the Sunga king Agnimitra, that is sometime about 150 B.C. This view was originally started by the late Principal S. Ray and also independently by Mr. Subramaniya. The arguments put forward by the author to indicate the chronological evolution of the Gita are not convincing. According to the author, Vyasa flourished in the 4th century B. C., and lived for more than 200 years "for by Yoga power a man can live as long as he likes" !

THE TWELVE PRINCIPAL UPANISHADS (*Vols. I & II*). *By Dr. E. Roer. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, has done a public service in printing the second edition of Dr. Roer's Upanishads. The text is in Devanagri and there is an English translation of the text, with notes also in English from the commentaries of Sankaracharya and the gloss of Ananda Giri. Prof. M. N. Dvivedi has written a very learned preface to the volumes. The first volume contains the Isa, the Kena, the Katha, the Prasna, the Mundaka, the Mandukya, the Taittiriya, the Aitereya, and the Svetasvatara Upanishads. The second volume is wholly devoted to the Brihada Aranyaka Upanishad. The printing is in very clear type and the edition has been very well executed. The book is one that can be confidently recommended to English readers of the Upanishads. The translation generally is true to text although exception may be taken to certain passages such as the rendering of *sloka* no. 23 of the second *valli* of the Kathopanishad where "*prabachanena*" has been translated as "by knowledge," "*Medhaya*" as "by standing," "*bahuna srutena*" as "by manifold science."

THE FUTURE OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY—*Convention Lectures, 1930: By Annie Besant, B. Sanjiva Rao, Earnest Wood, Hirendra Nath Datta, C. Jinarajadasa. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 193, Price 1-8.*

This is a collection of five convention lectures delivered in Benares at the 55th Anniversary of the Theosophical Society in December, 1930. All the speakers have kept in view the question of the future of the Theosophical Society but they have approached the problem from different angles of vision. The lectures are all very instructive and may be read with pleasure and profit even by those who do not belong to the Faith.

TALKS ON THE PATH OF OCCULTISM—*Vols. I & II. By Annie Besant and the Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 615.*

These two books record the talks by Bishop Leadbeater and Mrs. Annie Besant, on the three books namely the Voice of the Silence, At the Feet of the Master, and Light on the Path. The talks minus their occultism are thoroughly enjoyable and will appeal to the general reader. The occultism dominating the Theosophical Society is of such a type as to scare away rationally minded people. We are asked to believe that the Book of Dzyan has an "origin altogether anterior to this world" and that "it appears to be very highly magnetized for as soon as a man takes a page into his hand he sees passing before his eyes a vision of the events which it is intended to portray, while at the same time he seems to hear a sort of rhythmic description of them in his own language, so far as that language will convey the ideas involved. Its pages contain no words whatever—nothing but symbols." There are many gems of this type in the books.

G. Bose

SELF-RESTRAINT *Versus* SELF-INDULGENCE: *By M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Fourth edition. Re. 1. Pp. IX+162.*

It is curious that Mahatma Gandhi's book on the sexual question has run to the fourth edition, while his Autobiography, which is of far more abiding value, has run merely to the second edition. We need not, however, believe from this that people are beginning to take a healthy interest in the matter of sex. For that, they would rather turn to a physician or a psychologist than to Gandhiji. The fact is that when men fail to obtain the object of their desire, they like someone to tell them that gratification itself is bad; and that seems to be the chief reason why, of all his works, this book of Gandhiji on sex has become so popular with the public.

But for Gandhiji himself, the justification of self-restraint is entirely different. The present age hopes to make men happier by satisfying their physical hunger for happiness by an improved system of production and distribution. But Gandhiji holds that such a hope is, in the end, an illusion; and that man's true happiness lies in a limitation of the desire for pleasure so that his energies may be liberated for the service of Truth and God, which gives us a greater and a more permanent form of pleasure than is possible through the senses. From this point of view, his views on the sexual question are worthy of careful attention.

At times, however, Gandhiji seems to be actuated by a sheer love of chastity or purity for its own sake, and not because it is a means to an end. That seems to us to be a form of idolatry; but Gandhiji answers the charge by stating that, in his own case, the means *are* the end. They are, in fact, identical.

Whether we agree with him or not, the book forms an important contribution to the understanding of the man who, like one crying in the wilderness, preaches the gospel of self-restraint in an age which pins its faith upon the fulfilment of the desires of man, so far as hunger and sex are concerned, as a means of rendering him happier in the end.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

THE STATE OF THE SOVIET UNION : *By Joseph Stalin. Being Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. Price 75 cents.*

This report on the work of the Central Committee to the 17th congress of the communist party of the Soviet Union is a concise but complete survey of the international situation and the internal and external position of the Soviet Union. As regards the international situation, it describes the movement of the economic c'i is in capitalist countries, the growing acuteness of the political situation in capitalist countries, and the relations between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist states. The second part of the report describes the Soviet Union's progress in industry and agriculture, the improvement in the material condition and culture of its toilers and in commodity circulation and transport. The third part is devoted to the problems of ideological-political leadership and those of organizational leadership. Being an authoritative publication the book will naturally be read by all who want authentic information relating to U. S. S. R. so far as it may be available.

As indications of material prosperity may be mentioned, (1) an increase in the national income from 35,000,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 50,000,000,000 rubles in 1933, and in view of the fact that the income of the capitalist elements, including concessionaires, at the present time represents less than one-half per cent, almost the whole of the national income is distributed among the workers, office employees and toiling peasantry, the co-operative societies and the state," and (2) "an increase in the average annual wages of industrial workers from 991 rubles in 1930 to 1519 rubles in 1933."

As indications of the cultural development of the country may be mentioned, (1) "the introduction throughout the U. S. S. R. of universal compulsory elementary education and an increase of literacy among the population from 67 per cent at the end of 1930 to 90 per cent at the end of 1933." (2) "an increase in the number attending schools of all grades from 14,358,000 in 1929 to 26,419,000 in 1933" (3) "an increase in the number of scientific research institutes from 400 units in 1929 to 840 units in 1933." and (4) "an increase in the circulation of newspapers from 12,500,000 in 1929 to 36,500,000 in 1933."

CHILD MARRIAGE : *The Indian Minotaur—an object lesson from the past to the future. By Eleanor F. Rathbone, J. P., LL. D., M. A., M. P. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. 2s. 6d. net.*

This book exposes the evils of child marriage, giving extracts from the Joshi Report and other sources, shows up the futility of the Sarda Act, and suggests future remedies. It should be read both by the opponents and the advocates or whitewashers of child-marriage. For the fact that child marriage still prevails both the people and the Government are to blame—no matter to what extent respectively. The remedies which the authoress suggests are mainly through women's part in the new constitution and through the education of public opinion by methods old and new.

LITERACY IN INDIA, *with statements giving population, the numbers of literate and English-knowing people, and their percentages in all the Provinces. Districts and States of India, according to the census of 1931. Prepared by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, Aligarh.*

It is a handy and very useful publication.

SELECT CONSTITUTIONS OF THE WORLD : *Edited by B. Shiva Rao, M. A., Madras. Price Rs. 10. Royal 8vo., pp. 684.*

This bulky volume contains the constitutions of the following 19 countries, as also the Statute of Westminster: Irish Free State; Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; Poland; Austria; Esthonia; Czechoslovakia; Germany; U. S S. R.; Mexico; Denmark; Union of South Africa; Australia; France; Switzerland; Canada; Belgium; Norway; Sweden; United States of America. All editors and other journalists in India, all M. L. A.s, and members of the Council of State, all M. L. C.s, all leading Congressmen and Liberals and other publicists would be better equipped for their work if they possessed this valuable work.

It is true, as Mr. Shiva Rao says in the preface, that the value of the book would have been greatly enhanced by the addition of the constitutions of Turkey, Italy, Spain, Persia and Afghanistan But that would have involved some unavoidable delay. As it is, the book would be found very serviceable.

SAIVAISM, THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS : *By D. Gopal Chetty, Late Editor, "New Reformer," Madras. Published by the Author, Royapettah, Madras. Pp. 1-50. Price As. 8.*

The author of this booklet has made an attempt to draw the attention of the readers to the agreement (which he supposes to be very close) existing between Druidism, the religion of the inhabitants of Ancient Britain, and Saivaism by which he means the Saivaism of the South as prevalent among the Tamils. From this agreement he jumps to the conclusion that 'Druidism was Saivaism' (p. 47) and that the latter was the religion of the Ancient Britons who are identified with that branch of the Tamil race who after the submersion of the continent of Lemuria fled for life in crafts and reached the shores of Africa and from there went as far as the remote Erin (p. 3). It is supposed that these people took Saiva literature with them and preached the Saiva religion wherever they went. But it is to be noted that the points of agreement pertain mostly to traces of primitive religion including symbolic and phallic worship and mystic diagrams met with among people of different parts of the world. As a matter of fact, however, the arguments put forward do not appear to be sufficient to warrant the conclusion arrived at. But the booklet will be welcome to the general reader inasmuch as it brings home to him the principal characteristics of Druidism, a very old religion indeed.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF COMMERCE : *By J. C. Mitra. Pp. 724. Price Rs. 4.*

This is, as Sir R. N. Mookerjee rightly calls it, an omnibus work dealing comprehensively with various aspects of commercial theory and organization, with particular reference to Indian conditions. The book is intended mainly for university students but those engaged in actual commerce have also a good deal to learn through its perusal, the only trouble is that Mr. Mitra has so much chaff mixed up with the real

grain that one is likely to get quite lost in the mass of unnecessary detail. Moreover, in a big volume like this, one might reasonably expect to meet with a critical study of the Indian Companies' Act, the absence of which considerably detracts from the merit of the publication.

FINANCE AND ECONOMICS. *The World Chaos and the Way Out Series: By Ernest Kirk. Pp. 142. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is rather an evangelist's approach to present-day financial problems than that of an economist. The author holds that the present world depression is not likely to be lifted so long as man's approach to the problems of life is not fundamentally modified in the light of understanding one's real self -"the inner Reality." This fanatical idea hardly needs any comment. We do not know why the author has wasted so much of his valuable time and energy on a thesis like this.

CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE: *By B. T. Thakur, M. A. Pp. 35 only.*

This is a monograph on Indian currency and exchange problems that loomed large with Britain's going off the gold standard in 1931. It embodies the views of Mr. Thakur as expressed in an address delivered by him to the Rangoon Rotary Club on the 20th October, 1931.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY: *By J. D. S. Paul, M. A. (Yale), Ph. D. (London). Pp. 86. Price 3 Shillings.*

In a remarkably small compass Dr. Paul presents here a very good study of the early trading organization of the East India Company, from its inception to 1621, particularly with reference to the competition of the European nations for the markets of the East.

N. SANYAL

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE: *His Life and Speeches by John. S. Hoyland, M. A. Builders of Modern India Series, Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The portrait presented of Gokhale in this small volume of about 200 pages is admirable. By making plenty and skilful quotations from his speeches, the author makes the real Gokhale appear before his readers. Our impatient students of politics would do well in reading this volume to appreciate Gokhale's unique faculty of making interesting even the driest details of public business and how he came by it by laborious study of the *minutiae* of finance and dry statistics: and what pure and undefiled zeal on behalf of the weak and oppressed, and what undying fire of love for India prompted him to do it. The author being a foreigner, the last chapter of the book on Gokhale's place in History is doubly interesting reading. The printing and get-up of the book is excellent, and there is a good portrait of Gokhale. The usefulness of the book is increased by an index. At p. 138, one notices a small error. "Lord Ronaldshay tells us that six months *after* his Congress speech &c"—'after' should be 'before.'

J. M. DATTA

YOGA AND WESTERN PSYCHOLOGY: *a Comparison: By Geraldine Coster. Published by the Oxford University Press, London. Price 5s. net.*

This is, we think the first attempt made by a Western scholar to bring the Indian system of Yoga in relation with the Modern Psycho-analytical Therapy of the West. The Authoress' comparisons of the analyser and the student of Yoga are really interesting and her English renderings of some of the Yoga sutras of Patanjali are accurate.

She has in the present volume dealt only with the externals of the subject as it were; let us hope she will in her next book go deeper and will make an attempt to bring out the more fundamental unity that exists between Yoga & Psycho-analysis.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

1. INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: *by Sir J. C. Coyajee, Kt., [Andhra University Series, No. 5, Waltair].*

2. INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: *By Dr. V. S. Ram and B. N. Sharma of the Lucknow University [Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow].*

These two works are the outcome of a laudable desire to interest educated India in the affairs and work of the League of Nations. Sir J. C. Coyajee writes from a somewhat inside knowledge of the working of the League as a member of the Indian Delegation to the League in 1931. He discusses some of the anomalies of the status of India as an original member of the League and the extent of India's international co-operation and commitment in respect of certain world-problems like Disarmament, Economic Reconstruction, Public Health, and other Social and Humanitarian Work of the League. He brings to bear upon the treatment of these topics and, indeed, of his entire subject-matter all that mastery of details, clarity of expression, and objectivity of presentation for which Professor Coyajee is so well known. He has not, however, thought fit to handle some of the fundamental problems affecting the very foundations of the League and threatening its future, problems to which may be ultimately traced the defection from the League of two such important and permanent members of the League Council as Japan and Germany, and of four out of seven Great Powers from its membership. The German view of the position which the League must answer in its best interests is that the League which was meant as a Society of Nations has in reality become a League of Victors who found in it a handy instrument for the enforcement and perpetuation of the kind of Peace contemplated by them, the Varsailles Treaty. It began by excluding the Vanquished Powers who were "treated as moral pariahs." Their subsequent admission to the League did not alter the situation, the spirit of dualism in the League. It still breathes the spirit of discrimination in which it was originally conceived. Germany feels that the coalition of powers, never before known in world's history, which brought about her collapse in the War now operates against her as a permanent factor in politics through the League on an extended scale. The joining of the League of neutrals has given to the Resolutions of the League the added prestige as expressions of world-opinion on the matters they decide. Thus neutrals have been involved in matters that did not concern them, and in responsibilities to which they were strangers, in various committees dealing with Mandated Territories, Minorities, and other matters of international control. This has adversely affected Germany's relations with the neutrals for no fault of her own. The long and short of the matter is that "Germany cannot and will not go back to Geneva so

long as the League continues an instrument for the maintenance of the Versailles Treaty," as stated by the German Minister, Goebbels. Indian nationalist opinion is also much exercised over the way in which the League's Scheme of Minority Protection so laboriously evolved by the collective statesmanship of the world has been given the go-by in India by an irresponsible Government who have thus destroyed the little lingering faith that her people still had in the League. Minorities in India are being overprotected, or protected to a fault, against the League's Minority Treaties, in a manner that is subversive of the integrity of the State itself, under an autocratic government's scheme of 'Divide and Rule.' On the whole, the League is now passing through its greatest crisis which it can hardly survive if its most important work on Disarmament proves abortive like so many of its other adventures and endeavours.

The other book on the League by the learned Doctors Ram and Sharma is of less ambitious scope, and admirably fulfils the purpose for which it is intended. It gives a most readable account of the ideals and activities of the League together with helpful constructive suggestions regarding its reform and future work. It should be widely used as a text-book in the High Schools and Colleges, though it has s much wider appeal. The question of the publication is due alike to its matter, so judiciously selected, and to the manner of its presentation so lucid and logical.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

BENGALI

SRIMAD BHAGAVAD GITA : *By Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh. Third Edition, published by Babu Kshetrapal Ghosh, 6, Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh needs no introduction to the educated public. As an author and an editor of various classical works of Indian philosophy he has earned for himself the reputation of an erudite scholar and worker in Indian philosophy. His reputation imposes upon him a tremendous responsibility and we have every reason to expect from him a high standard of efficiency in every publication that he sets his hand to. In the book under review we are pleased to observe that Mr. Ghosh has not only maintained his high standard, but in some places he exceeds our expectations. The Gita is a highly popular work in Bengal and its editions are almost a legion. Mr. Ghosh, however, does not traverse the beaten track and he has broken a new ground. His edition is almost an encyclopaedia of Indian philosophy. The fundamental concepts of Nyaya, Vedanta and Mimamsa have been explained with elaborate lucidity in a sonorous and flowy style. A careful student of Indian philosophy will find in it enough materials digested within a limited compass and we think a study of this work will clear up many obscurities and remove much confusion and it will thus help the progress of research. An elaborate table of contents, word-index and the index of slokas have made the book up-to-date and profitable to the student. The enterprising publisher too deserves our thanks for having set a moderate price upon the book to make it accessible to all.

SATKARI MUKERJEE

BENGALI—ENGLISH

BAIJNANIK PARIBHASHA *or Scientific Terminology. Compiled by Bangiya Bijnan Parishat (Bengal Scientific Academy) and published by the Calcutta Engineering College, Bijnan Parishat Press, 18 Ekdalia Road, Calcutta. Price not mentioned. 127 pages of the size of the Modern Review.*

It is stated in the publisher's preface that the need for this book was felt because in the Calcutta Engineering College the medium of instruction is Bengali. He admits that the book is not free from defects and errors, and that, therefore, a second edition will be published very soon. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that it is a useful publication.

O.

MARATHI

बातमीदार (News Reporter): *By Mr. S. R. Tikekar, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. Price Rs. 2.*

This first volume on journalism will be found useful to those who intend to be a regular reporter of any journal.

V. S. WAKASKAR

GUJARATI

LOPA MUDRA, PARTS II AND III: *By K. M. Munshi, B. A., LL. B., Advocate: Printed at the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Illustrated. Pp. 92+102 : Price Rs. 2.*

This Natak from the pen of Mr. Munshi, who has just come out from the Bijapur jail, is a fascinating study of India in the dim ages of the past, when the Aryas fought with the Dasyus, and the maidens of one enemy tribe fell in love with the youths of the other enemy tribe and the consequence was great *contretemps*. The scenes painted by Mr. Munshi are realistic, the old times with their rituals and observances, their forest life and their home life are presented vividly to our eyes, and the human feeling of love and lust, affection and hatred, which affected the mind of the primitive man as they affect the mind of the civilized man of today, in all their intensity and depth are graphically set out and brought into great relief against a background of jungle life as lived then. Mr. Munshi has studied this period of Aryan life with great care and has successfully tried to reproduce it, in archaic colours, in this and other volumes bearing on the subject. It is a new line struck out by him and does him great credit.

PRATIMAO : *By Jhaverchand Meghani. Printed at the Jayaswadeshi Printing Press, Ranpur, Kathiawad. Khadi cloth bound. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 1-4-0. (1934).*

These "Images" (*Pratimao*) represent seven stories. They are tragedies of modern life, and melancholy pictures of the present state of society. Mr. Meghani who till now was painting word pictures of the old folklore of Kathiawad, both in its martial and civil aspects, has now turned to cinema plots and he sees in the creations of cinema directors, the coming into being of a new world altogether. He considers the directors to be the interpreters of art in life. His stories give a vivid picture of the life—romantic and real of the chief characters figuring in them, and cinema-goers will perhaps recognize in them, the

subject-matter of some picture or other seen by them. The stories are well and feelingly told. Mr. Meghani's powers do not suffer because of the change in the field of the activities of his pen.

BHUTKAL NA PADCHHAYA, PART 1: *By Gunavantrai Acharya. Printed at the Swadeshi Printing Press, Ranpur, Kathiawad. Khadi Cloth bound. Pp. 202. Price Re. 1. (1931)*

This book, named "Shadows of the Past," contains eleven stories of the glorious past of Kathiawad. The history of Kathiawad during the mediaeval period is full of deeds of venture and courage, which resemble romance more than reality. Mr. Acharya has tried to catch this "romance" and perpetuate it by means of this collection. All the stories are full of nerve and set out vividly the nerve displayed by the different heroic characters, Hindu and Moslem. Altogether the work successfully gives the reader an idea of the state of society in Kathiawad in those far-off days. Readers already have encouraged it well, as within a short time two editions have been printed.

K. M. J.

THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

IX

SUPARNÂ was very busy today. She was to stay and study at Delhi. It had been finally settled. Taran Babu had replied to Pratul's letter, eagerly welcoming Suparnâ to his home. His daughter Amitâ had also written to Suparnâ. Suparnâ had not understood all she had written. But she had understood that these people were very good and that they were very glad to have her there. As she must study, it was fortunate that she could stay with a Bengali family, instead of in a boarding house. She had grown up a good deal mentally during these few days. She had been discussing many things with her father and giving him her views on many subjects. On the whole, both father and daughter agreed that Delhi would be the most suitable place for her.

They were to start tomorrow. Suparnâ was extremely busy; she had tied the end of her *sari* tightly round her waist and was packing up her things. Pratul had to stay out shopping the whole day. Shashadhar Babu's wife had made him buy a lot of things for Suparnâ. "You won't get anything fit for a Bengali girl in that place," she had said, "You must get everything for her here." Pratul had given her some money and asked her to do all that was needful. So she had brought and ordered everything that she had considered necessary for Suparnâ. Suparnâ had gone to her a few times to take lessons in dressing and doing her hair. She still felt some difficulty in walking in high-heeled shoes, but she could walk quite fast in *Nagra* slippers. She had also purchased many books.

Raju's mother sat by her, helping her to pack. Suparnâ had become quite attached to her new belongings and was much afraid of spoiling them. Besides her new trunks, she had got a new suitcase, in which she was packing all the things she would need during her journey.

"How many new things appear daily in the markets," said Raju's mother. "People never saw so many kinds of boxes before. They had only huge wooden chests, in which they kept their utensils and the bits of gold and silver they possessed. And people never wore so much clothing either. If a woman had a *sari* of Baluchari silk or a Murshidabad silk, it was considered sufficient. And if people had to travel, they tied their clothing in a bundle and took it with them.

"We have not got such things even now, in the villages," said Suparnâ. "I did not belong to a poor family, but I never saw such things before. Now, that's finished, I have only my bed left to pack and the tiffin basket to arrange. But these things must wait to the last."

"Lord, what a far-off place, sister," said Raju's mother, "it takes nearly three days to reach it. My limbs ache so, if I stay in a train for more than three or four hours. I consented to go with you, because you are a child and must not travel alone; else catch me going! Besides, you said you would stop at Allahabad for one day and that is a temptation. I am getting old and I shall just take one dip in the holy confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna."

"But we shall be in such a hurry," said Suparnâ. "I don't know whether we would find time to bathe in the Ganges."

"Oh, never you mind sister," said the woman, "I shall see to it."

It was getting dark. Pratul had not yet come back. Suparnâ had her evening meal alone, made her evening toilette, and began to walk about on the terrace. Who knew for how long she was leaving Bengal? It was true she was not leaving any one near and dear to her, but still she had a love for the country. Would she ever see again Jamral, the playground of her childhood and Bhat-gram, that abode of horror for poor Suparnâ? And would she again see Shribilas? Suparnâ thrust the thought away from her. She must forget this man, forget him entirely. The rest

of her memories, she would keep hidden in her heart and turn them over at her leisure, like old toys. She knew that her father would have things thus. She knew that Shribilas had no place in the life planned for her. But it was not so easy to forget. She had not loved Shribilas, had never dared to. She had neither received love from him. Shribilas had been like a canker in the blossom of her young life. The deep wounds he had inflicted on her heart were still raw. Would she ever be able to forget him ?

Pratulchandra came back at night. He had spent the whole day in making arrangements for the journey and drawing the money needed from his bank. Seeing Suparnâ he said, "Why are you still up ? You should have had your supper early, and gone to sleep. You won't get any chance to sleep perhaps for the next two days."

"How can I go to sleep ?" asked his daughter, "I have not packed any of your things. I did not know what to pack, else I would have finished long ago."

"Oh, my packings ?" said Pratul, "that's nothing much. Only a few clothings. I shall see to that. You must go now and lie down. Is Raju's mother going ?"

"Yes," said Suparnâ. "She has brought all her things with her. She will sleep in my room."

"That's all right then," said her father, "we won't have to wait for her in the morning then. Have your meal now and go to sleep."

Raju's mother went down to bring up Suparnâ's food. Pratul usually had his last meal with the other lodgers, in the first floor. This was the only time when he could get them all together and could talk with them. Suparnâ had all her meals in her room. To-night too, she ate her meal alone and retired to bed. Raju's mother went down for her food. Suparnâ would never let the woman go down if she could help it. She knew Raju's mother would stay down, as long as she could. During the daytime the woman obeyed her young mistress, but she insisted on going down for her last meal at night. She took up the plates Suparnâ had used and went down with them and never reappeared before eleven o'clock.

Their train was in the morning. It is usual to find at the last moment that many things had been left undone, though one had been under the impression that everything had been done. The bedding had to be tied up, the tiffin basket arranged and the water carafe filled. Even people accustomed to travel lose their temper at this time and shout. Poor Suparnâ had never travelled so far and her limbs began to tremble through nervousness. Pratul was unexcitable by nature and did not easily get ruffled. Raju's mother and the other servants somehow managed everything. As she got into the carriage for driving to the station, Suparnâ heaved a sigh of relief.

But she had still to face the uproar at the station and to get into the train. As she reached the station Suparnâ felt the same numbness stealing over her that she had experienced on the day of her arrival in Calcutta. Raju's mother caught hold of her by the hand and said, "Why do you feel so nervous, my little sister ? Fools and idiots even are travelling far and wide now-a-days, thanks to the railway. Why are you afraid ? You have your father with you."

Still Suparnâ could not shake off her fears. So many people and so much noise seemed to overpower her. After Pratul had pushed her into a compartment, she looked round her for the first time and saw where and with whom she had got in.

Pratul had purchased tickets for the intermediate class for Suparnâ and Raju's mother, thinking his daughter would feel uncomfortable in a second class compartment in the company of strangers. As Raju's mother was there he put them in the lady's compartment. He could have taken them with him easily, but here too he thought Suparnâ might not feel at ease, before so many male passengers. Raju's mother tried to reassure him strongly. "Don't have any fear, Sir," she said, "we shall be quite all right. I have been to Benares, Gaya and Gangasagar, all by myself, I know how to travel. Let any-one try to be insolent, and he shall see."

The compartment was not much crowded. On one bench sat a middle-aged widow, with a boy of eight or nine. On another bench sat a young married girl, with the veil pulled down well over her eyes. She had a baby in her arms. The third bench was now occupied by Suparnâ and Raju's mother. The porters began to push in all their luggage in this compartment with a great deal of noise.

The train never seems ready to leave Howrah and the passengers grow more and more impatient. Suparnâ too was feeling bored beyond measure. She wanted the train to start, she could not endure this turmoil much longer. Raju's mother, too, shared her impatience. "What's the use of waiting any longer ?" she asked. "Perhaps another crowd may descend on us, if they get time."

"They might and we have no right to complain," said the widowed lady. "A train is not for the convenience of one person but for all. Many passengers might be rushing yet to catch this train. If they fail to do so, it might mean loss and inconvenience to them."

"That's true, mother," said Raju's mother, "but human beings are selfish, you know. Where are you going ?"

"I am going to Chunar," the lady replied. "I live there for six months out of the year. My son works in Calcutta, while my daughter and son-in-law live in Chunar, so I have to fly from one place to another all the time. Where are

you going? You have got a large amount of luggage with you."

"Oh, we are not going anywhere close at hand," replied Raju's mother, "nothing short of Delhi. But we shall break our journey for a day at Allahabad, that's some comfort."

"You are going to Delhi?" asked her fellow-passenger. "Goodness, you would feel half paralysed by the time you get there. You are right, it is by no means a place you can call close-by."

"Have you ever been there?" asked Rjau's mother.

"Oh, I have been everywhere," the lady replied. "I regard the Punjab Mail and the Bombay Mail as my home. I was born in the Punjab and was married to a person who lived in the United Provinces. He was Deputy Magistrate besides—a class who are notorious for changing their places of residence every five months. Then my son began to work in Calcutta and my son-in-law went to Chunar, so I must be on the move all the time."

Suparnâ began to feel rather interested in the lady, who was a Bengali by birth, yet had travelled so widely. "But do you like to travel all the time?" she asked.

"I liked it when I was of your age," the lady replied with a smile "But when I got little children, I was put to great inconvenience. Now that I am free again, I am beginning to like it again. If I remain long at one place, I feel very morbid. I like this constant motion."

At this juncture, another lady passenger tumbled into the compartment with a good deal of luggage and two or three children. Those passengers who arrive first regard the late comers as nothing but intruders, and there is never any love lost between them. Raju's mother made an awful face and turned her back on them. Suparnâ's expression, too, was not very cordial. The train was about to start and the porters in their hurry were flinging in the luggage quite recklessly. They put them on other's luggage and might even have put them on the passengers themselves, so eager were they to go away with their money. One porter nearly came to blows with Raju's mother, because the hulking fool had nearly crushed Suparnâ's frail tiffin basket beneath a huge steel trunk. The basket contained so much good food and all would have been wasted.

The widowed lady brought about peace again. She laughed and said, "It would never do to be so easily upset. The porters are foolish men and they have become sillier through hurry as the train is whistling to start. You cannot entirely guard against these accidents in course of a journey. So it is that our ancient Hindu law-givers have written, 'There can be no observance of laws on the back of an elephant and on big wooden planks.' This compartment is a big enough wooden plank. Now take hold of this bundle and put it on that trunk. And you push that box under that bench, my dear boy. Place that mat in that corner. Now we are quite all right and you can stretch your limbs at leisure One cannot travel such a long way, huddled up in a corner."

The lady who had arrived last, now felt at ease. "You are a very smart person, my dear sister," she said to the widow. "You have restored order in this chaos within a few minutes."

"It needs genius, my dear," said the widow, with a smile, "else you cannot work miracles. You see, I have lived in these trains nearly as long as I have lived in houses. So I know thoroughly how the Punjab mail behaves. I can tell with my eyes shut, where we are, any time you ask me."

The train was travelling at full speed by this time. Everyone tried to sit as comfortably as possible. The children leaned out of the window looking all round them. The others tried to become friendly with the other passengers, so that they could have a good talk. The widow became a favourite with them all.

Suparnâ never spoke to anyone unless she was spoken to. She was terribly afraid of saying something wrong and being laughed at. But she too liked this lady very much. The widow was a rich man's daughter and a rich man's wife, yet how simple she was. She spoke to everyone on equal terms and did not put on any airs. She had a fund of genuine humour too, and could make others laugh heartily. But for a long time Suparnâ did not get any opportunity to talk to her, so busy were the others talking to her. Finding an interval of silence, Suparnâ edged a little nearer to the lady. She understood at once that Suparnâ wanted to talk to her. "With whom are you going to Delhi?" she asked her.

"My father is there in that carriage," said Suparnâ, "and I have got this maid-servant with me."

"Are you going simply for the purpose of seeing Delhi?" She asked again, "Do you study in a school?"

"No, I am going to Delhi to begin my studies. I have no opportunities here. Have you been many times to Delhi?"

"Yes, I have been there thrice I think, in my younger days. But I hear Delhi has changed a great deal, after it became the capital of India. But you will like it, there are so many places to go to, so much to see. Young people usually like it, but after you grow old, it depresses you very much. Only ruins and ruins! You understand fully what a paltry thing human life is, once you see these vast ruins."

Suparnâ understood only half of what she said. "Are there many Bengalis there?" she asked.

"Well, there are a good few," said the lady.

"But most of the older residents have become Punjabis in habit and manners. They speak Bengali with such an accent that it is hard to refrain from laughing when you listen to them. Formerly, some of the ladies adopted Punjabi dresses too partly. They wear Punjabi ornaments even now But now people from Calcutta are pouring in constantly so these people are being Bengalized again."

The sun began to grow hot. "Wash your hand and face, my little sister," said Raju's mother. "I am going to give you your breakfast, it is hot yet." "Yes," said the widow, "finish your breakfast now, or the compartment might soon become too crowded to allow you to do so comfortably."

Raju's mother knew how to take care of people. She served breakfast to Suparnâ very carefully. As the train stopped at the next junction, she sent for Pratul and provided him also with an ample breakfast. The other children in the carriage were looking on greedily, Suparnâ noticed it and gave a sweetmeat to each of them.

The train began to rush on again. It passed out of Bengal and Behar and came to the United Provinces. Bengali faces could be seen rarely at the stations, all were upcountry people. The ladies' compartment, too, began to get crowded. Pratul came now and then to see how they were getting on. He found Suparnâ quite comfortable under Raju's mother's care. Then night came on and the sound of voices gradually died down.

X

The party halted at Allahabad, but the halting was only nominal. They had not time even to untie their beddings. They bathed and snatched a meal somehow and then set out in a hackney carriage to visit the holy places, at Raju's mother's importunities. Suparnâ, too, wanted to have a dip in the holy river, but she knew her father would never allow her to bathe in the midst of a crowd of pilgrims and priests. So she had to remain content with sprinkling some holy water on her head. Raju's mother did not care anything about the lack of privacy, she had a good bath at the confluence of the one invisible and two visible rivers and waged a verbal warfare with the priests in a loud voice. She was bent on getting the maximum amount of merit for the minimum sum of money.

A feeling of indescribable joy was stealing through Suparnâ's heart. She had not heard of Delhi or Agra or Mughal and Pathan, but she knew of Prayag, and the holy confluence, from her birth. She had visited these places in her imagination countless times. She had no peace or happiness in her husband's house. She had thought many times of escaping to some holy place of pilgrimage and finding peace thereby. The names of Benares, Prayag and Gaya were very familiar to her. She had not imagined the place to be exactly like this. But the reality was more beautiful. She gazed at the broad blue expanse of the Jumna and at the line of trees on the other bank, at the temples of Jhoonsi and the small hamlet surrounding it. A long line of country-boats was passing by, carrying loads of passengers from many lands. Their dresses were of variegated colours and types and they spoke, too, in many tongues. Suparnâ liked the Hindustani women most of all, with their bright many-coloured *saris* and marks of vermilion on their forehead and on the parting of their hair. They wore small tinsel circlets also on their forehead. Suparnâ did not know their language, else she would have tried to make friends with them. She liked Akbar's fortress, but its grandeur did not touch her ignorant heart. She had never heard of Akbar, or of his achievements. She wanted very much to see the immortal banyan tree and felt sorry because she could not do so for want of time.

As their boat was returning to the place, where they had left their carriage, it passed by a small half-ruined temple. It was placed high on the bank and had no brick-built steps leading down to the river. A small track led up to it from the riverside. A few boats were tied here, waiting for some Bengali pilgrims who were coming down slowly and very carefully, after paying their homage to the deity of the temple. Suparnâ felt a strange attraction for this lonely temple, standing half-hidden under the shade of a giant peepul tree. "What temple is this, father?" she asked eagerly. "It is the temple of Manaskâmaneshwar" said he, after making an enquiry of the boatman.

Suparnâ bowed down with her hands folded. No one knew except the god, what she desired of the Lord of Desires.

There were many more places worth seeing, but Pratul was afraid of tiring out Suparnâ. So he decided to return. Suparnâ, too, was not keen on seeing anything else except the holy confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

Next day they started again. They had put up at Allahabad at the house of a friend of Pratul's and they had been treated with extreme cordiality. Raju's mother was enthusiastic in her praise of the family, as they had filled the tiffin-basket with various kinds of delicacies. Suparnâ was unaccustomed to long journeys and could not eat anything on the way, she felt so dizzy. Pratul, too, was a spare eater, so Raju's mother could do full justice to the good things. As she got into the hackney carraige for driving to the station, she said to Suparnâ, "They are real gentlefolks, sister, you can see that from their conduct."

"Why, because they have given many nice

things for you to eat ?" asked Suparnâ with a laugh.

Raju's mother felt a bit ashamed and said, "Lord, sister, how you speak ! My eating days are gone long ago. But this change of air has given me some appetite. Hence I can take a bite or two now. But how you can go on without taking anything at all passes my comprehension. At your age, we could eat and digest stones."

As soon as they reached the station they knew that they would not have a comfortable journey. The place was crowded to the full. "You must be very careful this time," said Pratul to Raju's mother, "but don't start trouble unnecessarily."

Both Suparnâ and Raju's mother were dismayed at the sight of so many strong people stangely dressed. Were they to travel in the same carriage with these people ? "Good God," said the servant woman, "Are we to go with these people ? Then that finishes all ideas about eating and drinking."

"You must not be so particular, during a journey" said Pratul. "They are human beings, just as you are."

The train rolled into the station. The female compartment had some passengers, but it had not yet become crowded. Suparnâ and Raju's mother got into it, the luggage was divided between Pratul's compartment and this one.

The ladies, who had been sitting inside when Suparnâ and Raju's mother got in, were none of them Bengalis. So there was no opportunity for starting a conversation. Two benches were full, the third one was partly occupied by some children. Seeing Suparnâ getting in, they escaped to their own relatives. So Suparnâ and Raju's mother sat down on it comfortably, quite satisfied with the arrangement.

But their satisfaction was of short duration. As the train was about to start, two meretriciously dressed women, with piles of luggage, tumbled into the compaitment. To Suparnâ's inexperienced eyes they appeared in no way different from the other women. But Raju's mother jumped away to the extreme end of the bench in consternation and whispered, "Do you see, sister, these are Baijis (professional dancers ."

Suparnâ looked at the women carefully. She was very much surprised to see them wearing things similar to jackets and trousers like men, though they were undoubtedly women. They had a large pile of luggage from the midst of which many musical instruments showed themselves.

"How are we going to travel such a distance, packed like this ?" said Suparnâ in dismay. "And what shall we do, if any more passengers get in ?" But no other passenger appeared and the train steamed out of the Allahabad station. Two women had come with the Baijis to see them off. They burst into loud sobs as the train started, drawing all eyes upon themselves. Suparnâ too was surprised. She had never believed these creatures capable of ordinary human emotions.

As the train passed out of the station, the two Baijis wiped their eyes carefully and settled themselves comfortably. One took up a comb and a small hand-mirror, and began to arrange her hair, while the other began to apply *surma* to her eyes, to enhance their brightness. The other ladies, who had hitherto remained shrouded in burkhâs, now took them off and began to take note of their fellow passengers. The two professional singers were of cheerful and friendly disposition. They began conversation with everyone of their own accord. They informed Suparnâ unasked that they were going to Agra and would travel in the same train with her up to Tundla junction. Hearing that Suparnâ was proceeding to Delhi, they said they had been to the place once or twice on professional business.

Suparnâ could not understand them clearly as they spoke in Urdu, but since they evidently wanted to talk to her, she replied to their questions with the best Hindi at her command. She did not very well understand the implication of the word Baiji, so she was not so greatly disgusted, as Raju's mother was or pretended to be. But when she saw one of them taking out a cheap *bidi* (country cigarette) and beginning to smoke, much of her enthusiasm for conversation cooled down. The smoke and the pungent smell made her giddy. The Baijis had a male servant travelling with them. He appeared before the compartment at every station and attended to the wants of the two women very assiduously. This excess of attention made Raju's mother furious, and she began to mutter remarks about the women, which fortunately Suparnâ could not hear.

The train went on passing station after station. In some places, passengers got down, in some places, new passengers appeared. On the whole, the campartment remained as crowded as ever. Raju's mother now wanted Suparnâ to take some refreshments. Suparnâ was not at all feeling like it, but owing to Raju's mother's insistence, she had to take something. She turned her back to the other passengers, and ate in that position. Though Raju's mother had protested that her eating days were past, she now gave evidence to the contrary by making a hearty meal. The sky outside had become clouded over, and the spirit of the passengers, too, appeared to be damped. Nobody felt inclined to talk much and some began to nod drowsily.

Everybody, with the exception of the Baijis, however. They talked loudly to each other, since no one else was willing to talk. At every point, where the conversation lagged, or one or the other felt drowsy, the younger of the two would make a snapping sound with her finger and thumb and cry out "Yah Khooda Tera

Shookr hai!" The conversation would flow freely again. Suparnâ could not understand what the cry meant; to her the woman appeared to be half insane. Finding her father on the platform at a station she drew his attention to it and asked, "What does she mean by it, father?"

Pratul smiled and said, "Perhaps she means "O Lord, I am grateful to Thee," or something like it. I see many musical instruments; perhaps they might treat you to a song or two."

Pratulchandra was right. After a while the younger Baiji drew out a box harmonium and began to play on it loudly. She evidently did not like the idea of all her fellow-passengers going to sleep. After playing on for a minute or two, she began a song in a rough contralto vioce, "Narangiâ harè tuâ binâ rahâ nahi jâi." Suparnâ was nodding drowsily with her head on the wall of the compartment. As the loud contralto voice struck her ears, she sat up straight in alarm. She could never have believed that such a sound could issue out of a woman's throat. But though she knew nothing of music. Suparnâ could understand that in spite of her voice, the woman was a trained singer. The Baiji was not content with singing alone, she also wanted to know the opinion of her audience about her performance. Being accustomed to entertaining, these two women went on entertaining the passengers throughout the journey.

It began to grow dark. Someone had told Suparnâ that many thefts were committed in the train between Allahabad and Delhi. She remembered these words now and began to get frightened. She felt sleepy yet did not dare to sleep. Now and then her head would sink forward on her breast and she would sit up straight again. At Tundla junction, the two Baijis got down with much bustle and noise. It became very quiet inside after that.

"Why don't you lie down for a bit, sister?" asked Raju's mother. "There is some room now to stretch your limbs. Another crowd may get in any moment."

"I am feeling very nervous," said, Suparnâ.

"You should not feel nervous, with myself in the same compartment," said Raju's mother. "As long as breath remains in my body, nobody would be able to approach you." Suparnâ felt a bit reassured and laid herself down on the narrow bench.

Night came down on silent wings and every sound was stilled, except the sound made by the wheels of the carriages. Whenever the train stopped, the noises of the station woke up Suparnâ. People came in, people went out, they talked, they quarrelled. All these she heard, as if in a dream and fell asleep again. The fear of thieves disturbed her slumber every now and then. Raju's mother had long since given up any pretence of guarding Suparnâ and was now snoring loudly, stretched full length on a bench. Thus the night passed away.

The train entered the Delhi station just as dawn broke. Pratul woke up first at the sound of human voices and getting down from his compartment, went to look for his daughter. He found both Suparnâ and Raju's mother sleeping soundly. He put his hand in through the window and shook Suparnâ gently, "Get up, dear, get up. We have arrived."

Suparnâ and Raju's mother both sat up at once. Then the porters came in to take out the luggage and the party got out.

The station at Delhi is a big one quite worthy of the eternal capital of old India. "This is even larger than the station at Howrah!" whispered Suparnâ to her father.

"Did you think there cannot be anything larger than Calcutta anywhere?" asked Pratul with a smile.

They found out very soon that not only the station but many things else here were superior to like things in Calcutta. The fee of porters, the hire for carriages appeared to be such that Pratul frowned in perplexity. These people evidently knew the world well. They were inhabitants of an ancient metropolis, and could give points to the Calcutta people about everything.

At this time their would-be-host old Taran Babu rushed in. He took Pratul by both the hands and began to welcome him with profuse cordiality. "Please, forgive this delay," he said. "This train arrives so ridicuiously early that it is impossible to meet it."

"I never expected anybody to meet us so early in the station," said Pratul. "I was trying to hire a hackney carriage, but their terms seem rather outrageous to me. Is that the real state of affairs here?"

"Don't speak to those swindlers," said Taran Babu. "My house is within ten minutes' walk from here. We never take a carriage, if we can help it." He turned to Suparnâ and said, "What do you say, my little mother? Can you walk that far? My car had to be sent away for repairs, otherwise there would have been no trouble."

"I can walk very well," said Suparnâ.

So they put the luggage on the heads of porters and started on foot. One or two Tonga-wallahs now began to follow them, offering to take them on rather reasonable terms. Taran Babu shouted abuses at them and walked on even faster.

As soon as he set his foot on the streets of Delhi, Pratul felt his heart swelling with a strange emotion. But Suparnâ felt nothing, The name Delhi meant nothing to her. But she was amazed at its vastness, its cosmopolitan populace, and its queer stone-flagged streets.

In a few minutes they reached Taran Babu's house. It was situated in the heart of the town, but not in a too congested quarter. The house was two-storied, and was very neat

and clean. As soon as their arrival was known, everyone, including the servants, a girl of thirteen, and a small boy rushed out to meet them. The servants relieved the poters, and carried the luggage upstairs. The girl ran up to Suparnâ and took her by the hand, saying, "Welcome, my dear; it was getting so late that I had nearly given you up."

"We had to walk, so we became rather late," said Suparnâ, "You are Amitâ, are not you?"

"Who else?" replied the girl, with a laugh. "Did you get my letter?"

"Yes, I got it," said Suparnâ.

"Let us go up," said Taran Babu. "Is tea ready?"

"Quite ready," replied his daughter. "Did not I get up so early for it?"

They came up to the first floor. Amitâ took Suparnâ to her own room. Here Suparnâ washed her face and hands and changed her dress. Raju's mother was agreeably surprised on hearing that a Bengali servant actually worked here. So she went down to the kitchen to give him a look up.

Amitâ took upon herself the duties of a hostess and began to make the tea and serve the bread and butter

"Do you see what a great housewife she has already become?" said Taran Babu to Pratul.

"I think this trait is inborn in Bengali women," said Pratul.

The two small Bengali women looked at each other and smiled.

(To be continued)

LONDON LETTER

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

SOCIALISM IN OUR TIME

NOTHING has ever been so sacred to Conservatives as the right of private property. It is all the more surprising therefore to find the present Government, which is of course predominantly Conservative and controlled entirely by that party introducing a Bill "to vest in the Crown the property in petroleum and natural gas within Great Britain" and giving the Crown "the exclusive right of searching and boring for and getting" this petroleum. It also empowers the Board of Trade on behalf of the Crown to grant licences to such persons as they think fit to bore for and to get petroleum.

In moving the Second Reading of the Bill in the House of Commons, the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Walter Runciman, said that the Bill would give the Government a chance of developing our national resources to the best of our ability and for the full advantage of the public. The Government have realized that so long as oil in Britain remains in private ownership it cannot be exploited. Lord Londonderry, in introducing the Bill on behalf of the Government in the House of Lords, declared that it was necessary in order to secure the exploitation of a commodity on which so much national well-being depends.

The Labour Party supported the Bill and urged the Government to be logical and go the whole way by ruling out private exploitation of the State-owned oil. But that was too much to expect from the present Government. It is however, valuable to have this striking admission from the Government that private ownership is, holding up the development of oil just as it is holding up the development of the coal industry—a fact which has been emphasized in the report of every Royal Commission during the past twenty years.

WHY NOT EXTEND THE GOOD WORK?

The case for the public ownership and control of our national resources, as advocated by the Labour Party, is unanswerable. The National Government has now endorsed it; for every argument used in favour of the public ownership of Britain's oil supplies applies with equal force to every other resource on which the well-being of the nation depends.

NO SOCIALISTS IN "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT

Some of the Tory die-hard Members argued that this Bill was simply socialism, which of course it is, although it could be improved by a Socialist Government. The Minister of Mines, however, said that

> "to argue that this is Socialism is a very dangerous thing to do, for if this is, as the Government believes, a practical proposition, a wise proposition and a right proposition, if you are going to label that Socialism, you run the danger of making Socialism popular, and that is the last thing that I or any supporter of the Government wants to do."

That comes rather strangely from a Minister of a Government whose Prime Minister has been a life-long Socialist and still declares, although few Socialists would believe him, that he has not given up any of his former principles. It seems to be rubbing in publicly the fact that the Prime Minister can hardly now call his soul his own. And it also explodes the idea that the Government is "National"—representative of all parties in the country. The only "Labour" men who support the Government are those who have swallowed all their former principles and

accepted, in their place, Tory ones—simply in order to keep their seats as members of the House of Commons and chiefly by votes of Conservatives.

STRAWS IN THE WIND

Even the coal-owners are now realizing that the ownership of minerals in a large number of hands is not for the public advantage. The Chairman of the Manchester Collieries Ltd., at their annual meeting this week, said that in his opinion "the industry as a whole was adversely affected by the fact that the ownership of minerals was in such a large number of hands" and he went on to add: "I am of opinion that the unification of mineral ownership is desirable." Had it not been for the selfishness and pig-headedness of the mineral owners, it would have been brought about many years ago.

THE INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

It is twenty years ago now since Sarajevo—twenty years since 28th June, 1914, when the Archduke of Austria and his wife were assassinated and the Great War broke over the world. One might imagine that the sense of this anniversary was heavy upon us; that this week the millions who were killed in that War would seem to rise from the dead to warn us against the consequences of such another disaster. But no. The exact opposite is the case. This week the National Government has shown its sense of what is fitting by going out of its way to stab the Disarmament Conference in the back—and it marked its respect for the anniversary of Sarajevo by choosing that very day on which to land an important military mission in France!

Never at any time since 1914 has the international outlook been so black. And never have we had a Government who cared less and would do less in the cause of peace. The way they have thrown away their opportunities at Geneva is almost past believing. The one and only idea of the Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, is not to commit this country to anything: he is religious in it. The result is that we have become a laughing stock to other nations instead of a power to be reckoned with. They titter with delight when somebody guys us at Geneva—as the French Delegate, M. Barthou, did in the Conference on May 30th.

SHILLY-SHALLY

Even the Conservative *Morning Post* the devoted supporter of the National Government, is alarmed at the way in which Britain's prestige is declining abroad. It recently published an article entitled *Shilly-Shally*, dealing with the present conduct of our foreign policy. "It is impossible," it said, "any longer to maintain silence concerning the grave public anxiety which is being aroused by the indecision and lack of coherence in the present conduct of British foreign policy." This policy, it continued, has left Britain "isolated and friendless among the nations." It concluded by calling for the resignation of Sir John Simon.

But Sir John Simon has not resigned. Only the Prime Minister, too ineffective these days to make any positive protest, has decided to go on a long holiday... "The Prime Minister," said a high official the other day referring to the announcement of new air and naval programmes, "is happier out of this business."

Still, his colleagues in the National Government did not wait till Mr. MacDonald had left the country before they proclaimed their warlike intentions. As stated above, they chose this Sarajevo time to give a stab in the back to the Disarmament Conference.

WORLD PEACE IN JEOPARDY

The First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for Air are the offenders and the First Lord began it. In a speech at Spetchley Park near Worcester, in the presence of Mr. Baldwin—the real head of the National Government, so there is no escape—he made an alarmist and provocative speech. This speech may be a turning point in history and is worth a little consideration.

First there is the now famous declaration: "I believe a strong Navy helps more than anything towards world peace." This from a member of the British Government, at a time when the whole future of disarmament trembles in the balance at Geneva!

No wonder the President of the Disarmament Conference, Mr. Arthur Henderson, said of it (and of the speech on the new Air programme made by Lord Londonderry):

> "If anything is calculated to make impossible the task of achieving disarmament at Geneva, it is speeches such as two that we have had from members of the present Cabinet this week."

But the First Lord of the Admiralty went to even more irresponsible lengths. To back up his plea for a Big Navy he did not scruple to try to frighten his audience into believing that we must increase our armaments here and now because we are threatened from abroad! What wickedness! "Don't think for a moment," he said, "that there are not covetous eyes on some of our great and fair heritage all over the world."

It is, of course, the stock-in-trade of the National Government to assert that we alone have decreased our expenditure on armaments while all the other great nations have been increasing theirs. The First Lord made great play with this argument. Said he: "In the last eight years Italy has increased her expenditure on armaments by over 9½ p. c., the United States by over 10 p. c., Germany by over 12 p. c. Japan by over 80 p. c., France by over 100 p. c., and Russia—that Mecca of brotherly love—by over 197 p. c. We show the only decrease, a decrease of 16 p. c.

It is high time that someone examined and exposed this argument and pacifists are at last waking up to the fact. Figures can prove anything. It makes a great difference, for instance, if instead of giving percentages, you give the actual cash amounts. It is only fair also to consider the relative position of different countries at the close of the last War. The percentage method assumes we all start from scratch.

Armaments Race Begun

A writer to the *News Chronicle* this week raises this first point:

> "Britain has no right to boast of taking the lead in navel disarmament until she actually spends less in cash on her Navy than do the other countries.
>
> "If we are still spending, say, twice as much as France or Italy on our Navy, we cannot expect them to be much impressed by our claim that we have decreased 16 per cent anyway."

And Mr. Richard Lee, the President of the Unitarian Peace Fellowship, has been letting in the daylight with regard to Russia's apparently swollen estimates :

> "The reply which Mr. Baldwin should have revealed is that Russia's navy was non-existent, apart from a few battleships after the war, and she had no air force.
>
> "It is true that in 1926-27 Russia spent 14·1 per cent of her Budget on armaments. Today she spends only 6·1 per cent. We spend over 14 per cent of our Budget on war preparations *more than double the Russian proportion.* Moreover as the wholesale price figure is 100 today compared with 148 in 1926, our actual expenditure has gone up over 30 per cent.

So that sneer about Russia and brotherly love wasn't really fair.

Indeed it is only safe to say one thing about armament figures at the present time—and that is they reveal that an armament race has begun. There is a Naval Armament Race going on now among Germany, France and Italy. And it is useless for us to say we must join in the race if we are to defend ourselves, because it is *solely owing to our lack of policy at Geneva that this race has begun.*

Our Biggest Blunder

France sets the pace on the Continent in the matter of alliances and armaments, France is the challenge to Italy and Germany—but she would call off the race *to-morrow* if Great Britain would come down on the side of a system of pooled security. But at Geneva at the beginning of this month Sir John Simon made it clear that Britain will not take on any new obligations. That was why M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, held us up to scorn. That is why he has been visiting Poland and the Balkans reviving French alliances —and annoying Italy. That is why Italy is building two 35,000 ton battleships. That is why Germany is making such an occasion of the launching of the latest pocket battleship. Tha is why France has decided to reply to Germany !

No wonder Mr. Vernon Bartlett, writing in a series of articles on "Germany To-day and To-morrow," says : "I look upon the British failure in Geneva to offer guarantees of execution of a disarmament convention as our biggest blunder since the War."

Why, oh why, can't we see that we all have the trumps in our hands—or if we can't see the trumps, why won't we try to play a courageous game ? Not only France despises us but Italy. Signor Mussolini's mouthpiece, the *Giornal d' Italia* said the other day : "It is England's duty to make France follow a calmer and less bellicose foreign policy."

But far from seeking to enforce peace in Europe, we are ourselves going out of our way to discredit the whole idea of peace and disarmament. Perhaps the most outrageous feature of our announcement of an expansionist naval programme is that we should be making it at the present time. Why are we making it now ?

Preliminiaries To 1935 Naval Conference

We are making it now because a Naval Conference is due to take place in 1935. As a preliminary to that Conference conversations are going on in London between England and America, and the Japanese Ambassador in London has been seeing the American Ambassador-at-large, Mr. Norman Davis, in this connection. The National Government are as secret as claims about what they have said at these conversations. But from reports which are coming back from America it is clear that we are already contemplating that the Naval Conference will be a failure—and indicating what our programme will be in that event !

That is the defeatist, non-possumus, way the National Government goes into peace conferences. That is why they always break down. It is exactly the method we adopted with regard to the Disarmament Conference and air armaments. As long ago as March. Mr. Baldwin was anticipating the failure of the Conference and hinting at the huge increase in our air forces which would follow. So that the Conference was allowed to fail--and before it is decently dead we have the new Air Programme. It will be the same story with regard to the Navy Conference.

At present our naval programmes are subject to the agreements signed at the Washington and London Conferences. But at the third of these Anglo-American conversations the experts issued a statement showing "the increases that could reasonably be held necessary for the safety of Empire routes if the present limitation agreements lapsed and were not replaced." If the 1935 Conference failed in other words.

What a spirit in which to approach a Conference !

Why We are Taxed Heavily

But the first Lord of the Admiralty does not believe in Disarmament. He thinks it is a dream and that "It is about time we woke up." He is resolved on a large naval programme. He wants to build up to the limits of the existing treaties, and, if the Conference fails—beyond!

A peace-loving Government, of course, might propose, if and when the Conference had failed, that instead of all-round naval expansion there might be a Naval Holiday. But the National Government would think that was another dream.

Rumours are rife as to what Britain will demand at the Conference. It has been said, and it has not been contradicted that a demand will be made for 70 cruisers. Yet it was a demand for 70 cruisers that wrecked the 1927 Three-Power Naval Conference at Geneva.

Whatever we may demand at the Conference, we are going to give the world a foretaste of our temper now. Last week it was stated in *Reynold's Illustrated News*, a paper which is clever at uncovering official secrets, that

> "When the Government comes to announce its Naval construction programme for the next twelve months, it will be found that this will exceed £14,000,000.
>
> "It is expected that by the end of the present year this country will have under construction no fewer than 13 cruisers, 27 destroyers, 8 submarines, 14 sloops and an aircraft carrier."

Why do we want to strengthen our navy? There are three great Naval Powers—Japan, America and Britain. War with America, we are always told, is "unthinkable". Japan, then, presumably, is the potential enemy.

We have, of course, apropos of Japanese aggression in China, shown that we would never go to war with her in furtherance of any existing Treaty obligations. But perhaps we might if she "coveted" some part of the British Empire—of Australia for instance—as an outlet for her population. Yet the signs are surely that Japan will expand, as she has begun, on the Asiatic continent, in the islands of the Pacific.

In any event American opinion, which is always the more sensitive about Japan, is afraid that our new naval activites will have a most unfortunate effect on Japanese policy. The New York Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* telegraphs: "American anxiety over the new British programme is based largely on fear of its effect on the Japanese. The latter have already indicated that they want complete equality with the United States and Great Britain in the next year's Conference."

> "While it may be argued that the new British programme would discourage the Japanese, making them feel they cannot afford equality on such an expensive scale, it is feared here that the result may be just the contrary and may embolden the Japanese to demand a tremendous increase in their fleet."

In other words, America fears that Britain's naval programme will lead to a new Naval Race. The old evil causes cannot fail to produce the old evil results—and end in War.

Dangerous Speeches

The First Lord of the Admiralty let loose the dogs of war all right when he declared (in the presence of Mr. Baldwin) that international disarmament had become a dream. He was closely followed by the Secretary of State for Air, Lord Londonderry, improvising on the same theme.

"Improvising" is about the only word that can be used to describe Lord Londonderry's statement in the House of Lords. It was on all counts one of the most disgraceful and dishonest betrayals ever put over. He said in the House of Lords—and it was broadcast all over the world—that the Government had held its hand as long as it could in "the hope that something might be achieved out of the Disarmament Conference." But now it had become abundantly clear that the other nations (!) would have nothing to do with disarming or the ideals of the British draft convention. So far from disarming, they are actually increasing their armaments. "Therefore, it would be imprudent on our part not to meet the situation which has thus been forced upon us."

This sounds dreadfully like the Kaiser's famous aside: "The sword of war has been forced into our hands"! And it has not deceived anyone abroad. One German newspaper headed a report of the speech with the caption: "The world in a fever of arming." And another with: "England wants to become the strongest Power in the air."

What They Conveniently Forget

Nothing could be further from the truth than Lord Londonderry's picture of the situation at Geneva and our part in it. We have done nothing, absolutely nothing, to help on the cause of aerial disarmament. Our only positive action has been in the opposite direction. We alone stuck out for the right to so-called police bombing—the right to bomb recalcitrant villagers and tribesmen in the remoter parts of the earth. And we underlined our diehardism on this point by seizing the next opportunity of such bombing. Ten days later, while air disarmament was still being discussed at Geneva, we were bombing tribesmen on the North-West Frontier of India.

The point about this reservation of course—the point about any reservation where air disarmament is concerned—is that it invalidates straight of any possible Air Convention. So long as any nation retains aeroplanes for its own national ends, those aeroplanes can be converted to instruments of war against other nations.

We pretend we do not see this dilemma,

although every other nation at Geneva does. The vast majority of the nations at Geneva see that the problem of air disarmament is only capable of international and universal solution, and they have declared themselves in favour of the international solution.

THE FRENCH PROPOSALS

This solution was put forward by France in February and March of 1933. France proposed the abolition of military aviation entirely. To make this watertight two conditions were essential. (*i*) Civil aviation must be internationalized. (*ii*) The League of Nations must be equipped with a small force of fighting planes to prevent the possible misuse of civil aeroplanes.

And how was England acting while France was seeking a solution of the air problem? She was putting every difficulty in the way that she could, apart from indulging in some private police bombing. "Readers of the Minutes of the Air Commission in February and March, 1933", says Mr. W. Arnold-Forster writing in the *News Chronicle*, "know that Lord Londonderry and Sir Philip Sassoon, instead of helping the French Air Minister in his splendid effort to secure agreement on these lines, put forward only the difficulties in the way."

INTERNATIONAL SOLUTION ONLY POSSIBLE

No wonder Mr. Arnold-Forster describes the story that precedes this latest development, this announcement of an expansionist air programme, as "a story of hypocrisy which should make Englishmen sick." Lord Londonderry, he says, has never acted, never spoken, as if he meant to get any real measure of disarmament in the air. He has not even waited till the Disarmament Conference was dead!

Lord Londonderry blames the other nations. But the other nations are only facing facts. They know that there can be no disarmament without security—and no security without international security, without *pooled* security. It is worth listening to Mr. Noel Baker, summing up the position in a speech which he made the other day at a meeting of the General Council of the League of Nations Union:

> "The foreigners are not to blame, as is so often said, for the failure of the Conference up to the present time. They cannot put through any international solution of the Air problem without the co-operation of this country, and this country has not yet accepted the international solution which the vast majority of Europe is ready to accept.
>
> "It remains true to-day, as it was true in 1933, that if our Government accepted the international solution of the Air problem, the Air problem could be solved, and *The Disarmament Conference could succeed in a week.*

The Conference could succeed in a weak! And instead, under the stiff-necked, old-fashioned, guidance of Lord Londonderry and the Services, we are making straight for war. For make no mistake about it, unless the National Government takes to heart the rude awakening which has followed on the announcement of its bellicose programme, and stays its hand, we are in for an Air race with France. The declared objective of the National Government is "parity with the strongest country within striking distance of our shores." And of course France is the strongest country.

WHAT PARITY MEANS

Parity, says the impartial experts (not the Service ones), is a mirage. Even if you do achieve parity in the air, moreover, it will not prevent your cities from being bombed. There is no defence against attack from the air. As Lord Ponsonby pointed out in the House of Lords, not even the Secretary of State for Air has ever said that further squadrons of aeroplanes are going to make this country safe from aerial bombardment or its consequences. All that "parity," assuming it to be attainable, could achieve would be to give us a *striking* force—not a defensive one. We might then be in a position to spread equal devastation with the force that was devastating us. In other words, aeroplanes are only weapons of aggression, and to increase your Air arm is to do nothing but invite competition in aggressive weapons.

GOVERNMENT BY TORY PARTY MACHINE

And this is the competition that our National Government is forcing upon us and on the world. They have taken this terrible step and taken it *without any mandate from the electors.* The only mandate they can point to is the vote passed last year at the Conservative Party Conference urging the Government to increase the Fighting Services. Why should the country at large be dragged behind the Conservative Party machine?

The so-called National Government anyway has lost entirely any claim it had to be considered really national. As Sir Herbert Samuel pointed out in a speech at Darwen on 22nd June, there have been ten by-elections this year. And in only *one* of them has the Government candidate secured the support of more than one in three of the electors. Yet such a Government, acting without mandate and and in face of an increasingly minority vote, is taking this utterly grave step. There seems to be only one avenue of escape for us and it is to be hoped that the Labour Party in the House of Commons and in the country will insist on keeping it open. In March this year, when Mr. Baldwin was already talking about the failure of the Disarmament Conference, and the aeroplanes we would build when it had failed, he did try to soften the horror by speaking also of an Air Convention. What has become of that idea?

Mr. Baldwin said that if a convention on the lines of the British Draft Convention failed, we would "start work the next morning to get an

air convention among the countries of Western Europe." Well, what are we doing about it ?

Of course, if Lord Londonderry and his kind remained at the Air Ministry, any Air Convention that we sponsored would have no more chance of success than had the Draft Convention. We would still hang back from internationalizing all aviation, from pooled security. And pooled security would still be the *sine qua non* at Geneva of an Air Convention.

What May Happen

But Lord Londonderry and the other cynical gentlemen may not remain in power. There have been so many rumours of a sudden General Election that, please God, one will come in time. If it doesn't, future ages may write our history thus:

In the twentieth year of the Anniversary of Sarajevo Britain took a step which led to the final World War. She dissociated herself from the Disarmament Conference and entered upon a Naval Competition with Japan and America and an Air Competition with France and the other Great Powers of Europe. The result was the Second World War, in which European civilization went down, and the stage was set for the rise of Asia. The rise of Asia, under the hegemony of Japan, will be the subject of our next chapter!

The Prime Minister in 1916 and 1921

Let me, in conclusion, quote Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, writing in the *Labour Leader* on 6th April 1916.

> "......The task of Socialism is to eradicate from Europe confidence in military authority, and to lay through political sagacity and human goodwill made effective the foundations of peace—and we behold our justification. Ruin, sorrow, killing, are proving themselves to be impotent to do anything except to multiply themselves."

The world today shows how true these words were. The pity is that the Prime Minister is now the head of a Tory Government and seems to have swallowed wholesale their views and abandoned his former outlook.

Here is another quotation from the pen of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in the *Socialist Review* of January-March 1921:

> "The priests and parsons whose profession it is to trim the spiritual lamps, and who lied so egregiously both to God and man when they told us of the purifying influences of war."

And again in the *Labour Leader* of 18th April 1918,

> "There are but two policies: there must be no compromise between them; both must be carried out to their utmost. Theirs of fighting, basing victory on force and settling peace by the interests that triumph: ours of agreement, basing victory upon right and settling peace by the wisdom of democracy."

The India Joint Committee Report

Hope deferred maketh the heart sick. Indians must be tired of waiting for the Report of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament. The Government's proposals were issued well over a year ago in the form of a White Paper and they had promised to take Indians into consultation. The consultation between members of the British Parliament on the one side, and Indians and Burmans on the other, has been considerably less than it was during the Round Table Conferences. Indeed, before the Joint Select Committee they were merely witnesses whose evidence could hardly be expected to make much impression on a Government with its mind made up as to the limits of self-government it is prepared to give to India.

The members of the Joint Select Committee were not chosen because of their knowledge of Indian affairs, although in the case of some of them that was undoubtedly considerable. They were merely chosen because they represented the strength of the Parties in the House of Commons. Many of them were completely ignorant even of the elements of the problem for which they had to find a solution.

Any members with a real knowledge of India (and of the Reports of the various Committees and Commissions that have been set up one after another during the last ten years), could have dealt with the White Paper proposals in a few weeks. The Joint Select Committee has already spent fourteen months on the job and even yet they are far from having their Report ready for publication.

Mr. Baldwin promised that before the Report of the Joint Committee came before the House of Commons for discussion he would submit it to the Conservative Party in Conference. Had such a statement been made by the Prime Minister of a Labour Government, there would indeed have been an outcry. The Conservative Party Conference will not take place till the first week of October.

Parliament will probably rise about the end of this month and if the Report were published then or during the recess, the Government know that it would be excellent ammunition for Mr. Winston Churchill, Lord Lloyd, and their like to commence a raging propaganda throughout the country. But when Parliament rises its members usually disperse—and there is little chance of the Joint Committee meeting during August or September. Holidays and shooting birds are sacred duties in the eyes of the bulk of our legislators. The Report therefore is not likely to be issued before the end of October. And when it comes. . .

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru

In an article in the London *Daily Herald* Prof. Harold Laski does not only draw a portraiture of the young Pundit, but surveyes as well the political situations of India at present. The following extracts are quoted from the *Living Age* :

I know few criticisms of our system in India more profound than the fact that we have been unable, in the post-war years, to win the loyalty of a single outstanding Indian who has any serious following behind him. Mahatma Gandhi, Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, Vallabhbhai Patel, Nehru, everyone who in this last period has had a real hold upon the imagination of his fellow countrymen has been the passionate exponent of complete self-government. We hold India not by the quality of our rule, not by a reciprocal interest born of mutual good will ; we hold India by the sword.

That has been painfully apparent in these last three years. No country is held by good will when fifty thousand people have to be sent to jail. No people accepts the rule of a conqueror when the first symptom of women's emancipation there is their full participation in the Gandhi movement.

Basically, we are unwilling to recognize that Indian nationalism is part of a basic revolt of the East against western tutelage, to which there is no answer save that of freedom. It is a lesson we should have learned from our experience of America and Ireland. But it is also, as it seems, a lesson that an imperial race can understand only when it is too late. That is the price of empire.

We have given India a government amazingly free from corruption, eager to do justice in its own way, full of manifold good works. But we have never domesticated the system in the affection of the people. We have always been outside their confidence. We have done good to them ; we have not thought it consonant with our dignity to realize that a people is infinitely happier in seeking to do good for itself. So that, when Indian nationalism was born, instead of seeeking to make terms with it from the beginning, we threw it a concession here and there, as a bone was thrown to a dog. It was done always with arrogance, virtue, emphatic superiority. Now we are paying the price.

If anyone wants to know why Nehru is what he is, let him consider how the rule of Bengal is maintained. There has been ugly terrorism in Bengal, futile and wicked, the action, mostly, of young people barely out of their teens. To anyone not infected with the imperialist virus, that would indicate something gravely wrong.

It is an offense punishable by death to be in possession of arms. The Government may prohibit the publication of any document it thinks fit. It may hold trials in secret and in the absence of the accused. It may restrain the movements of persons under twenty-one. It may imprison up to three years for the possession of seditious literature.

The press is censored as in hardly any country outside Italy and Germany. There are military marches, accompanied by house searchings, and the saluting—it is alleged that this is sometimes forcibly exacted—of the flag. Collective fines are imposed on villages suspected of harbouring terrorists. Punitive police are quartered on them. There are endless arrests without warrant, special tribunals, orders to citizens to report weekly, even daily, to the police, to stay in a particular place, or not to go to some particular area, or—I quote from a government order—to 'conduct themselves in a particular way.'

Great Tasks of Christian Missions

Prof. Julius Richter, the Utopian champion of Christian Missions, dreams like Shakespeare's Gonzalo of a world Commonwealth of Christianity by converting almost all into the Faith, beginning with the primitive races in the romotest part of Africa. The following extracts, quoted from the *International Review of Missions* will be of great interest to our readers :

Christian missions are face to face with four great tasks of gigantic dimensions. The first is among primitive peoples all over the world, particularly in Africa, the Indies and Oceania. Their primitive beliefs will in all probability disintegrate and evaporate in a few generations, becoming crude superstitions. Will Christianity be able to supply them with a new and enduring religious foundation ?

The second task lies in China. The whole cultural structure of that empire which had outlasted millenniums and seemed unshakable at the end of the last century is completely broken down, and with it the structure of the State, its world view, ethical principles and basis of highly cherished literary culture. China needs reconstruction on a gigantic scale. This is the time of times for Protestant missions ; will they be equal to the challenge ?

The third task concerns Russian Bolshevism which is starting a world-wide propaganda with apparently inexhaustible resources in men and means. It is a passionate wrestling for social and economic justice combined with a fanatical hatred of Christianity. It is catching at the most cherished ideal of the modern world, and attacking its civilization along the line of least resistence—a widespread indifference to the Church. This renders the challenge almost superhuman for the weak Christian forces. Yet this campaign—organized anti-Christianity—is world-wide. What will be the outcome? Perhaps its gravest danger zone at present is in China. Is the alternative Christianity or Communism?

The fourth task concerns Islam. Islamic advance seemed almost to have come to a standstill at the

end of last century, but its propaganda has started again with new zeal and success. We do not fear so much the organized propaganda of the Indian Ahmadiya, Persian Bahaism of the Khoja Agha Khan... For great regions such as equatorial Africa, Bengal and the Dutch East Indies the crucial question is Cross or Crescent? Christ or Muhammed?

We have often failed to take sufficient notice of a most important factor of the missionary movement. The religious conversion of tribes and nations is fairly easy if these are just emerging from their pre-history period and beginning to appear on the stage of history. The situation is infinitely more difficult if the new religion is a late comer after all the seats of religious civilization are already occupied and provision is being made for all imaginable religious needs. That has been the case in India, after four thousand years of luxuriant religious growth in every imaginable direction, from the crudest paganism to the highest soarings of theosophy and mysticism. It is the same in China, with her Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. It is the same, again, in Japan, with her nationalistic Shinto and the manifold sects of domesticated Buddhism.

—

Two Faces of Islam

Though the *Jihad* (holy wars against unbelievers) cannot take place now a days, Mr. Alfred Neilsen in an article in the *International Review of Missions* under the above caption endeavours to show that the eternal feeling of opposition and hostility of a Muslim towards one who has not embraced Islam is still visible. This perhaps has led Muslims to dream of a pan-Islamic federation in the West:

Turkey and a few other Islamic States are members of the League of Nations, but there is a widespread feeling in Islamic countries that it would be better to have an eastern, or even an Islamic, League of Nations as distinct from a western League.

Islam is and must always be more politically-minded than Christianity, which will be understood from a glance at the founders of the two religions. It is not only that Christ once told Peter to put up the sword and that Muhammad wished his religion to be defended by arms; but Christ's work was centred in the relation of men to God as sinners to the Saviour, and no laws or injuctions were given for the affairs of daily life or of social questions; it was all left to the work of the Spirit and of the principle of love. Whereas Islam has, in the Quoran and the traditions, commandments and prohibitions for all spheres of life including the political, and it is rare to find it maintained, as recently by the English Muslim, Mr. Sheldrake, that 'Muslims are not political in the usual sense of the word.' An article which appeared about the same time speaks quite differently and is no doubt more in agreement with the Oriental Muslim mind.

"We are Muslims in the full sense of the word. Do not ask us to believe in some of the book and to refuse the rest. Politics are among the first duties of Islam and he who tries to prevent that will rob it of life. Muslims are weak at present only because they have left Islamic politics, which their opponents fear. Islam is a religion of power, not of weakness. The verses of the Quroan speaking of *Jihad* must be accepted as well as those about prayer. The Muslim who bears oppression without protest is no Muslim. Islam and politics belong together as the blood and the veins."

Taking a single local example, such as the development in Syria or Palestine after the great war, it is at once seen clearly how closely connected are religion and politics, especially in Palestine, because the holy places—holy also to Muslim—are there. The Arab Muslim population of Palestine in opposing the Balfour Declaration and Jewish immigration, has issued a call to the Muslims of the world to come to their help. In 1931 an Islamic World Conference was held in Jerusalem (see *The Moslem World* for October 1932) with representatives from nearly all Muslim lands. Even if this conference showed some of the internal strife that is found in Islam, and even if it was a disappointment to many Muslims, so that a second conference has not yet been called although it was decided to have annual conferences, still, it was an important step towards modern pan-Islam. One of its results was the sending of a deputation under the Grand Mufti of Palestine to Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan and India to inform Muslims there of the state of things in Palestine and to enlist their support, spiritual and financial, especially towards the creation of an Islamic university in Jerusalem, to be an Islamic centre of a character other than that of the famous old-fashioned theological school of al-Azhar in Cairo. Another outcome was the European Islamic Conference held in May 1934, as a branch of the general conference in Jerusalem.

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Mrs. Naidu and Indians in Malaya

The following comment by N. R. appears in *The Indo-Malayan Review* on some views alleged to be expressed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to a special correspondent of the *Sunday Times* regarding the Indian emigrants at Malay:

Wide publicity has been given in the local press to what were described to be the views expressed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on the Indian question in Malaya. To one who has closely studied this pariot they came as a great surprise. In the absence of further confirmation it is unsafe to venture any opinion on the accuracy or otherwise of this report.

If we are to assume that the opinions alleged to have been expressed by Sarojini Devi are really hers, or are shared by other Indian leaders and politicians as well, then we can only suppose that by some cataclysmic suddenness political opinion in India on Indians abroad has undergone a remarkable transformation. If Sarojini Devi's "views" had been shared by the Government of India it would be a waste of money and energy to continue any further the established "Agencies" in Malaya, Ceylon or South Africa.

"Tell the Indians in Malaya" the poetess was reported to have said "you are economically better off where you are than you would be in your own country." This time-honoured fallacy has been exploded again and again so much so that I have neither the time nor the inclination to go into this matter at present. "You emigrated to better your own status, and for what you have done you are amply rewarded." I very much doubt whether Sarojini Devi has ever said so. She is not of the variety that rushes in where angels fear to tread. In this remarkable interview alleged to have been granted to a special correspondent of the "Sunday

Times" she is credited with many other such statements which any one who knew Sarojini Devi well would certainly refuse to believe. They display an abyssmal ignorance of conditions here and shows an incapacity to appreciate the very elementary principles of colonisation.

The question of the status of the Indians in Malaya will continue to exercise the minds of Indian leaders both here and in India for some time to come. No Indian will remain satisfied with a third class citizenship. There should not be any difference between subject and subject.

In the past, leaders from India have always interested themselves in our behalf, not because in our negotiations with (and representations to) our governments here we have ever invoked their assistance, but because they have always shewn a desire to sympathise and assist.

—

The Woman's Movement in India

The following note by Miss. I. M. Dickinson on the progressive movement of women in India appears in *The Catholic Citizen* :

The Duke of Wellington wrote in 1805 : "it is not possible to interest the British public in any Indian subject." If this were not to a large extent true to-day, the amazing growth of the woman's movement must have attracted far more general attention than it has done. But readers of the "Catholic Citizen" are among the honorable minority who are keenly interested in Indian affairs. They know the whole-hearted response which the progressive women of India have made to the call to service of their country.

An age-long discipline and a selfless devotion to the ideal of woman's vocation in the small group of the family have prepared the women of India for the wider field of activity now open to them. Individual women have for long distinguished themselves in all the careers open to them. That this should be so does not surprise the West as much as the conspicuous ability to organise, and still more, the determination to surmount all barriers of community and caste and creed which the woman's movement has called forth during the last decade. This organising ability and unity of purpose is manifest in the work of the three great All-India associations of women, the Women's Indian Association, the National Council of Women in India, and, most representative of all, the All-India Women's Conference. All these have branches in all parts of India and thus link up all the activities of the woman's movement.

The progressive women of India have a tremendous task to perform. On the one hand to struggle without ceasing until they attain their rightful place in the councils of their country ; on the other to work for the uplift of those dumb millions in the villages of India until adult suffrage, which is their ultimate aim, can be reached.

We women electors of Britain must not rest content with admiring their courage. We have to use all our influence on behalf of their just demands for a fuller citizenship.

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Reduction of Working Week in Germany

Since coming into power, the National-Socialist Government in Germany has devoted much attention to reducing the volume of unemployment. Among the practical measures advocated for this purpose is the reduction of weekly hours of work, and in this direction the government has laid down a series of principles for a beter distribution of employment between the employed and the unemployed. The following is quoted from the *International Labour Review* :

The first attempt towards introducing the 40-hour week in Germany was made in 1931, when at the end of January the Bruning Government appointed a committee of experts to study the unemployment problem. On the conclusion of its task the committee recommended a systematic reduction of hours of work as being, in its opinion, a particularly effective method of reducing the ever-growing unemployment figures. It suggested the passing of legislation authorising the Government to reduce the statutory hours of work, if necessnry to 40 hours per week, in industries and occupations where such a step was technically and economically practicable. It further recommended that wages should be reduced in the same proportion as hours, the purpose of the measure being to achieve savings which would enable industry to re-engage unemployed workers.

The Government adopted some proposals, and on 5 June 1931 it promulgated a Legislative Decree, supplemented later by the Administrative Regulations of 30 September 1931. The Government was thus empowered, subject to the approval of the Federal Council, to reduce hours in the manner indicated. At the same time the Government encouraged employers and workers to reduce hours of work by agreement.

The Bruning Government had tried to introduce shorter hours of work by Orders which would be binding in certain specified industries. The Von Papen Government realised from the first experiments that this scheme was not going to succeed, and it therefore decided to try to stimulate employment by another method indirectly connected with a reduction of hours of work. When the new German Government came into power in the spring of 1933, it at once opened a campaign for the widespread adoption of the 40 hour week.

The various ideas and principles of the campaign have had as a result that the introduction of the 40-hour week has been accompanied by a variety of measures, the central principle of which is that the aggregate wages paid must not be diminished. The aim in view is a redistribution of this amount over a larger number of workers, subject to the condition that each one is assured the minimum of subsistence. Moreover, as a corollary to the principle of the distribution of wages over the largest possible number of workers, no one may hold more than one post and overtime may be worked only in cases of extreme urgency.

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Collectivization of Agriculture in Soviet Union

The concluding remarks of W. Ladejinsky's essay on the 'collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union' are reproduced below from the *Political Science Quarterly* :—

The results of the agricultural year of 1933 have shown that at that time the problem of increasing the productivity of the land was inextricably bound up with the problem of how to infuse into the collective movement a will to press forward. The answer was

found in a change of attitude on the part of the Communist Party toward the most important of all known agricultural machines—the peasant. This involved a shift of emphasis from coercive and repressive measures to policies more sympathetic to the economic interests of the collectivized peasants. In order that these interests be fully realized, a mutually advantageous exchange of goods must take place. The tendency now is in this direction, since a considerable part of this program is likely to be achieved through the realization of the Second Five-Year-Plan, the main objective of which is the increased production of consumers' goods at lower prices. As more of the peasants' needs would thus be satisfied, and an incentive to work created, so may they be expected to move to greater and greater efforts. But until such time as there exists a fully developed incentive to such efforts, it is premature to judge adequately the extent to which in Russian conditions a collective system of agriculture is superior to an individualistic system.

The Communists view the organisation of the collective farms not only as a means of raising large crops but also a major move toward building socialism in the village and in Soviet Union as a whole. Such an achievement depends upon the complete liquidation of the differences between the city and the village, with a classless society arising in consequence. In order to do away with classes, in Lenin's opinion, it was necessary "to eradicate the difference between the workers and the peasants, to turn all into workers." Thus, in order to solve the central problem of the October Revolution, the creation of a unified, planned, socialistic economy, the Soviet Government must concern itself not only with making the collectivized peasant work to the best of his abilities, but must also proceed to the herculean task of de-peasantizing the peasant. Will the artel type of collective farm as now constituted be capable of accomplishing these two things simultaneously ? One is inclined to question such a possibility, since the noticeable improvement of the work in the artel was due to governmental legislation which accentuated rather than eradicated the individualistic proclivities of its members. An agricultural system where the peasant cannot accumulate capital goods and where the State-owned land and the modern equipment are worked collectively, is unquestionably a break with traditions handed down by generations of small cultivators. But the perpetuation of this very type of a collective farm that allows its members to carry on a limited individual economy of their own and gives them the right to dispose on the open market of agricultural products earned as members of the collective is not necessarily conducive to the elimination of the acquisitive ideas of the peasantry. One wonders, therefore, whether the Soviet Government will not replace the collective farm with a State farm where the collectivized peasants will be transformed into agricultural workers and purged of a centuries-old peasant ideology. One may also venture to suggest that the road between the present collective farm and the State farm—the "grain factory"—should be travelled slowly and carefully, for the attitude of the peasants towards the Soviet State during the period of mass collectivization and under the subsequent agricultural policies of 1933 is a concrete proof that the process of building socialism in the Russian village must proceed upon the maxim enunciated by Lenin, namely, "Step by step, and inch by inch."

Japan's Real Game

Karl Figdor, a German Orientalist, analyses Japan's military ambitions in Asia, which, with the reported war in Arabia between the king of Wahabis and the king of Yemen, go to prove that the Orient is in Arms. The following introductory portion of the essay is quoted from the *Living Age*:

The dictatorship that the white race has exercised over humanity for the past century has come to an end. It was during these years that the little Asiatic peninsula known as Europe overcame continent after continent economically and politically or else colonized them. But the sea of blood that flowed during the Great War drowned this chapter of history. An unprecedented crisis arose, inevitable and inescapable. The colored world is on the move. Asia, which fructified the race of men for thousands of years, has risen in revolt. In a billion people, consciousness has awakened that they are now strong enough to determine their own fate. Just as we have spoken of a "yellow peril,' so to-day the words 'white peril' spread across Asia.

Where does this sudden understanding, this newborn power come from ? It is not merely technology turning against its father. A new burst of national idealism has sprung from ancient wells, a deeply religious movement confronting the materialism of the white world and extending to Japan and Persia, to India, China, and Arabia. Fundamentally, it arises from the same desire for moral, spiritual, and political equality of treatment that we Germans have struggled for ever since the end of the War because we could not live without it. It is the recognition that a new world can arise only from the sources of national power. All of us, therefore, want the old order to collapse.

Modern Hungarian Writers

Joseph Remenyi surveys in a brief space, the literary activities of modern Hungary with the advent of the Catholic Renaissance in the country, which are reproduced below from *The Commonweal*:

There is a renaissance of Catholic literature in Europe which has reached Hungary too. For the past one thousand years Hungary has been an integral part of western Europe in the realm of literature as well as in the realm of other activities.

The aim of contemporary Hungarian Catholic writers is not a timid or vehement defense of Catholicism, but an attempt to portray the reality of Catholic principles, either with the lyric force of a poet, with the narrative and psychological reliability of a novelist. or with the dramatic instinct and vision of a playwright. Outside of the "Catholic substance" of their work, which is after all their ideological background, the uncompromising esthetic criterions are very important. Without the latter it would be merely a didactic literature, ethically and religiously justified, but outside of the jurisdiction of asthetic evaluation. In other words, literary ability is as essential to the Catholic writer as is his honest presentation of his faith.

Hungarian poets and writers of the past—especially of the nineteenth century—who definitely identified themselves with the dogmas of Catholicism were either minor creators or artistically insignificant. Their

religious honesty is beyond question ; the nobility of their purpose is nnneniable ; but they were not writers. they were only writing ; in most instances not poets, merely versifiers. The two representative Catholic poet of the nineteenth century—Antal Sujanszky and Bela Tarkanyi—were conservative disciples of the inherited forms of Hungarian poetry, but their poetry lacked originality, vitality, spiritual virility. It was pleasant and decent, not profound and magnificent. It was the kind of poetry that fits into a school textbook for educational purposes, but does not fit into a poetic anthology of real merit.

Ottokar Prohaszka, professor of Catholic theology at the University of Budapest later became the Bhishop of Szekesfehervar. The rebirth and newness of Hungarian Catholic literature can be traced back to this unusually rich spirit. Ramon Fernandez says of Cardinal Newman that he was the philosopher of reiligious experience. Reading the works of Ottokar Prohaszka—the bulk of which was written for adults—one would say that he was the imaginative incarnation of a religious experience. His baroque style, his personality that radiated humbleness and knowledge through his works, his transcendental sense of proportion, exerted a lasting influence on the younger Catholic generation of Hungary. Rationalism was then the all-dominating philosophical principle. Voltaire were quoted and not Pascal, the brain was emphasized and not the spirit, Herbert Spencer was dissected and not Jacques Maritain.

If, as T. S. Eliot says, Baudelaire discovered Christianity for himself, one must say that Bishop Prohaszka rediscovered Catholicism for a large percentage of Hungary. In addition to this, he induced, directly or indirectly, writers and poets to adhere to the integrity of Catholicism without offending the integrity of creative work He prevented a return to literary diletantism among Catholic writers.

It is a result of his influence that present-day Hungarian Catholic writers aim to produce a Catholic literature which in its transcendental and ethical substance is Catholic and in its form artistic,

Boris Balla, a novelist, who has the courage of his convictions and the artistic ability to portray it, is the most gifted writer of the Catholic renaissance in Hungary. He is still in his storm and stress period ; even the small quantity of his work indicates originality, spiritual richness, a feeling for realities and a visionary capacity for eternal values. Among the poets Laszlo Mecs and Sandor Sik must be mentioned. The former is a member of the Premonstratensian order in Czechoslovokia. His poetry is sometimes bombastic, sometimes loquacious, but it has touching and disarming humanness. Sandor Sik is a member of the Piarist order on the faculty of the University of Szeged. He is a somewhat more disciplined poet than Mecs, more mature, but he too is uneven from the viewpoint of nonconforming critical evaluation. There is much poetry in his play, not enough action. As a drama, it is static.

It is of interest that medieval Latin hymns were translated into Hungarian by Mihaly Babits, the greatest of contemporary Hungarian poets. His translations including that of Dante's "Divine Comedy," no doubt mean an enrichment of the specific Catholic elements of Hungarian literature.

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Franco-Italian Relations

The following extracts of an address delivered at Chatham House by Maurice Pernot. quoted below from the *International Affairs* will give some idea of the present political relation between France and Italy :

The regime established in Italy by Signor Mussolini moves a certain number of Frenchmen to defiance. We may dismiss as childish the idea that a liberal and democratic parliamentary republic would be forswearing its principles by holding out a friendly hand to Fascist Italy. Nations live under the regime which pleases them—or which they deserve ; that is their own affair and in foreign policy such prejudices are out of place. Was not Francis I, the ally of the Grand Turk, and Felix Faure of Tsar Nicholas, autocrat of Russia ? None the less, there is a type of diplomacy affected by dictators which they alone are in a position to practise. In Italy to-day the Ministry governs without Parliament, and the Ministry is a single man. I do not suggest that elsewhere parliamentary control over government foreign policy is always effective—far from it ; but it does exist and in certain circumstances it does constitute a check to the executive.' There is no check of any sort where the government does not fear either Parliament or Press and moulds public opinion as it pleases. Thus while a parliamentary government will not be tempted to embark on a foreign adventure simply to increase its prestige or strengthen its position, to a dictator this temptation may prove irresistible. We are obliged to take into account the special risks involved from the international point of view.

Again, although in order to come to some understanding we must know each other, it is possible to know one another too well. The bitterest misunderstandings are those between relations, and the "two Latin sisters" have only too often provided Europe with an unedifying spectacle. I do not know if Prince von Bulow was right in holding the press responsible for the pre-War Anglo-German disagreements ; but I am convinced that Franco-Italian quarrels have been most unfortunately embittered by the newspapers of both countries. On the French side, writers have exasperated our neighbours by jokes in bad taste and an irony which wounds no less for not being understood. On the Italian side, free rein has been allowed to attacks, not merely on our government and democratic institutions, but on our people, our customs and our traditions, with the constant refrain that our race is degenerate and about to disappear, leaving room for others stronger and better than we are.

But if anger and hate are unfruitful, a presumptuous optimism is not much more effective. For fifteen years we have heard both Italians and Frenchmen, with the best intentions, declaring that a perfect community of interest exists between France and Italy in all domains. What good is done by harbouring such illusions when the contrary thrusts itself before our eyes ? That best way of making things become what we wish them to be, is first to see them as thep are. Geographical reasons lead France and Italy to develop their activities in the same region, the Mediterranean Basin. France, rich in territory and raw materials, is poor in men ; Italy, over-populated. lacks room and the primary materials for her industry. The French interest is to absorb the excess Italian population which finds in France its means of livelihood ; but the Italian interest is to prevent this absorption and to keep for itself, although she exports it, the human material which she rightly regards as her chief asset.

To Buddha

Visva-Bharati News published the following lines read by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at the Colombo Regal Theatre:

The world today is wild with the delirium of hatred, the conflicts are cruel and unceasing its anguish, crooked are its paths, tangled its bonds of greed. All creatures are crying for a new birth of Thine. Oh, Thou of boundless life, save them, rouse thine eternal voice of hope, let love's lotus with its inexhaustible treasure of honey open its petals in thy light.

O Serene, O Free, in thine immeasurable mercy and goodness wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.

Thou giver of immortal gifts give us the power of renunciation and claim from us our pride. In the splendour of a new sunrise of wisdom let the blind gain their sight and let life come to the souls that are dead.

O Serene, O Free, in thine immeasurable mercy and goodness wipe away all dark stains from the heart of this earth.

Village Self-Government in Bengal

The poor *chowkidar* of the Bengal village suffers from dual control—of the *thana* officer and the union board. In an article on village self-government in Bengal in *The Calcutta Review* Prof. Nareshchandra Roy writes:

This dual control not unoften places the *chowkidars* between two fires. In many places there is no love lost between the Union Boards and the *Thana* authorities. Long traditions of despotic rule have made the Police haughty and overbearing. When a Sub-Inspector of Police goes to inspect a village he expects and not unoften demands deferential attitude to him on the part of the Presidents and members of the Union Board These latter, however, are in many Unions jealous of their position and conscious of their rights, and become indifferent to the visit of the *Thana* Officer, who consequently comes to suffer from a sense of injured dignity. Nothing but heart-burning now characterizes the relations between the Union and the *Thana* authorities. When the relations between the two are so strained, the position of the watchmen becomes delicate. Those of them who try concientiously to serve both the masters, find themselves deserted by both of them. Some *chowkidars* of course walk warily in the midst of these petty jealousies. They poison the ears of the *Thana* Police against the Board and are profuse at the same time in their complaints to the President of the Board against the demands of the *Thana* Officers. They help to vitiate further the already impure atmosphere. They neglect the work of the Board on the pretext that the Police makes too much demand on their time and neglect their duties on the plea that the President keeps them otherwise too long engaged. Serving two masters is always an uncomfortable job. If the Union Board is at all to remain invested with the duties of rural watch and ward, it should be given full authority and responsibility in the matter. At present its position *vis-a-vis* the *Thana* Police is invidious. It raises the tax for the maintenance of the *chowkidars* but it exercises only a nominal control over their activities. It pays the piper but cannot call for the tune. If the Government cannot entrust to it full responsibility as to the maintenance of peace and security in the Union, this function should be wholly withdrawn from it and entrusted to its own agents. Divided responsibility seldom makes for efficiency. The Government, however, seems to be unwilling to take any step either way. It sets its face even against a slight modification of the existing arrangement.

Functions of Indian Universities

A university is not a technological institute. So Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

Universities can and ought to help in the advancement of industry through promoting the study of applied science and research in industrial problems but to train technical experts or technicians is not the work of a University but of special technological institutes and workshops. There is a very great need of starting technical institutions of all types and stages in India, and the Government as well as industrialists and businessmen and other educational organizations should co-operate in bringing them into existence. That will help not only industrial progress and the solution of the unemployment problem, but also the reform of the Universities in this country.

In the words of the Haldane Commission on University Education in London in 1913, "the aim of a University is the pursuit of knowledge not only for the sake of information but always with reference to the attainment of truth." On the other hand, "In a technical or professional school the theoretical teaching is limited and directed by the application of ascertained facts to practical purpose." Bearing in mind this essential difference the true functions of a University may be stated as:

(*i*) The conservation, dissemination and extension of knowledge;

(*ii*) the inculcation of a spirit and love for learning and a burning zeal for its dissemination;

(*iii*) the production of learned, cultured persons and leaders of thought and action; and

(*iv*) the turning out a large number of young persons with trained, well-balanced, disciplined minds, with broad outlook and sound character—*i. e.*, of persons without technical knowledge required for specialized work but with a capacity to adapt themselves to the requirements of any situation.

How America can help India

Rev. Allen E. Claxton writes in *Prabuddha Bharata.*

If India has been at the end of the Pole where her religion has contributed practically nothing to economics, we have been at the opposite end and have made our religion a tool of economic development. America can help India to see that economic planning and the ordering of one's life to reach the highest possible efficiency can bring about organization in all departments of life and thus indirectly contribute to spirituality. I do not say that this is inherent in Christianity, for Christianity is more Oriental than Occidental. Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence is not primarily either Hinduistic or Buddhistic. It is fundamentally Christian, and he does not hesitate to say so. Christ definitely said, "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul." We have practically gained the world and have practically lost our souls. If India can spiritualize our religion and we can help toward making India's religion affect her daily activities, both of us shall be better off

America can help India through the example of a united government. Our history points out clearly how our thirteen colonies each gave up certain of their autonomous rights in order to form a strong federal government without which America could never have become a nation. The bloody War of 1861 to 1864 in which we settled the question of secession as much as the question of slavery should be a sufficient lesson to India that fighting between religions or provinces, will never gain her anything.

Chinese Attitude towards Christian West

In the same paper appears the following:

In a recent issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* is given the attitude of a Chinese writer to the Christianity in China. He says: "In whatever the missionary in China undertook he proceeded on one assumption, which he regarded as a self-evident truth: 'What is good for me must be good for you.' Not only did he apply it in religious matters, but in other fields as well. Take education, for example. Almost without exception, the missionaries deliberately copied American models so that Chinese schools became nothing but preparatory academies for American colleges. The charm of many Chinese girls has been destroyed by *The Færie Queene* and *The Lady of the Lake*; many Chinese boys have been driven crazy by Burke's *Speech on Conciliation with America* The Lord made us different from the missionaries for no other purpose than to have the missionaries make us like them.

"The missionaries cannot understand that denominations have no significance to us. If we choose to become Christians, we are Christians—not Methodist Christians, Presbyterian Christians, Baptist Christians Somehow the fine distinction escapes us If there is any difference between the sects, we dismiss it as unimportant. It seems to us that Christians should have better things to do than to wave baskets of dung before each other's noses We weep to see that the body of Jesus carries more bullets than that of a slain Chicago gangster—bullets inflicted by denominationalists.

"We Chinese have been good customers for ideas, even when they have been preached from behind barbedwire entrenchments. But the day when China could be made the dumping ground for the discarded thought of the West is gone for ever.

Early Hindu Colonization in Borneo

Prof. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has established in *The Indian Review* that Borneo came dierctly in touch with Hindu culture and not *via* Java. He has studied the images in the cave of Kombeng and says:

One of the most interesting facts about these images is, that they are not the products of Indo-Javanese art which was predominant in Borneo in the later periods, and as such we have to postulate a direct stream of Hindu influence from India to Borneo. The images of Kombeng cave are thereby invested with a great importance, being the earliest specimens of Hindu art in the eastern colonies. As already remarked above, they evidently belonged to a temple of which the ruins are preserved in the cave. That temple was one of the earliest specimens of Hindu architecture, though unfortunately nothing now remains of it *in situ.*

At various other places, *e.g.*, on or near the banks of the Mahakam river, Dr. Majumdar finds similar traces. He writes:

Here, again, the Hindu civilization is to be traced direct from India and not through Java. The same conclusion follows from a study of some archæological remains notably in the south and east, other than those on the river Mahakam and Kapuas. Thus we have to conclude that Hindu colonists, direct from India, settled in different parts of Borneo during the early centuries of the Christian era. The general belief that Borneo was colonized by Indo-Javanese emigrants, cannot be accepted, at least for the early period.

Disinfectants in Cosmetics

In *Scientific Indian* occurs the following:

Silver chloride silicic acid gel is one of the newer substances. It is a fine white powder. Small additions of this substance to usual powder bases are sufficient to give strong germ-killing power to dusting powders. For example, 10 parts of silver chloride silicic acid gel, powdered; 40 parts of purified silicic acid; 35 parts of talcum, 105 parts of starch powder and 5 parts of magnesia form a mixture which, because of its strong absorptive power, readily absorbs perspiration.

Very active preparations arise from the chlorination of phenols. Examples are trichlorphenol and trichlorocresol: however, their very strong odour prevents extended use for cosmetic purposes. Chlorination of thymol isomers such as carvacrol gives rise to monochlor carvacrol, a strong bactericidal, practically nonpoisonous, harmless to the skin, having good deodorizing power and only very slight odour. Its disinfecting power is far greater than that of phenol, being a little less than that of corrosive sublimate, while it is far less poisonous. It is a good foaming agent.

The Carey Centenary

William Carey,—better known as 'Carey'—died on June 9, 1834. So the Carey Centenary has

fallen due this year, and the followers of Christ all over India have naturally referred at length to the good and noble mission to the fulfilment of which Carey dedicated his life. *The National Christian Council Review* writes editorially :

It is recorded that 'From the day of his appointment in 1793 to the day of his death, Carey did not receive more than £600 from the Society's funds. He earned his own living and contributed something like £40,000 or more to the Baptist Missionary work in India.' That is an amazing record.

We are thinking much of missionary methods in these days. Can we better those of Carey and his colleagues as set out in the historic Serampore Covenant? This is a covenant that never grows old.—

1. To set an infinite value on men's souls.
2. To acquaint ourselves with the snares which hold the minds of the people.
3. To abstain from whatever deepens India's prejudice against the Gospel.
4. To watch for every chance of doing the people good.
5. To preach 'Christ crucified' as the grand means of conversions.
6. To esteem and treat Indians always as our equals.
7. To guard and build up 'the hosts that may be gathered.'
8. To cultivate their spiritual gifts, ever pressing upon them their missionary obligation—since Indians only can win India for Christ.
9. To labour unceasingly in Biblical translation.
10. To be instant in the nurture of personal religion.
11. To give ourselves without reserve to the Cause, 'not counting even the clothes we wear our own.'

It is written of Carey that 'his whole desire went out to meet the Will of God.' Therein lay the secret of his success.

The Virtues of Goats' Milk

We take the following from *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

One of the great factors in favour of goats' milk is that the goat is almost immune from the tubercle germ. Her milk can therefore be drunk with safety, without being pasteurized or sterilized, which tends to destroy the vitamins. Professor Nocard, an eminent French research worker, states that out of 130,000 goats brought to Paris for slaughter, meat inspectors failed to find a single case of tuberculosis; in Prussia, out of over 47,000 goats, only 0.41 per cent were found to be suffering from tuberculosis. Goats are universally submitted to the tuberculin test in Prussia, and on an average only 0.5 per cent give a positive reaction for tuberculosis.

Goats' milk contains a fair proportion of iron, which should render it particularly beneficial in cases of anæmia.

Apart from the question of actual disease, goats' milk has a very strong point in its favour on account of its remarkable digestibility. Owing to the small size of the fat globules, and the soluble nature of the curd—as opposed to cows' milk which curdles in dense masses—it is particularly suitable for delicate children and people with weak digestions. It digests in a fraction of the time required for cows' milk.

Comparison of Three Different Types of Milk

	Goat	Cow	Human
Water	86.45	87.40	86.40
Dry Substance	85	75	90
Casein	3.00	3.00	1.00
Albumin	1.00	.40	1.20
Fat	4.20	3.75	3.50
Sugar	4.50	4.70	7.00

Library Movement in USSR

Mr. S. R. Ranganathan, M. A., writes in *Advance India* :

Modern Library Movement began in Russia in 1919. In spite of 68 per cent of the inhabitants being illiterate, the State resolved that, by 1933-34, the ability to read and write should be the possession of every citizen. The public libraries, with their associated centres for the liquidation of illiteracy, were used as the chief lever to achieve this end.

The latest communication received, states, "The number of mass libraries has increased and quite a new network of them has grown up......The number of books in the public libraries increased from 9 millions in 1911 to 124 millions in 1934, The number of readers is growing continuously reaching 15 millions in 1932 as against 120,000 in 1926.

Nevertheless, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR resolved at a recent meeting that the work of the public libraries was still unsatisfactory, in many respects. "The set of books, especially in rural areas, is often obsolete.......The staffs are not sufficiently qualified to ensure an ideologically consistent direction of the work. There are also frequent cases of libraries being moved to unsuitable buildings."

Cattle Insurance

Cattle insurance has not yet been very popular in India. So the following extracts from *The Bombay Co-operative Quaterly* should be read with interest :

Cattle are agriculturists' wealth and in some backward parts of the country, such as Dohad and Jhalod, the agriculturist invests his surplus funds in cattle and buying and selling of cattle with him is like uttering a currency note in the market.

In the absence of good cattle cultivation is not satisfactorily done in these days and the death rate of weak cattle also is rather on the increase. The agriculturist is again a poor man and loans apparently borrowed for bullocks are misused. If such loans are advanced in kind the unproductive debts will be very much avoided and the compulsory insurance of cattle is a sure check against such sins of omission or commission.

Such cattle insurance societies were first organized in Burma and then introduced in other parts of the country. A few were registered in Gujarat also but only one of those originally registered in the Ankleshwar Taluka survived, and after its area of operations was increased from time to time it was dubbed as the Ankleshwar Taluka Cattle Insurance Society. After these attempts had proved successful benevolent compulsion to the extent of insuring one cattle head at least was made as a condition precedent to every loan by a society if the loan was borrowed from the Central Bank, and the same conditions held good in another Taluka institution of the same type :

which was only a few years ago registered for the Wagra Taluka.

An Estimate of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore

Mr. D. P. Rao gives an estimate of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore the man in *The Educational Review*. Part of it is given below :

In Rabindranath Tagore, we find, indeed a true exponent of Eastern thought and a real interpreter of Oriental poetry. But his vision is not narrow, his outlook is not short.

His mind has not been influenced by time and space. On the contrary, his heart is as wide as the sea and his soul as lofty as the star. At the same time he does not assert himself. He does not dogmatize not thrust his moral. He is thoroughly mild and humble in conveying the messages of his heart ever sincere and devoted to God, ever engaged in the quest of the Unknown Perfection.

To him life is a search after truth and perfection. "We are all trying to solve the riddle of the Unknown," says he, in all earnestness and devotion to the cause of Truth. He denounces materialism and the modern civilization, as it has made of man a living machine and reduced him to a self-seeking creature with an infinite craze for wants and gratification.

To him all education and religion that end in bigotry and prejudice of caste or colour, and help to create walls of division between man and man, are the curse of mankind. Accordingly his own works militate against those monstrous evils of passions and prejudices which baffle all attempts at true reformation. Not only that, wherever he goes, he exhorts people to carry on a strong and vigorous campaign against blind custom and ignorance, superstition and falsehood that threaten the very true order of society. It is his steadfast belief that the individual man whatever and wherever he may be, must exist for and subserve the great man within him and must express himself in disinterested works of love and charity, science, literature and philosophy.

To him a selfish man is ever held in bondage ; for all the while he works, in the narrow sphere, with dwarfed and stunted brain, with the vision narrowed and shortened down, to serve his mean and vulgar ends. His heart therefore turns to God for true freedom, which is of the mind and spirit rather than that of the body.

A new definition of Swadeshi

Mr. Maurice Frydman writes in *India and the World* :

"For the purpose of this Institution, the All-India Swadeshi Sangh, *Swadeshi* shall cover articles manufactured in this country by individual craftsmen and their families or co-operative associations of individual craftsmen, workers, and educated professional men who will accept directions issued by the Sangh as to the tools, technical instructions, quality and finish, planning of production purchase of raw materials and disposal of products, and will therefore exclude all article made by industries utilizing hired labour. The word Swadeshi will thus have the following meaning :

Made in India—made at home or Made in India—made Co-operatively."

There is little doubt that this new definition, if accepted, will revolutionize the Swadeshi movement and will necessarily lead to a profound and laborous readjustment. Yet we consider it the only one, that will smoothly and peacefully lead this country towards a better social system, that will not create useless and wasteful suffering of individuals and chaos in the Nation's economic life, that has the merits of fundamental simplicity, that instinctively appeals to the commonsense of every hard-working man and that will find a ready response in the hearts and minds of the children of this country.

The Tragedy of Indian Education

The following lines from the same paper are instructive :

Now it is all very well to say that Education is an end in itself. It is. It is better to have developed your mental faculties than not to have done so. It is better to be men than a cow There would be a certain indicency in admitting that one only sought education in order to improve one's economic position. And yet it is hard to put up with unemployment, under-payment or a soul-destroying job when one's faculties have been developed than when they have not. It is desperately hard when a man has worked hard for years and when his father has made sacrifices to help him, if he then finds that Society has no use for him.

Co-ordination of School and Home

To ensure the healthy education of boys both the parents and the teachers should co-operate. Mr. Paresh Chandra Sen, M. A., B. T., writes of the functions which the parent and the teacher should fulfil as follows in *The Teacher's Journal* :

The parent should see that young children receive proper training in truthfulness, obedience, cleanliness and preciseness at home. Young children spend the greater part of day in home circle and parents have got opportunity of inculcating on them, the habits of truthfulness, obedience, etc. They should see that the children imbibe the habit of doing the right thing in right time.

Parents should see that childred attend school punctually and regularly.

The parent should see whether children do regularly school work at home.

Guardians should always lend their helping hand to teachers and co-operate with them.

It should be the duty of teachers to see the parent, as soon as the child is admitted, in order to know the peculiarities and weaknesses, if any, in the character of the child. Prineipal rules and regulations of the school should be made known to the parent.

Periodical report should be issued showing the progress of pupils in each subject. The Head teacher should also note in the report lapses in conduct and attendance.

A day should be set apart in a year for meeting of teachers and guardians for mutual exchange of ideas and healthy discussion of matters relating to working of the school.

Teachers should set proper home work in order to keep a link between school and home. The child should learn that school and home are working together for its benefit.

One of the most important aims of teachers should be the fostering of the habits of punctuality and regularity.

FINANCE AND INSURANCE

Finance

Preliminary Forecast of Jute

The preliminary forecast of the jute crop for 1934 just released by the Department of Agriculture, Bengal, shows that the propaganda for restriction has been almost counteracted by a temporary rise in prices at the sowing time. The consolidated figures are as follows :

Bengal including the States	2,186,100
Behar and Orissa	163,800
Assam	141,600
Total	2,491,500

As compared with the 1933 figures the Bengal returns show an increase of 0.8 per cent, while the total has decreased by only 1.03 per cent. The decrease is to a large extent fortuitous, because due to the deposit of sand in the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga a very large area has been thrown out of cultivation in Behar where the decrease has been by no less than than 28,300 acres.

Co-operative Societies in Bengal, 1932-33

The Report on the working of the Co-operative Societies in Bengal during the year ending on the 30th June 1933 has been received by us late in June 1934. It appears that the Report, which consists of only fifteen pages, was signed on the 26th January 1934 while the Government resolution, a mere routine affair, was passed on the 28th of April, that is, after four months. It is regrettable that the Government reports are published so late that the public almost ceases to take any interest in them. Yet we have to refer to them for the latest available statistics

During the year under review the running audit system was introduced to provide a check against fraud and defalcation. Due to the economic crisis adequate repayment of loans was not made by the members and so the proportion of loan over-due increased to as high as 60 per cent. At the same time a considerable idle surplus accumulated in the Provincial and the Central Banks. It will be remembered that very recently five Land Mortage Banks have been opened as an experimental measure to provide long-term loans against land.

The Report reviews that the Agricultural Credit Societies are not working as they should due to the depression, but that the Central Banks are on the whole in a satisfactory position, and that no Central Bank has been forced to close its doors. The prosperity of the non-agricultural societies has on the whole remained unaffected though many non-credit societies are far from being run on a profitable basis. The general conclusion of the Report seems to be that the Co-operative system has passed through a critical year in a way which shows the inherent strength of the co-operative principle.

A closer study of the statistical tables however shows that the optimism is not justified. In case of the Provincial Bank the expenditure exceeded the actual income by Rs. 1,17,616 while the deficit in case of the Central Banks taken together was Rs. 6,58,904. Actual receipts exceeded actual exenditure only in case of five Central Banks, while in some cases the actual disbursement is more than one thousand times the actual receipts. Curiously however some of these latter banks declared dividends in spite of this.

We are thus forced to conclude that the situation is not at all as reassuring as the Report has sought to show. The position of many banks is very serious indeed, and unless the situation takes a definitely better turn in near future most of the Central Banks would have soon to face a life and death struggle.

Co-operative Statistics 1932-33

	No. of societies	No. of members	Working capital Rs.
Prov. and Central banks	120	25,148	7,33,22,614
Agr. societies ...	21,342	771,144	5,92,03,158
Non-Agri. societies ..	2,184	247,705	3,76,75,840

Sources of Capital of Agricultural Societies

	Rs.
Share	55,27,194
Deposit (members)	19,83,317
do. (non-members)	17,08,994
do. (Provincial and Central Banks)	3,42,24,872
Reserve	1,33,64,101, etc. etc.
Total	5,69,00,456

The Tariff Board and the Steel Industry

In the recent Report on the Iron and Steel industry, the Tariff Board has reviewed the situation with regard to not only the Tatas but also others including the subsidiary industries. The Board concludes that on the whole the protective system has worked very well in spite of the cataclysmic fall in prices, increased freight charges and the last strike which so disastrously affected the Tata Company. The Tatas supplied no less than 72 per cent of the total available market in India in 1932-33 as against only 30 per cent in 1927-28. In addition to the growth of a re-rolling industry, the protective system has enabled the company to earn a profit ranked also to lay aside a large sum for capital imr ordinary ment. At the same time the reductions number of anticipated in 1926 have been fully reali p 40-49.

allowing for the fall in the prices of coal and spelter.

The Report arrives at the fair selling price of steel products after taking into account the relevant factors such as the valuation of the property, depreciation, interest on the working capital, a reasonable rate of profit, freight charges, selling expenses and so on; and on that basis it proposes a new scale of duties in place of the old one which was suggested in 1926. Generally speaking, according to the new scheme there would be no protection whatsoever against most products manufactured in the United Kingdom. As regards others the duty is to be reduced to a mere fraction of the old level. The duties against the products manufactured in other countries are to be maintained at a high level, at enhanced rates in case of some items and at lower rates in case of others. The duty on fabricated steel is to be the same wherever it is produced, *viz.*, at Rs. 10 per ton. The Board proposes to include in the scheme of protection a provision for off-setting duties under which the Government will have authority to raise or lower the duties as occasion arises. It also proposes a scheme of duties for the Tin plate and the Cast iron industries.

We are not in a position to judge whether the 'fair selling price' calculated by the Board is reasonable. But *if* it is so, and *if* the British prices are not lower it stands to reason that there should be no protection against the British producers, even though the conclusion might appear as a recrudescence of the much decried Imperial Preference and even though the national sentiment might militate against it. We must however remember that what is economically right may not be politically wise. But what we do not understand is why the Tariff Board should go to the length of recommending the removal of even the revenue duties on certain classes of products manufactured in the United Kingdom. This is a matter which we think does not concern the Tariff Board at all.

We give below a summary of the new scale of duties proposed:

	Duties recommended in 1926 (Rs. per ton)	Existing duties (Rs. per ton)	Proposed duties (Rs. per ton)
Rails	13	16¼	Nil
Fish-plates	6	7½	Nil
Fabricated Steel			10
Sleepers	10	12½	Nil
U. K. PRODUCTS:			
Structurals	19	23¾	Nil
Bars	26	32½	10
Plates	20	25	Nil
Black-sheets	35	43¾	11
Galvanized Sheets	38	53	10
Tin-plate			38
Cast iron pipes			Nil
Bolts, nuts, rivets, etc.			Nil
CONTINENTAL:			
Structurals	30	37½	43
Bars	37	46¼	39
Plate	36	45	25
Black-sheets	59	73¾	32
Galvanized Sheets	38	83	40
Tin-plate			59
Cast iron pipes			57½
Bolts, nuts, rivets, etc.			1-9 to 1-5

SAILENDRANATH SEN GUPTA.

Indian Insurance

INSURANCE LAW AMENDMENT

The decision of the Government of India to amend the Insurance Laws is a move in the right direction. There has long been a demand for such amendments, but for one reason or other it has been shelved until now. The first Law regulating the working of the Indian Insursnce Companies was enacted in 1912, and was modified in 1928. But it has been pointed out time and again that the Law as it now stands is quite inadequate to deal with the many and various problems that have cropped up in regard to the Insurance business in India, since then. In 1925, a draft bill covering the whole field of Indian insurance was introduced in the Legislative Assembly but it proved abortive. For, a Committee in England was at the time examining the possible lines of modifying the British Insurance Law and the Bill was kept in abeyance till the proposed modification of the British Law could be effected. There the matter has remained. It is understood that the Government contemplate an amendment of the present Act so as to put a stricter regulation upon "the unrestricted and unremunerative competition of companies which have grown like mushrooms and whose unbusinesslike methods of procedure constitute a grave menace to the savings of the middle-classes who so oft n find their only method of investment in life insurance." This is, indeed, necessary. But will the Government be pleased to introduce provisions to safeguard the Indian Companies from the lure of the strongly entrenched foreign companies who utilize their enormous resources in a manner calculated to place formidable obstacles in the way of the development of our indigenous concerns thereby sapping the foundations of our national economic progress? Such protective legislations obtain everywhere, and for that very reason, and will, therefore, be by no means peculiar to India. The main provision that urgently requires to be made is to require the foreign life offices to submit separate accounts of their Indian business and to make such deposits and render such accounts as Indian companies are compelled to do. We trust, the Indian opinion will be duly consulted and

considered in regard to the possible lines of the proposed amendment.

NEW BUSINESS OF INDIAN LIFE-OFFICES

"Ours is a business that knows no depression" proudly said a leading American Insurance man the other day. This is no idle boast. For, depression has an excellent psychological effect on this particular business. The worse the conditions the greater the desire to save; and no type of saving is so free from fluctuations. Not that the insurance business has been entirely untouched by the depression but new business figures of our leading Indian life-offices show a record of consistent and satisfactory progress in spite of it. On the one hand, this is an evidence of the popularity of life insurance in general and, on the other, it is an indication of the growing confidence of our people in our own institutions. The ORIENTAL has come out first in the list with a business of more than Rs. 7 crores. The HINDUSTHAN - as yet comparatively much younger, - stands second with a business of over Rs. 2 crores, followed by the NATIONAL and others. A table is appended below to show the progress of the ten leading Indian life offices :

Name		Year ended	New Business Rs.	New Business last Year Rs.
Oriental	...	31-12-33	7,04,26,203	5,94,00,727
Hindusthan	...	30- 4-34	over 2,50,00,000	over 2,00,00,000
National	...	31-12-33	1,67,15,000	1,55,73,000
Empire	...	28- 2-34	1,38,24,000	1,11,55,000
Bombay Mutual	..	31-12-33	1,29,16,500	75,65,000
New India	...	30- 3-34	1,11,66,800	1,05,26,000
Lakshmi	..	30- 4-34	over 1,00,00,000	over 80,00,000
Bombay Life	...	31-12-33	94,16,500	63,45,5,00
Industrial and Prudential	...	31-12-33	67,00,000	52,00,000
United India		31-12-33	66,40,918	49,65,750

RESULTS OF THE NATIONAL

The 'National' is one of the "Big Five" of the Indian life-offices, and its twenty-seventh annual report reveals that its working in the last year has been satisfactory, indeed. During the year 11,171 proposals for insurances amounting to Rs 2,12,27,035 were received of which 9058 resulted in policies assuring in the aggregate a sum of Rs 1,67,15,163. inclusive of reassurances. The nett annual premium income from New policies, after deducting the sums re-assured amounted to Rs 8,12,179. The claims presented during the year amounted to Rs 6,53,778 by death and Rs 8,14,014 became due in respect of matured endowment assurances. The Life Insurance Fund, inclusive of other Funds, amounted to Rs 2,05,38,159 as compared with Rs 1,83,35,046 at the beginning of the year. The total interest income, after deduction of income-taxes, was Rs. 8,82,895 and the ratio of expenses to the premium income remained almost at the previous level.

The Chairman of the Company explained, in his presidential address, the causes of the interest income being comparatively low, and incidentally referred to the opinion of Mr. J. M. Keynes who had recently foreshadowed that the level of interest rates would go still lower in future. It may be of interest, however, to note that Mr. Keynes' dictum has been challenged by Prof. Gustav Cassel of Sweden who does not believe that interest rates anywhere will fall over a long period. Whatever may be the respective merits of the rival points of controversy, the results of the 'National' in the past year have been quite satisfactory. Here are some of the salient features in a tabular form :--

		1933 Rs.	1932 Rs.
New Sums Assured	...	1,67,15,163	1,55,73,782
Funds	..	2,05,38,159	1,83,35,046
Interest income	...	8,14,014	8,94,802
Claims :			
By death	...	6,53,778	5,87,563
By maturity	...	8,14,014	6,91,645
Total of Assets	..	2,23,05,561	1,99,03,160
Expense Ratio	...	27·1 p.c.	27·3 p.c.

Foreign Insurance

AN INTERESTING ANALYSIS

The "Weekly Underwriter" has made a very interesting analysis about the total number of death claims in the first year of insurance in the U. S. A. and the causes and incidence of such deaths. No less than 76,400 claims, totalling about \$ 50½ millions were, according to the investigations of this weekly, paid during 1933 on policies that had been in force from one day to 12 months. More than 20,000 of the early claims were in respect of polices which were in force for even less than three months, and this group included policyholders of all ages, classes, and occupations. The causes of death were as varied as they were peculiar. Accidents were responsible for 10 per cent of the total death claims of life companies for all policy years in 1933, and for a much larger proportion--about 28 per cent -of the deaths that occured within a year of assuring. Autmobile casualties took the largest toll while diseases of the heart ranked second. From a sample of 1000 typical ordinary cases, it appeared that the largest number of first-year claims involved the age-group 40-49.

Undoubtedly such an analysis offers an exceedingly forceful selling argument. The huge number of deaths owing mainly to causes unforeseen, and the timely provsion that the Insurance companies make for the dependents of the deceased, cannot but have an appeal even to those who do not believe in insurance.

M. G

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



The late Mrs. Prakriti Devi

Mrs. Prakriti Devi, wife of Mr. Mahimohan Chatterji, advocate, died on 2nd June last. She was a lady of remarkable talents. She was an artist and also an expert in lac work, sewing, cooking etc. She was connected with various women's welfare associations.

Senhati is a village in the Khulna district of Bengal. Forty ladies of that village have set a noble example of practical philanthropy by clearing the local reserve tank of the weeds. Details of this appeared in *The Modern Review* for June, 1934, p. 717.

The Begum Saheba of Rampur is an accomplished lady. She is touring Europe with her husband, the Nawab of Rampur. A woman correspondent writes of her in *The Daily Express* of London as follows:

> She writes poetry, but may not talk much in front of the Nawab.
>
> "I visit the Maternity Hospital in Rampur," she told me, "and I started the child welfare there. Sometimes the Nawab's Ministers and his elderly intimate friends call on me, but I never appear with him in public. My rooms are in a wing of the palace facing a little garden."
>
> She has stepped out of that garden for the first time without her veil. She has gone all over Europe during the last two months. Seen Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Rome, Paris; been in theatres, restaurants, shops, and aeroplanes, and enjoyed all with such demure unconcern that no one has guessed she only knew shuttered rooms before.
>
> She meekly follows her husband's lead and laughs happily with a diamond set and twinkling in her nose.



Ladies of Senhati clearing the reserve tank of weeds



The Begum Saheba of Rampur



INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

SITTING: (*From the left*) Mrs. Iravati Karve, Registrar of the University (daughter-in-law of Professor D. K. Karve); Mr. Patkar, Chancellor of the University; Mrs. Sarojini Naidu; Professor D. K. Karve, Founder of the University.

Some of those who have graduated this year are standing behind and squatting in front.

NAZIS FALL OUT

By KARUNA MITTER

It is a commonplace in practical politics that the companions of today are the enemies of to-morrow, that is to say, those useful today must be destroyed tomorrow lest they assert their right to dictate or share responsibility. That Herr Adolf Hitler subscribes to this political maxim is evident from the way he made short work of some of his party chiefs recently.

Indeed, it may be said, Herr Hitler owes his present unchallenged supremacy to his inconstancy. If he had been faithful to the Duesseldorff "pledge" then he would only be a puppet today in the hands of those who forced him into that undertaking. For the Hitler-Papen-Hugenberg Coalition cabinet was formed on the basis of that agreement with the definite object of keeping the National Socialist forces subdued by having Hitler in reins with merely the semblance of power; the idea being that when the rank and file came to recognize Hitler's incapacity for serious political work they would be prepared to transfer their allegiance to veteran leaders of the old Germany, provided they were above party. The men who thought thus undoubtedly misconceived the nature of the forces they were wrestling with. Their dubious victory in the latest tug-of-war cannot but be short-lived. It is a natural assumption on the part of these men of pre-War Germany who seem to have remained entirely oblivious of the prodigious changes in the *Weltanschauung* of the German masses, which the events of the war and post-war years have effected, that the country could be run on old lines with the help of the Reichswehr and the police. For the time being Herr Adolf Hitler seems to know no better. It may be that Herr Franz von Papen had therefore thought it an opportune moment for his Marburg speech.

It would not be wrong to assume that Herr von Papen's move was meant primarily to

strengthen Herr Hitler's hands in curbing the extreme or "radical" elements in the National Socialist Party, for not only he spoke in high eulogistic terms of the Fuehrer at Marburg but re-stated his admiration for Herr Hitler's work in 'stopping disintegration' in a speech before 2000 Saar women* on July 23, *i.e.*, six days after his first speech which had been suppressed by Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Reich Minister for Enlightenment and Propaganda. In spite of that he was not allowed to 'get away with it' without a scratch. Perhaps this was necessary as a sop to the Left sections of the Nazi Party among whom the Marburg speech had created a stir and to Dr. Goebbels, for the diatribe was also addressed to some of the Vice-Chancellor's cabinet colleagues not least among whom was the Propaganda chief who had been acting as leader of the campaign against "carpers and critics."

Unrest Among Nazis

The radicals in the Nazi camp had for sometime past been grumbling at the general state of affairs in the country and the trend of the Administration. Herr von Papen's outburst, which was a direct outcome of this restlessness, instead of checking the disaffection increased it. Forgetful of von Papen's part in helping the National Socialists to power upon which he based his right and duty to criticize Dr. Goebbels made a vigorous counter-attack on him at a Nazi mid-summer nights' festival :

> "These former cavalry officers, club armchair critics, and reactionaries† could not prevent us from assuming power, and now they want to prevent us from using the power" The National Socialists, he said, seized the right to power because nobody laid claim to it "no Crown Prince, no commercial counsellor (a title even now held by some eminent industrialists) no big banker, and parliamentary chieftain."

"The National Socialist Government," he continued "would have done better to put all these gentlemen under lock and key." He hinted that von Papen had found Hitler satisfactory but objected to his party officials, "little uneducated people," rather than to some of the higher people whose example they were expected to emulate. "These little people have conquered Germany !" People who crept into mouseholes and then reappeared camouflaged as Nazis "have not understood our generosity. Now they shall learn to understand our determination."

On June 23, chief Group Leader Edmund Heines in a mid-summer night speech to his Breslau Storm Troopers said, they must remain alert round the picket fire, for it was more necessary than ever to keep watch. They must see that the movement was not turned into other channels. He introduced a new song entitled : "We are not yet at the end ; the fight is not yet fought out," and declared that "this is our wild and fanatical confession of faith."

Dr. Goebbels who was put on his mettle by Herr von Papen delivered several more speeches on the same subject. At Essen, he demanded : 'Is it not about time the people themselves had a word to say and put this company of stink-pots to flight ?"

These speeches show that the Storm Troopers (*Sturmabteilungen*) were seething with discontent and might vent their wrath in another outbreak like those witnessed during the counter-revolution of last year. In fact, a few days after the Papen speech, during a mid-summer night festival at Quetzin in Pomerania there was an affray between Storm Troopers and Stahlhelms when an S. A. leader sustained injuries in a scuffle with a Steel Helmet. As a consequence of this the Brown Army command threatened dissolution of the ex-service men's organization.

There was, then, before the incidents of June 30 considerable tension in the country. Notwithstanding the ban on Herr von Papen's Marburg speech, its salient points had rapidly been spreading through the country by word of mouth. The matter was in all conscience serious ; the text of the speech had been submitted to President von Hindenburg in advance who had approved of it and had congratulated its author in due course on the 19th, Hitler met von Papen when the former assured the latter that certain conditions against which the Vice-Chancellor's criticism was directed would be remedied Von Papen had nevertheless resigned though it was not accepted. Thereafter both had seen the President at his country home at Neudeck who tried to smooth matters out.

But there was yet to be trouble between von Papen and other members of the Cabinet. On the 28th, Herr Jung who was responsible secretary of Herr von Papen and often inspired or even drafted some of his c[illegible]s speeches was arrested. Walter Schotte, anot[illegible] close associate, had his rooms searched.

The Osaf's Stroke

The stage was thus admirably set for Herr Hitler's dramatic move. Following the Quetzin affray, but for reasons more weighty than this quarrel, the S. A. men had been given a month's leave during which they were not to use their uniforms. They were on the eve of their holiday. Ernst Roehm, Chief of Staff of the Brown Army, was on sick-leave. The action began in the early hours of the morning on Saturday, June 30, Herr Hitler himself taking the lead.

Taking advantage of von Papen's speech he had apparently gained the permission of President von Hindenburg to make use of the Reichswehr

* Herr von Papen is the Special Commissioner for the Saar

† Franz von Papen was formerly a cavalry officer. He is a reactionary and has been a member of that notorious *Herrenklub*, a resort of reactionaries.

to crush' the leading malcontents in his own camp and strike terror into the heart of others. "Resolved to take drastic action" against men the news of whose intention to rebel had reached him, "a visit to Western German labour camps was arranged in order to lull the plotters into a sense of security." Here at 2 a. m. in the dead of night accompanied by some companions (of whom Dr. Goebbel's name has so far been disclosed) he took an aeroplane from the Hangelar aerodrome near Bonn and flew to Munich, the Party centre. The operations were simple enough. The Brown House, headquarters of the party, was surrounded and occupied by the Reichswehr. Ernst Roehm, with most of his staff, Chief Group leaders -Heines and Schneidhuber, Group leader Schmidt and others were among the numerous arrests made. Simultaneous action was taken in other parts of Reich, notably in Berlin and Bremen At the latter place Group leader Ernst, leader of the Berlin Storm Troops, was arrested. In Berlin itself the raids were conducted mainly by the "State Police Detachment Hermann Goering" who wear light green-grey uniforms, and steel helmets which look very similar except at close quarters, to the Reichswehr uniform. Probably this was more than a mere accidental coincidence. The palatial residence of the Storm Troops Chief of Staff, the G. H. Q. of the Brown Army, and H. Q. of the Obergruppe III, Group Leader Ernst's regional command, were among the places surrounded by the police, occupied and searched, while General von Schleicher was sought out at his suburban home at Neu-Babelsberg and shot down at sight with his wife.

Since arrest all the leaders mentioned as well as numerous others have been disposed of by Nazi gunmen. The casualty lists include Herr Gregor Strasser, the one time chief lieutenant of the Fuehrer, Herr von Kahr who as Premier of Bavaria, frustrated the beer-hall putsch of 1923, Count Spreti, the Catholic Action leaders, Klausner, and Father Muhler, Herr Alvensleven, a friend of Herr von Papen, and Herr von Bose, the Vice-Chancellor's secretary. Also hundreds of others have been taken into custody throughout the Reich. Their names as well as of many who are dead have been withheld. A Berlin correspondent opines that many personal grudges against individuals were satisfied in this affair. But Herr Hitler's explanation that there were plots against the Government does not seem to be untrue.

The Plots

The information available to the Government, it appears, revealed hostile intrigues among three different groups. Two of these groups were definitely connected. These groups were: (1) some leaders of the Sturmableitungen among whom was General Roehm; (2) General Kurt von Schleicher, Herr Hitler's predecessor at the Chancellery and reputed 'strong man' of Germany having been associated with General Groener from the time of the Spartacist revolt, and his friends; and (3) Herr von Bose and his friends of Herr von Papen's circle were leaders of this group but acted without his knowledge and was connected with Roman Catholic clericals.

The Schleicher group, it is said, got in touch with the Storm Troops group through Gregor Strasser, Ernst and others. Considering the overtures Strasser made to von Schleicher when the latter was Chancellor for a pact between them, this story of Strasser acting as *liaison* man does not seem improbable. But what is not very plausible is the fact that the official story assumes a plot in which radicals and reactionaries are seen to be acting in concert for a common end. For instance, Gregor Strasser had definite Socialistic leanings and after his virtual expulsion from the party he sought consolation in the company of his brother who is an out-and-out Socialist; Heines' political ideas were not different from those of Strasser. On the other hand, Schleicher and Roehm embodied in themselves some of the outstanding traditions of the Junkers.

The explanation offered is that the Roehm group, vain of unrestricted power, spoilt by the sudden turn of fortune and afraid lest they be deprived of their freedom to indulge in utmost licence, had resolved to get rid of certain members of the regime and regain their former influence over the Fuehrer which had been waning since Herr Hitler's assumption of office. The motive for the "second revolution" at which they aimed was not the dethronement of the Osaf but the replacement of the other members of the Government with men more after their heart. The "Shadow Cabinet" list mentioned General von Schleicher and General Roehm.

The Paris correspondent of the *Daily Herald* reasons differently. He says General von Ribbentrop, Hitler's Special Disarmament Commissioner, who recently visited the French capital, promised M. Barthou that if France would agree to the German disarmament proposals of April 16, Herr Hitler would disband the auxiliary forces.

The correspondent further asserts that the news of the Paris parleys leaked out in Berlin and the Strom Troop leaders decided to resist disbandment. And upon the information supplied by the secret police, Hitler and Goering forestalled the saboteurs.

It may be both reasons weighed with the would-be insurrectionists, but that there was a definitely revolutionary back-ground can be taken as established. Mid-summer night speeches of Dr. Goebbels and Edmund Heines already quoted give an insight into the prevailing mentality among the rank and file of the party. A leaflet issued by the "Storm Troop Revolutionary Committee," which has been cabled out by the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, states:

"Our leaders may be dead, but our work for the second revolution goes on. Ernst and the commanders who have been shot, understood the ideals of the Storm Troops. Those who remain do not. Herr Hitler has become the tool of reaction and of the industrialists who desire to crush the workers."

This means that Hilter is more unsafe than before. It is said that about a third of 3,000,000 Storm Troops have definitely Communist tendencies, and that their weeding out from the force has begun in earnest, that the "purge" of June 30 and the subsequent days is only the beginning of the wholesale "clean-up" which will involve as many as 50 per cent of the total number. Further, care will be taken that these men may not set up new organizations of their own. The claim, therefore, that the recent *coup* has strengthened the hands of Herr Hitler would seem to be idle. He has tried to reckon with extreme elements both of the Right and of the Left. His treatment of von Papen leaves no doubt about that. That he could not go further in dealing with von Papen and other reactionary elements is due to the fact that he had to rely and will continue to rely on the support of the Reichswehr. Now this support, so long as the present President is alive, will depend upon his acquiescence ; his sympathies are definitely with von Papen for whose safety he has made the Reichswehr responsible.

In addition to Herr von Papen, Hitler will have to keep in control two stormy petrels at his side, namely, Drs. Goebbels and Rosenberg, editors of *Der Angriff* and *Voelkischer Beobachter* respectively. Both are "radical" in their views. *Der Angriff* is generally full of slogans culled from the books of the much-maligned Bolshevists and it proclaims itself a newspaper "for the oppressed against the exploiter." Also Dr. Goebbels is by no means unambitious; he only submits to Hitler's leadership because he realizes he has been late on the scene. He loves to dwell in private upon his Socialistic ideas as opposed to Hitler's conservative ones. In 1930, he indirectly helped the Berlin Storm Troops to rebel against the Osaf.

Herr Hitler's seat of power, then, is not at all strong, if not actually shaky. He will henceforward depend upon the support of 100,000 men of the Reichswehr, 12,000 of General Goering's Special Police, and 20,000 of his loyal S. S. men (*Schutzstaffel*). The Stahlhelm organization will continue, as he assured Herr Seldte, their chief, on June 29. But their attitude in any emergency must remain an uncertain factor. It is easy to see that Herr Hitler will have greater difficulty than before in steering a middle course which is now the only policy he can follow, though if he decided on breaking away from the Right and making friends with the Left Wing he could do so even now. But as the days go on, he will follow a more and more lonely course.

However, for sometime at least there is little likelihood of the regime crumbling. After the pricked bubble of latent revolution the Nazi ruling chiefs at Wilhelmstrasse gives an impression of strength. Perhaps the party "purge" which has done away with notorious criminals (it is now openly declared by Nazis that many among them were and are criminals) will raise Herr Hitler in the eyes of that section of the German populace which aspires after a strong, orderly, nationalistic government.

Yet, the Government's power would seem to rest not so much on any positive sanctions as on certain negative factors. Even so, any imminent danger to the present regime must be discounted. Not only the Left Wing parties but all opposition was broken last year and the Socialist groups are in disarray, leaderless, despondents and, perhaps, still a divided house. Whether the new elements thrown up by the Brown Army and the Steel Helmets organization will put heart into a demoralized population remains to be seen. But here still in the restricted circle of these discharged men, the diversity of social leanings make for political heterogeneity. Once more, we can hope to see the renewal and intensification of that struggle between the reactionaries and the revolutionaries, *i. e.*, between the bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletarianized middle class Fascist elements and the Socialist workers on the other. Such alignment of forces would not be surprising nor even unprecedented. Broadly speaking, Herr Hitler's "purge" will drive discontent underground which will thrive there for sometime before some extraordinary situation (for instance, war) brings it up into the open.

KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

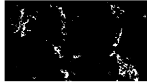
Punishment of the Sea

Ramchandra, in order to rescue Sita from the clutches of the Rakshasas, reached the sea-shore. He set to think how he could cross the mighty expanse of the deep. Bibhisan who had already become Rama's friend, advised him to wait on the bank in beds of grass in expectation of the diety of the sea. But the latter came not, when Ramchandra took his mighty bow in his hand to strike terror into his heart and spread conflagration whereby the water would be dried up.

The incident has been taken from Valmiki's immortal epic, Ramayana.

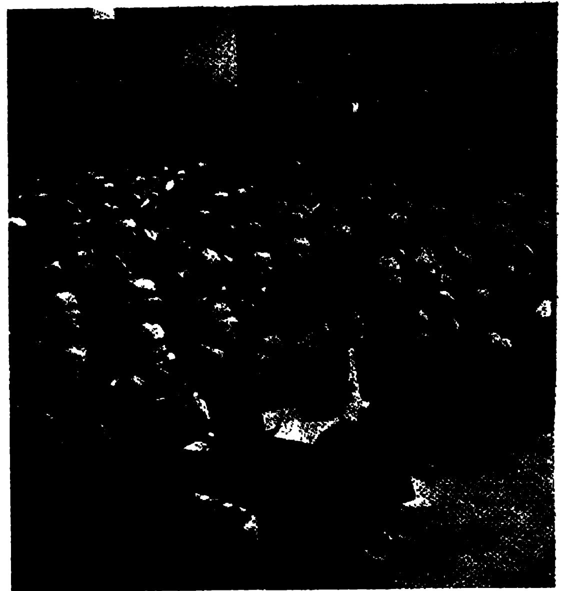
officer. He
that notorio

NAZIS FALL OUT





Herr Hitler, President von Hindenburg, and General Goering



Nazi Leaders at the German Folk-culture Association. *Sitting from the left in the front row*: Dr. Frick, General Goering, Herr von Papen, and Herr Hitler



Nazi leaders leading a procession : Adolf Hitler, Hermann Goering and Ernst Roehm among them



Dr. Paul Goebbels



Inauguration meeting of the India Society in Prague (*see page* 217)



Mahatma Gandhi's departure from the Town Hall, Calcutta, after receiving civic address from the Corporation of Calcutta

By the Courtesy of Mr. Amal Hom

Photo by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd, India

INDIA AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: OPENING OF THE INDIA SOCIETY IN PRAGUE

(From an Indian Correspondent in Prague)

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA is an important and progressive State in Europe. Both economically and politically it assumes a rôle far more significant than what estimate based merely on consideration of its area and population would probably suggest. Czecho-Slovakia is industrially one of the most advanced of the countries in Europe. On the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, no less than four-fifths of its industrial resources fell to the new State of Czecho-Slovakia. Since then industrial development has well kept pace with modern technical progress. Czecho-Slovakian industries, many of them, are built on the basis of wider markets than the present home one. In view of this and the policy of tariffs and other restrictions raised by various neighbouring lands that once formed home markets to present Czecho-Slovakian industries, the latter have since the war been devoting added attention to more distant markets, India being an important one among them.

Already there is a significant trade between India and Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia is an important buyer of various Indian products. The extent of the import of Indian goods by Czecho-Slovakia is generally not well realized in India, owing to the imports entering through foreign ports and the statistics generally available not giving the real situation. At present, trade between the two countries shows a great adverse balance to Czecho-Slovakia. In fact, among the countries with which Czecho-Slovakia has an unfavourable or passive trade balance, India assumes leading position. This fact should receive serious attention in India, in view of the general tendency all over to reduce the adverse trade balance with separate units to the practical possible limit, so that such a development in the case of Indo-Czecho-Slovakian trade does not happen to the detriment of Indian exports. Owing to the advanced state of Czecho-Slovakian industries in various branches and their being fitted well in accordance with world market, Czecho-Slovakia is in a position to make good contribution to India's import trade in several lines and assume an important rôle in the economic development of India. An improvement in Czecho-Slovakia's adverse trade balance with India, as such, need not involve prejudice to India's exports to Czecho-Slovakia and actually there is scope for the extension of India's export trade further with Czecho-Slovakia in connection with an improvement of Czecho-Slovakian exports to India. Here it may also be stated that there is a fair amount of scope for Indian students to receive practical training in various lines in Czecho-Slovakia and also marked readiness here to extend opportunities for such training as circumstances permit. This is a point the significance of which is not to be overlooked owing to the importance of such training for the development of India and growing difficulties in various lands to obtain such training. The extension of such opportunities as indeed the expansion of India's exports is closely connected with the development of Indian imports from Czecho-Slovakia.

Politically, Czecho-Slovakia assumes a dominant rôle in Europe as the leading factor in the Little Entente. The history of Czecho-Slovakia and its treatment of the problem of minorities offer much of value and importance to India. Czecho-Slovakia has a well-advanced system of education and social welfare institutions. Prague its capital, an ancient town of great beauty, is one of the most noted of educational centres in Europe. Czecho-Slovakia possesses some of the best known watering stations and health resorts in Europe. It is a country that should prove of interest to students, public men, and visitors from India. There is considerable interest in Indian affairs in Czecho-Slovakia and much valuable work for the development of this has been done by several well-known Indologists like Professors Winternitz, Lesny, and Pertold. Visits of useful nature in recent period from India have also contributed to this. It would probably be not incorrect to say that more is known of India in Czecho-Slovakia than of the latter in India. It is valuable to have knowledge about Czecho-Slovakia extended in India as it would be helpful for India's own development.

An important and useful step in bringing the two countries closer to each other and promoting cultural and direct commercial relations between the two was taken recently by the opening in Prague of the India Society under the auspices of the Oriental Institute in Prague. The inauguration ceremony took place in the main hall of the palatial headquarters of the Oriental Institute before a large gathering composed of professors, business men, and others representing various professions. A number of Indians were also present, including Subhas Chandra Bose, and Erulkar, the representative of Indian Chambers of Commerce in London. Proceedings were formally opened by the President of the Oriental Institute, Minister Hottowetz, who welcomed the idea of the Society and expressed the hope of the Society realizing its purpose. Minister Hottowetz was followed by the Chairman of the new Society, the distinguished Indologist and great friend and good-wisher of India, Professor Dr. Lesny, who in a lengthy speech, elaborated the aims of the Society, emphasized its importance, and declared that its success depended greatly on the interest taken in the Society and furthering of its aims in both lands. He assured keen interest from this side. As the main tasks of the Society, Professor Lesny stated, spreading information of value, extending useful contacts, promoting visits of value, and attending to the requirements of students, visitors and business men. Professor Lesny referred to the work of the Society being supported by a regular supply of Indian papers, periodicals and other publications, which he declared would be kept at public disposal and put to wide use. It is to be hoped that Indian papers and periodicals will support the valuable work undertaken by the Society, at a time when there is much reference in India to extending of interest in India abroad, by supplying regularly copies of their publications to the India Society in Prague. Copies are to be addressed to: The India Society, C.O. Professor Dr. Lesny, Philosoficka Fakulta; Smetanova nam 12, Prague 1, Czecho-Slovakia. On behalf of India, Subhas Chandra Bose, who on the occasion of a previous visit of his to Prague, had pointedly raised the issue of opening of a Society such as now formed, and Erulkar, the experienced representative of Indian trade interests in Europe, spoke, expressing appreciation of the founding of the Society, recording estimation of the friendly spirit in this country for India, underlining the value of the Society, and assuring that Indian opinion would not be wanting to lend it all possible support. It is to be trusted that response from India will well justify the last sentiment expressed by the Indian representatives.

Prague, 16th June, 1934. N.

MADAME CURIE

By Prof. S. K. MITRA, D. Sc.

THE importance of a scientific discovery is judged by its applications. The applications might either be in the realm of pure science where the newly discovered truth opens up, as it were, new vistas of investigation leading to unknown and unexplored regions, or it might be in the realm of the so-called applied sciences where the discovery is directed to the service of mankind for enhancing the amenities of every-day life. Judged from either standpoint the scientific discoveries of Madame Curie stand very high indeed. Her discovery of the radio-active elements, Radium and Polonium, towards the end of the last century created what is justly described as a sensation not only in the scientific circle but also amongst the general public.



Madame Curie in the Laboratory

A particle of Radium emits enormous amount of energy in the form of rays of various kinds. The rate with which the energy is emitted is such that the particle can raise its own weight of ice-cold water to boiling temperature within 40 minutes. And yet the particle does not exhibit any measurable decrease either in its weight or in its store of energy. Where does this energy come from? The scientist says that the atoms of radium are undergoing spontaneous disintegration with disruptive violence. And, in doing so they are emitting their nuclear constituents in the form of radiations which are classified technically as alpha-, beta-, and gamma-rays. Of these, the first two are electrically charged matter particles—the positively charged nuclei of the helium atoms and the negatively charged electrons respectively and the third are bundles of pure energy not unlike the x-rays. The atomic nuclei have vast stores of energy, so much so that the decrease in radiating power and consequent loss of mass of a particle of radium due to the continual emission of energy become appreciable only after hundreds of years.

The particles which are shot forth from radium possess tremendous velocity - nearly one-tenth of that of light (velocity of light is 186,000 miles per second). The high speed and the extremely small dimensions of the alpha particles have been of inestimable value in the experimental study of the constitution of the atoms. An alpha particle shot through matter might come close to an atomic nucleus and undergo deviation from its straight course in much the same way as a comet coming from afar is deviated by the gravitational field of the sun when it approaches the latter. (There is a difference; in the case of the atomic nucleus and alpha particle the force is of electrical origin and is one of repulsion, in the case of the sun and the comet it is of gravitational origin and is one of attraction.) These deviations give valuable information to the physicist regarding the structure of the atomic nuclei. Further, not infrequently, the alpha particle in its passage through matter would strike the nucleus itself of the atom disrupting and transmuting it to the atom of some other element. It is not possible to recount here all that has been possible to achieve in the field of atomic physics with the help of the radiations from rodio-active substances; suffice it to say that but for the discovery of radium our progress in the knowledge of atomic physics would have been retarded by at least half a century.

The practical application of radium in the treatment of the fell disease cancer is well known. The growth of the malignant cancerous cells is checked by the gamma-radiations of radium. The suffering humanity—at least a section of it—owes a deep debt of gratitude to Madame Curie for the discovery of a remedy of an otherwise intractable and deadly disease.

Madame Curie's name will be cherished in the memory of all not only as that of a great scientist but also as that of a great benefactress of the human race. Being a woman she could not gain admission into the coterie of the forty "immortals" who constitute the Academie des Sciences; nevertheless, the greatness of her scientific achievements will rank her amongst those men of science who by their pioneer work create permanent and everlasting memorials for themselves.

THE REVOLUTION IN SIAM

By LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

On the 24th June 1932, the *Bangkok Times* prefaced its small special edition with the following paragraph :

"A revolution has at last broken out in our midst! Perhaps that is inaccurate since we believe the King is still on the Throne; but surprising events have to be recorded. The trouble started at five o'clock this morning, but only the people living up town were for some time aware of anything unusual, as the operations were carried out quietly by most of the Army and Naval units of the city. Machine guns, tanks and other equipment were taken out on the streets, and as the time advanced certain units were despatched to the palaces of high Princes of the Royal Blood and other high Army officials, who were surprised and told to accompany the revolutionists to the Throne Hall of Ananta Samagom, near Dusit Palace, where they were this afternoon being held under arrest, the grounds being well guarded by soldiers and marines in full field outfits and carrying guns with fixed bayonets."

On the same day the *Bangkok Daily Mail* came out with the first real account of the Siamese revolution in the following words :

Bangkok awoke this morning to that the greatest political sensation of its 150 years of existence had taken place quietly and without forewarning in the early hours before dawn.

By noon today it was generally known that the Army and the Navy had completed a successful *coup* for the purpose of bringing about a radical change in the Government of Siam.

Leading members of the Royal Family including H. R. H. Prince Paribatra of Nagor Svarga, H. R. H. Prince Purachatra of Kambaeng Bejra, H. R. H. Prince Damrong and H. R. H. Prince Narisra, were taken from their homes by armed force and were this afternoon being detained at the Throne Hall.

Phya Adhikarana Prakas, Director General of Local and Provincial Gendarmerie, was also placed under custody in the course of the movement.

The Coast Guard Cutter *Yam Fang*, it is generally believed, was despatched to Hua Hin for the purpose of bringing to the Capital Their Majesties the King and Queen.

As far as could be learned this afternoon, the object of the *coup* was to institute some form of limited monarchy in Siam to take the place of the present form of absolute monarchy.

It is reported that his Majesty the King will, with other members of the Royal Family now in custody, be asked to confer with the leaders of the *coup* at the Throne Hall in the near future with the idea of signing or otherwise affirming a form of constitution which is being drawn up and which will limit the powers of the King and invest certain rights, perhaps including the rights of franchise, in the hands of the people of Siam.

Late this afternoon a *Communique* was issued by the Provisional Government from the Throne Hall stating that the People's Party having taken control of the country for the purpose of instituting a new and better form of Government, H. R. H. Prince Paribatra of Nagor Svarga requests that all military and civil officials and employees co-operate in preserving law and order so as to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. His Royal Highness, in recognizing the new Provisional Government, also requests all Government Departments to continue to function as usual without interruption.

At the same time a *Communique* addressed to His Majesty the King at Hua Hin was made public in which His Majesty was requested to return to the Capital and assume the Throne under a limited monarchical form of Government approved by the People's Party.

It was stipulated in this *Communique* that if His Majesty objects or refuses to comply with this request, the People's Party would immediately announce the election of one of the members of the Royal Family to the Throne.

The Official *Communique* is signed by Phya Bahol Bola-bayuha Sena, Phya Song Suradej and Phya Riddhi Aganaya, all officers in the Army or Navy.



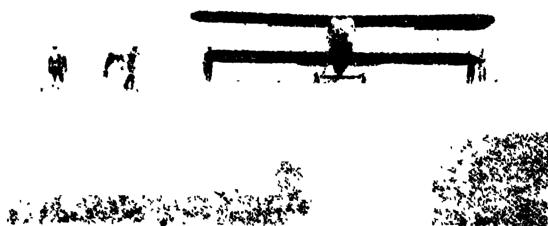
Army Officers carrying the Constitution Document

Phya Sena Songkram, General Officer Commanding, the First Army Corps, is said to have resisted the leaders of the *coup* and is reported to have been shot and critically wounded at his home in the early hours of today. He was taken to Chulalongkorn Hospital. A police guard in the compound of the Palace of H. R. H. Prince Paribatra of Nagor Svarga is also reported to have been shot when he resisted the armed force that came to take His Royal Highness into custody. Besides these two incidents, no other casualties occurred as far as could be learned.

Except for scattering crowds in the neighbourhood of the Throne Hall and the Grand Palace, there was not the slightest sign of excitement in the city this morning or this afternoon. Police were on duty as usual, Courts functioned, mail collections and deliveries were carried out as usual. It was reported that early this morning telephone wires at various Government Departments and at some official residences were cut, but if they were, somebody had made rapid repairs by ten o'clock. It was also reported that the land telegraph system had been destroyed but the Post and Telegraph Department was accepting both domestic and

foreign telegrams and radiograms as usual this morning.

Scattering crowds gathered this morning at the roads leading to the Throne Hall, where the members of the Royal Family were under custody. The roads were guarded by sailors with fixed bayonets and none but Army or Navy cars bearing officers or men were admitted closer than two or three blocks to the imposing white palace in which a national drama was taking place.



The Siamese Air Force which is being formed at the Min Don Aerodrome

Now and then a truckload of uniformed men, with a machine gun mounted, would appear from within the compound of the Throne Hall and as they passed the crowds outside loud cheers arose, which the soldiers returned vociferously. There was no hysteria: no bad feeling anywhere evident. Foreigners who were curious to find out what was going on were politely told that they could not enter the Throne Hall, but that was all.

According to widely circulated reports, H. R. H. Prince Paribatra of Nagor Svarga was the first member of the Royal Family to be placed under custody of other members of the family and of the Director General of Local and Provincial Gendarmerie.

It was also generally reported that H. R. H. Prince Purachatra of Kambaeng Bejra, Minister of Commerce and Communications, had escaped capture but later in the morning it was learned authoritatively that His Royal Highness was among those at the Throne Hall.

Two manifestoes were issued, apparently by the leaders of the movement, but without any signature of any sort. The first of these recited a list of wrongs said to have been committed to His Majesty the King and by members of the Royal Family and stated that the object of the movement now afoot was not to pull down the present reign but to put up a form of limited monarchy which would be 'a Government by the people and for the people.' The second manifesto simply declared that members of the Royal Family were now under custody 'in the hands of the citizens' and that warning was thereby given that any objection raised to the forces of the movement would jeoparadize the position of the members of the Royal Family.

The foreign diplomatic corps was taken completely by surprise by the *coup*, this morning, as, in fact, was nearly everybody else. Since the Ckahri Celebrations last April all talk of an uprising of any nature had died down entirely. It was generally thought that no action of any kind was contemplated by any of the foreign countries represented here since there had been no violence of any kind and since the lives and property of foreign residents seemed to be as safe as ever. It was generally looked upon in diplomatic circles as a purely domestic matter of internal politics.

On the following day paper published the following details:

His Majesty the King at 10-30 o'clock this morning signified by radio from Hua Hin that he was fully prepared to accept the wishes of the People's Party,• which acquired control of the Government yesterday morning by a neat and almost bloodless military *coup*.

At the suggestion of Luang Suba Jalasaya, Acting Commander of the H. M. S. *Sukhodaya*, the vessel sent to Hua Hin by the Provisional Government, it was decided that His Majesty should return to the Capital on a special railway train rather than by water as the accommodations on the Navy vessel are not suitable for the Nation's Ruler.

The Provisional Government here accepted this suggestion immediately and before noon today a special train was on its way to the seaside resort to bring His Majesty back to the Capital.

The hour of the arrival in Bangkok of the special train bearing His Majesty was, however, being kept secret in order to insure the safety of the Ruler. The Provisional Government announced:

'Despite wild rumours of yesterday and today it is now authoritatively established that H. R H. Prince Purachatra of Hambaeng Bejra is in Hua Hin and will return to the Capital with His Majesty the King probably late this afternoon.'

His Majesty, in a second radiogram to the Provisional Government today, stated not only that he accepted the wishes of the People's Party but that he had for a long time been considering the institution of a limited monarchy but had found it impossible heretofore to realize his hopes along this line. He was returning to the Capital with high hopes for the nation's future prosperity and peace under the new form of Government suggested by the People's Party, the radiogram said. •

The Editor of the *Daily Mail* was present in the Throne Hall, with other members of the Siamese Press, when the momentous news of the King's willingness to accept the wishes of the People's Party was received.

An officer read the radiogram in a voice charged with emotion and as soon as he had finished, the words: 'The King Accepts' in English and in Siamese were shouted triumphantly by a dozen voices. The soldiers and sailors on the lawn outside took up the cry and soon the news spread like wild fire down the crowded avenue toward the Grand Palace and cheer after cheer went up from the throngs of soldiers and civilians.

There were a thousand different rumours and reports this morning as to what the Provisional Government intends to do, and what its immediate






Col. Phya Bahol Bola-bayuha Sena, Commander-in-chief. 2. Phya Manopakarma Nitidhada, President of the State Council, virtual dictator, ex-Minister of Justice and Finance. 3. Luang Sindhu Songkram, Royal Siamese Navy, who took a prominent part in the Revolution. 4. Luang Subha Jalasaya who commanded a gunboat and coveyed the revolution group's message to the King at Hua Hin Palace and brought back the Royal acceptance

plans are. The best answer to all these rumours seems to be contained in the words of one of the leaders of the movement who was questioned by Editor of *The Daily Mail*.

'Nothing is set d' he said, 'nothing can be settled.' We are now waiting to confer with Majesty, the King!'

What was yesterday a rather mystifying ary *coup d'etat* became today clearly defined as a movement in which both civilians and military men are taking part, the express purpose of which is to unite the country behind His Majesty the King but to reduce the power of certain members of the Royal Family who are believed not to have been conducting themselves in the best interests of the country. Everywhere he Torone Hall was evident this sentiment of absolute loyalty to His Majesty the King. And openly, no word was spoken in the presence of this writer concerning the alleged shortcomings of any member of the Royal Family. The Princes who are in custody are being treated with every respect and are being made as comfortable as possible on the upper floors of the Throne Hall. It was pointed out that the reason the Provisional Government chose the lower floors of the Throne Hall for its executive offices was out of respect for His Majesty the King, whose throne is on the upper floor.

Phya Bahol Bola-bayuha, the military executive of the Provisional Government, in which both civilians and military men are united, sat today at an ordinary table on the lower floor of the Throne Hall and from there directed the work of keeping peace and order throughout the Kingdom, of getting the Railways running again, of restraining certain elements of the new regime which might be too boisterous in their enthusiasm. He seemed weary and it is said that he has not slept for two nights. To the table in an unending stream came Government officials needing special instructions, Army and Navy officers with reports, civilians with reports, and newspaper representatives asking for reports. With a modest and dignified air the Chao Khun received all callers in turn, after the frivolous ones had been sifted out by a group of hardworking underlings, and each interview lasted not more than two minutes.

A press table was set up in a corner of the lower floor of the Throne Hall and newspaper representatives were politely received. Only one or two were able to see the executive of the Provisional Government, and these only on special business regarding censorship, but the others were given what definite news was available. The Editor of the *Daily Mail* seemed to be the only Westerner present but he was extended every courtesy by both minor and major officials of the Provisional Government.

'We would like to tell you more,' one of these officials said to the writer, 'but at the present time it is not deemed wise to do so. We are making every effort to keep peace and order and thus far have been entirely successful. Whatever the rumours may say, we have nothing definite yet to announce regarding the details of the new form of Government proposed, nor can we yet state our plans regarding certain members of the Royal Family who are now in custody. I may only say that whatever is done will be done with liberality and without hysteria. We have no desire to tear down anything or to destroy anything only to institute a better Government under His Majesty the King.'

And he reported again:

'We are waiting now for our king.'

It was authoritatively learned that there was an important conference last night at which leading Government officials and others were present, including some of the members of the Royal Family. Reports of this conference were broadcast last night over the radio But it was made clear today after the news of His Majesty's acceptance of the wishes communicated to Him by the Provisional Government, that all decisions would be cancelled or deferred until after His Majesty's arrival today or tomorrow.

The Throne Hall itself presented a military aspect, with machine guns mounted in all the windows of the upper floor and with soldiers and sailors with fixed bayonets crowding the lawn in front. Around the roadway outside were stationed armoured tanks and machine guns. The military guard was continued today on all roads leading to the Throne Hall and none but those

with special business and special permits were permitted to enter the general area. These however, were politely conveyed by sailors whose smiles and jovial remarks belied their fixed bayonets.

Late last night the Provisional Government, through the Foreign Office, issued a statement to all foreign Legations and Consulates declaring that all treaties would be strictly adhered to without change and that every effort had been and would be made to prevent any further bloodshed or any loss of property to private citizens or foreign residents.

In a statement issued at the Throne Hall it was stated that at a meeting held at 4 p.m. on Friday heads of all Ministries had agreed to the following provisions of the People's Party :

All officials were asked to continue their work as usual in all departments where ordinary tasks were being carried on. All matters that would ordinarily require the perusal of the King must be submitted to the leaders of the Provisional Government. All matters about which there might be any doubt should likewise be submitted to the Provisional Government leaders.

'Notification is hereby given to all government circles that the country is temporarily under military control and all officials in Government service are asked to continue to serve in their respective capacities just as though nothing had occurred'. the statement declared. It was signed by Ministers or Under-Secretaries of all Departments.

I have been obliged to quote extremely from these two papers in order to faithfully and correctly record what actually took place at the time when Siamese revolution became a settled fact with amazing speed and drama. Since this first revolution there were two other developments which have thoroughly reshaped the national polity of Siam during the past two years. A second revolution in the constitutional development of Siam was witnessed during my sojurn in that country in June 1933, perhaps to mark the first anniversary of an earlier *coup d'etat*. Early this year there was again another "breeze" in the shape of administrative and military readjustments. These three events supply us with the delimitation of Siamese politics within our own time. It was after this third attempt on the part of the people of Saim to work out a modern constitution that His Majesty King Prajadhipok and Queen Rambhai Barni left the country on a European tour for purposes of health. The country may now be said to be obtaining a progressive stable Government, for an all-round and extended development in its national economy. A sort of constitutional limited monarchy is the only description which can be applied to this State in the Orient.

In order to appreciate fully these remarkble developments witnessed by modern Siam, the following facts must be remembered.

Siam from times immemorial was accustomed to the traditional absolute monarchy of the Asiatic type. The King was the symposium of all that is good and beneficent in the nation. He was the repository of justice and benevolence. His person was sacrosanct. The people voted to him absolute ungrudging obedience, as a fulfilment of their civic virtues Even the Holy Roman Empire of the early Middle Ages did not enjoy the rights and privileges which a modern Siamese king annexed to himself. He was above law. He was law incarnate. He was the intercessor. He represented the basic principles of the Buddhist *Sangha*. But even this democratic institution could not succeed in evolving a democratic polity for Siam during the historical period. It was within the province and prerogative of the King to harness the economic and political springs of the nation. In fact, prior to June 1932 King Prajadhipok was Siam, and Siam King Prajadhipok, and in this he was only following the precedents set up by his predecessors.

In the previous article we have seen that the agricultural economy of Siam did not give the vast proportion of her people any adequate opportunity for self-expression and civil and political freedom. Pastoral life cannot be institutionalized in a political sense in any part of the world, and without respect of races and colour. An amalgam of races, Aryan and Mongolian, cannot be expected to foster progressive ideas. There is not the slightest doubt that the vast majority of the Siamese people are, even today, irresponsive to progressive ideas. Such being the case, the country was dominated by the Royal family and its numerous court. Marriage laws in Siam must be considered to be lax, and an all-powerful court can easily turn itself into a vast congregation of colateral branches. It was a surprising fact for an Indian visitor that prior to the revolution every department of the administration was fully manned from the lowest to the highest places by persons who can, with a certain amount of exactitude, trace their blood relationship to the Royal family. *Chao Phya* was originally a title exclusively reserved to members of the Royal blood, even though at the present moment it is more or less the highest decoration available even to important lay personages in the administration, and *Chao Phyas* were to be found during the pre-revolution days placed even in the lower ranks of officialdom. In the financial statement for the year 1930-31 provision was made as regards the allowances and supplies to princes and other dignitaries to the extent of six lakhs of rupees annually apart from fiefs and other hereditary emoluments available to most of the members in the higher court officers. There is not the slightest doubt that pre-revolution Siam was dominated by the dogma of Royal Blood. Ability and competence were not the criteria for employment in the State. Naturally, Siam was denied the opportunity, for generations together, towards educating the people in the art of Government, and as such denied them fruitful employment in the service of the State.

The people were fully obsessed with the virtues of a simple religious life. Acquiscence

in established order was the key-note of Siamese national activity. There was very little local responsibility in the affairs of the State. The wheels of absolute monarchy moved joyfully in its policy of slow grinding. There could never have been any scope for a critical attitude on the part of the people towards the Government and certainly there never was such an attitude until the revolution of the 24th June 1932 ushered into existence a new regime of things.

It would be an half truth to say that the Siamese Revolution was a revolution of the people, *qua* people. It was more or less engineered by a group of party leaders, high government officials and the army and the navy. It was a revolution against the absolute authority of a Royal oligarchy. Even the lopping off of Cambodia in 1905, besides other territories by foreign nations, could not wake up popular Siamese national conscience. A corrupt and inefficient court paved the way for a gradual system of extra-territoriality in Siam in which the balance of advantage was with the foreign Powers. In the development of foreign jurisdiction in Siam, the people surrendered their rights in regard to the operation of Municipal laws and regulations obtaining in the Kingdom. Article II of the British Treaty of 1855 ran as follows: "Disputes arising between British and Siamese subjects shall be determined by the consul in conjunction with the proper Siamese officers; and criminal offences will be punished, in the case of English offenders by the consul according to the English Law." Similar provisions were enjoined in the treaties between Siam on the one hand and the U. S. A and France on the other. These laws continued to be in force for nearly seventy years, simply because the people of the country were unable with conviction to uphold their national sovereignty. Diplomacy became the hand-maid of foreign intrusion into Siam, and the nation was entirely helpless to strengthen the hands of its monarchs in upholding the dignity of the State.

Popular political education in Siam is a matter of recent date. Even today it cannot be said that the entire nation is politically conscious and educated The aftermath of the Great War, and be it remembered that Siam was in the pay roll of the Allied and Associated Powers, brought about a certain wave of the desire for self-expression all over Asia. What India witnessed during the past twenty years was repeated in Siam. In our country the national fight was against foreign rule. In Siam it was against foreign intrusion and coercion. It was only in 1926 that extra-territoriality was partially abolished, and it was after that event that the Siamese people felt the necessity for an assertion of national sovereignity. The process was slow but steady. The story is simple.

Luang Pradit strode across the Siamese horizon during the pre-Revolution days. This high and keen officer of State wanted to bring about a sort of Siamese communist polity to prevail in the country. His imagination was fired by the Russian experiment. He wanted to have a full grip upon the agricultural economy and community-organization of the country, which was dominated, in tin and rubber in particular, by foreign capital. A nation-wide organization of peasant councils was organized and Luang was within an ace of success before the Revolution broke out two years ago. King Prajadhipok realized that menace of communism spreading under the leadership of Luang Pradit and with considerable dexterity sent him to Paris on a pension, to remain a permanent exile abroad. Even as late as 1933, I observed numerous prosecutions against communists and ex-communists filling the records of Siamese courts. This genuine people's movement, if ever any people's movement existed in Siam, was thus nipped in the bud. But foreign-returned Siamese leaders imbued with ideas of democracy stepped into the breach, and the Revolution of 1932 was brought about with the rapidity of a lightning. They were unable to appreciate the perpetuation of Royal prerogative and mis-government in Siam, and wanted to see that the constitution of the State was modelled on modern lines.

The following indictment of Royal absolutism and mis-government in Siam, as contained in a manifesto of the People's Party on the day of the revolution, is an illuminating document:

"Ever since ascending the throne the King has ruled as an absolute monarch and has bestowed all the important government positions on His relatives and to favourites who are unqualified for their positions.

"Ever since the beginning of the King's reign the public has expected fair play from the Government, but everything came out quite the contrary. The king ruled with an absolute sway without heeding the wishes of the people who had no chance to voice their plight. The favourites were left to do as they wished in their own aristocratic ways, satisfying their greed and desires, accepting bribes in construction undertakings, profiting from the recent rise in pound sterling and spending lavishly from the country's funds.

"The favourites exceeded their power and usurped the rights of the people, forced them into humility, prevented them from getting facts about their country's condition, and prevented them from getting proper education so that they would be in ignorance of what was going on behind the scenes. These favourites played for their own aims, cast everything else to the winds and left the country in turmoil which accounts for the incurable depression.

"This unaccountable depression which has descended upon the people the Ruler found it difficult to control because He did not rule for the people, as is the case in other countries. The government has treated the people as slaves. They were treated as animals, not as human beings. All taxes were collected for the pocket of those in power, which no other country has

ever done, except Russia when ruled by the Czar and Germany under the Kaiser, and both dethroned their rulers because of these same selfish aims.

"The Government made the people believe it would do its best to cure the present situation, but the statements to this effect were untrue. The people were not allowed a voice in affairs because they, the people, were regarded as fools and incapable of thinking for themselves.

"And what made the people fools? They were prevented from getting better education, better knowledge of government affairs, especially the evil designs that were being carried out in government offices.

"It must be remembered that this country belongs to the people, not to selfish royalty and favourites, as a place for them to achieve their own desires.

"Remember that our ancestors gained freedom for us and therefore the country must be governed by the people and for the people.

"The Royal families are robbing the people of their means of livelihood, filling their own pockets and leaving the people to their own plight. The farmers have no income from their property, retrenchments continue to go on in government offices without pension privileges, scholars who leave schools by the hundreds every year have no work to do, no helping hand is extended to the thousands of unemployed, no sympathy is extended to them by the government. Those at the heads of the government have filled their own purses, some sending their gold to foreign countries so that they could leave the country hurriedly in case of an emergency.

"The people must now know and understand their plight, and instal a government of their own so they can have a voice in it. The aim is not to pull down the present regime but to establish some form of limited monarchy.

The people have already sent an ultimatum to the Ruler and unless He submits to the wishes of the people he will reveal himself as a traitor to His country and the people will act accordingly.

If the people establish a new government of their own, the country will be lifted from its present economic plight. The new rule will be set up with the following aims and principles :

(1) The freedom of the country and especially the freedom of the people must be preserved. This must be so particularly in regard to economic freedom.

(2) There must be better administration in the interests of the people's welfare.

(3) Aid must be given to the people, especially the unemployed.

(4) There must be equal rights and fair play for all citizens.

(5) Freedom must be given to every citizen without conflicting with the four aims above mentioned.

(6) Education and knowledge must be furthered.

Citizens are invited to aid in the important event that has taken place here in the interests of the general welfare and the maintenance of justice and freedom. Relief will be extended to all citizens and everything possible will be done for the country's welfare. A government by the people and for the people will be set up."

But for one casualty near the New Palace, and that too accidentally, the Revolution of 1932 may be said to be bloodless. It is a glowing testimony to the miracle which could only happen in the annals of oriental monarchy, and certainly it is without parallel in any part of Asia. The revolution of June 1933 and the latest political changes do not constitute any further step in the march of popular government in Siam. At best, they indicate domestic changes-over on a modest scale.

The present constitution of Siam must be said to be a limited monarchy, the reins of Government being vested in the hands of a group of high State officials and leaders of the Army and the Navy. There is a State Council and a People's Assembly, and in the constitution document "The People" figured nominally prominent. Actually, there is no basis at all for us to assume that franchise, political and municipal, is extended and popular control of state affected.

There was a tentative constitution dated the 27th June, 1932 as signed by King Prajadhipok. But the Assembly of People's Representatives fully discussed its provisions and a final constitution document was presented to His Majesty on 10th December and received his assent. The following are some of the important provisions of the December Constitution and I am quoting from an attested copy supplied to me by the Home Department of the Siamese Government :

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

The kingdom of Siam is one and indivisible. The Siamese people of whatever race or religion are all equally entitled to the protection of this Constitution.

The sovereign power emanates from the Siamese nation. The king, who is the Head of the Nation, exercises it in conformity with the provisions of this Constitution.

THE KING.

The person of the King is sacred and inviolable.

The King shall profess the Buddhist Faith and is the Upholder of Religion.

The King is the Head of the Siamese Forces.

The King exercises the legislative power by and with the advice and consent of the assembly of the People's Representatives.

The King exercises the executive power through the State Council.

The King exercises the Judical power through the Courts duly established by law.

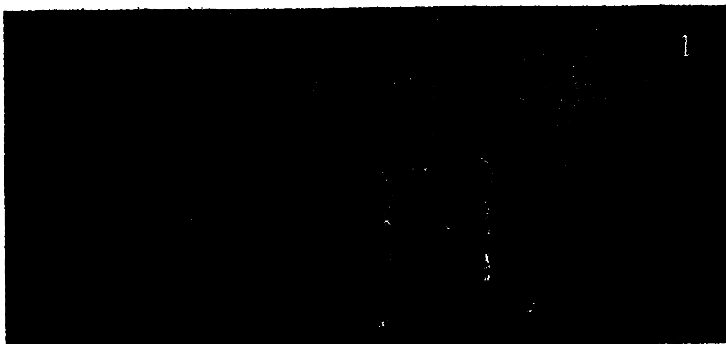
Subject to the approval of the Assembly of the People's Representatives, succession to the Throne shall be in accordance with the Law of Succession B. E, 2467.

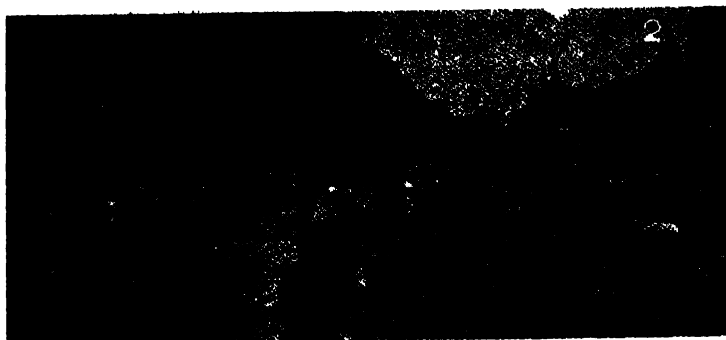
Members of the Royal Family from the rank of Mom Chao upwards, whether so born or created, are above politics.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE SIAMESE.

Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, all persons are equal before the law. Titles











Key to the Pictures

1. Siamese women listening to the Royal Proclamation.
2. Popular rejoicings after the Revolution.
3. Popular rejoicings after the Revolution. The crowd cheering the king after the constitution was signed.
4. Popular rejoicing over the Constitution, in Bangkok. 10th December, 1932.
5. H. M. S. *Suba Jalasaya* which brought back King Prajadhipok to Bangkok from Hua Hin where His Majesty stayed during the 1932 Revolution.
6. H. M. the King giving *Darshan* after signing the Constitution.
7. The King and Queen reviewing a parade of Scouts during the celebration of the Constitution.
8. A group of Siamese Army Officers who brought about the *coup*.
9. King Prajadhipok signing the Constitution declaring Siam to be a democratic monarchy.
10. The Constitution Document as presented to H. M. King Prajadhipok.
11. H. M. the King's Seal and Signature on the Constitution Document.
12. H. E. Chao Phya Bijayanati, Chairman of the Peoples' Assembly, holding the Constitution Document after it was signed by the King, while a court officer read the King's proclamation.

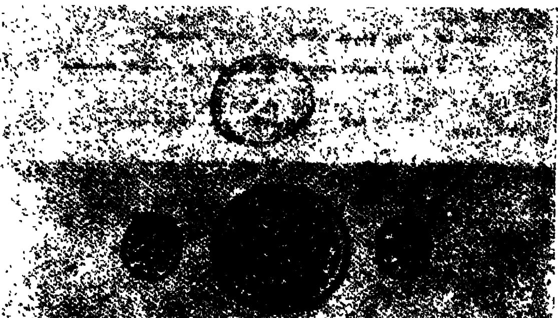
















acquired by birth, by bestowal or in any other way, do not confer any privilege whatever.

Every person is entirely free to profess any religion or creed and to exercise the form of worship in accordance with his own belief, provided that it is not contrary to the duties of of a national character or to public order or public morals.

Subject to the provisions of the law, every person enjoys full liberty of person, abode, property, speech, writing, publication, education, public meeting, association or vocation.

The Assembley of the People's Representatives

In the meeting of the Assembly of the People's Representatives words uttered by members whether in making a statement of fact or in expressing an opinion or explaining a vote are absolutely privileged. No legal proceedings whatever can be taken against them.

This privilege extends to the printing and publication of the minutes of the meeting by authority of the Assembly and also to statements of fact and opinions expressed in the Assembly by persons invited by the Assembly to do so.

During the session of the Assembly of the People's Representatives, when a criminal action is brought against any one of its members, the Court must obtain the prior permission of the Assembly before the case can be tried. The proceedings of the Court must not interfere with the liberty of the Member concerned to attend the meeting of the Assembly.

However, the proceedings of the Court prior to the plea of membership remain valid.

During the session of Assembly, none of its members shall be arrested or summoned for detention except when arrested while in the act of committing an offence in which case the matter must be reported without delay to the President of the Assembly. The President may order the release of the prisoner.

All laws can be promulgated only by and with the advice and consent of the Assembly of the People's Representatives.

If the King disapproves of the bill, the Assembly shall, after the lapse of one month from the date when the bill was submitted to the King by the President of the State Council and irrespective of whether or not the bill was returned to the Assembly within the stated period, reconsider the bill by secret voting taken by roll call. If the Assembly reaffirms the bill, it shall once more be submitted to the King. If the King fails to append His signature to it within 15 days it may forthwith be promulgated and published as law.

The Assembly of the People's Representatives has the power of control over the affairs of the State.

The State Council

The King appoints a State Council, composed of one President and from 14 to 24 other State Councillors.

The appointment of the President of the State Council shall be countersigned by the President of the Assembly.

The State Council is charged with the duty of conducting the government of the State.

The President and 14 other State Councillors shall be selected from among the members of the Assembly of the People's Representatives. The remaining State Councillors may be selected from among the persons who possess special knowledge or experience. These persons need not be the members of the Assembly, but they must be persons who are capable of holding a political position.

It is the King's prerogative to declare war, make peace and conclude treaties with foreign states.

A declaration of war will only be made when it is not contrary to the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Treaties which provide for a change in the territories of Siam or which require the promulgation of a law to enforce their provisions must receive the approval of the Assembly of the People's Representatives.

The Courts

The Judicial power shall be exercised by the Courts according to law in the name of the King.

All Courts can be established only by means of a law.

Judges are independent in holding trials and giving judgments according to law.

Final Provisions

The Provisions of any law which are contrary to or in conflict with this Constitution are null and void.

Absolute right to interpret this Constitution is vested in the Assembly of the People's Representatives

This Constitution can be amended only under the following conditions.

(1) A motion for an amendment can only be made either by the State Council or by members of the Assembly of the People's Representatives collectively of not less than ¼ of their total number.

(2) When a motion has once been passed, it should be left in abeyance for a period of one month. On the expiration of this period the motion shall again be submitted to the Assembly.

(3) Voting shall be by roll call, and the number of votes in favour of the amendment must not be less than ¾ of the total number of the Assembly.

When the voting on both occasions has been made in the manner above described, the matter shall be proceeded with in conformity with sections 38 and 39.

We are nowadays hearing much about a constituent assembly and new reforms for India. It is well to remember the moral of the Siamese Revolution and set ourselves towards the fulfilment of our national ambitions. Given time, Siam is bound to progress towards a "Government by the People, for the People" which was loudly canvassed for during June 1932.

COMMENTS & CRITICISM

"Relative public spirit and enterprise of Hindus and Muhammadans in Bengal"

In the June issue of *The Modern Review*, one Mr. J. M. Datta has contributed an article on the above subject. I would not dare offend good taste by casting any aspersions on the learned writer, but it is clear as day-light that he certainly did not spend so much of his energy out of any generous motive. I give full credit to Mr. Datta for his facts and figures which I unhesitatingly accept. But in doing so, I challenge him to prove that the so-called absence of public spirit and enterprise in Muhammadans of Bengal are due to any inherent incapacity in them.

The spirit of 'enterprise' and 'public spirit' of his community which Mr. Datta has so expatiated is mainly due to their English Education which brought to them a vast amount of wealth and influence, almost exclusively by means of Government service, under the aegis of the British rule. Education, as the Hindus understood it, in my community began to make rapid strides only the other day and I will not be far from right if I say that the greatest impetus was given to it by the partition of Bengal. Long before that, Hindus filled up practically all available Government posts, high or low. By this means as by no other that I can think of, they acquired not only wealth for themselves but also a tremendous influence. The Muhammadan, partly on account of his lack of education and partly due to his want of influence, was jealousy kept out from a very lucrative field where the Hindus were enjoying a sort of unrestricted monopoly. What this monopoly means will be clear from the fact that even today, when adverse comments are heard regarding the undue patronage being extended by Government to my community in the matter of appointments, out of the total provincial revenue of about Rs. twelve crores, six crores roughly go into the pockets of my Hindu brethren in the form of salaries and allowances, while not even a bare crore in the pockets of the Muhammadans. My figures are not imaginary, for I consulted the Government budget figures of 1932-33 and made a rough calculation out of them. If the railway, posts and telegraphs and other private services and the learned professions were taken into account, the 'national wealth' of the Hindus, if I may say so, would be much more.

What I mean to say is that the moral and material gain of the Hindu community secured through Government service and the professions have been immense and the benefits derived from them go down to generations. Out of them grow the enterprise and the public spirit of Mr. Datta's kind.

Let me now pick up a few examples set forth by Mr. Datta, and tell him what we feel about them. Mr. Datta has referred to the number and variety of magazines in Bengali. True the Muhammadans can claim only six as against the eighty of the Hindus. But why it is so? Half truths are sometimes positively dangerous, and here Mr. Datta ought to have given the full truth. I dare say, the Hindu reading-public looks with a sneer to any magazine with a Muhammadan name, and I have yet to know any Hindu who graciously subscribes to any Muhammadan magazine and paper.

Mr. Datta has also cited the example of the Calcutta University Institute, where out of 1466 student members, only 7 are Muhammadans. It's a pity that it is so, but does Mr. Datta know of the existence of the Muslim Institute of Calcutta which has hundreds of Muhammadan students as members? As regards inter-collegiate recitations, I doubt whether Mr. Datta is quite correct in holding that not a single Muhammadan student was a prize winner, for in 1932, one Muhammadan student, as far as I remember, got the 2nd prize in English.

I will conclude by giving a very specific instance of the public spirit of the Muhammadans. When Mahatmaji issued his momentous 'fiat' directing boycott of all Government institutions, Courts, Schools, Colleges, etc., etc., as a preliminary step, more Muhammadan students came out of their schools and colleges than Hindu students did, and this itself speaks a volume of their public spirit.

G. Murtaza,
63|1A, Lansdowne Road,
28-7-34.



NOTES

A "Warrior" Chief Justice Designate

According to a contemporary, the new British Chief Justice chosen for the Calcutta High Court served in the last world war. Is it meant that that is a qualification for this high office ?

As Bengal has been for years practically under "martial" law, which is going to be perpetuated, it is perhaps fitting that her Chief Justice should be an ex-soldier.

Law Member's Specious Arguments in Support of Terrorist Bill

In the course of the debate on the Bengal Terrorist Bill in the Legislative Assembly, Sir N. N. Sircar, the Law Member, is reported to have said :

> "Arguments have been advanced that these repressive laws should be suspended as they did not succeed in fighting terrorism. Why not suspend repressive laws for non-political murders, dacoities ?"

The Law Member, who is a subtle logician and debater, seems to have lost sight of one important difference between terroristic murders etc., and ordinary murders etc. The latter have been committed up to the present time in all ages and countries and continue to be committed, whereas the former have been confined to certain periods and countries. Therefore laws which are meant to repress the latter class of crimes, which appear to be a permanent feature of human society all over the world—so far as anything mundane and human can be said to be permanent—such laws also must be similarly a permanent part of the statute-book. But as terroristic crimes are not permanent and ubiquitous, there is no case for perpetuating any law intended to repress them which has failed to produce the intended result. On the contrary, as the present Bengal Terrorist Act has been a failure as a device for eradicating terrorism, some other contrivance on altogether new lines ought to be devised and resorted to. This, however, requires more wisdom, humanity and courageous statesmanship than the rulers of India appear to possess.

The implication perhaps underlying the Law Member's question, namely, "why not suspend repressive laws for non-political murders," etc., seems to be that such laws have nowhere been repealed or made less rigorous. But that is not correct.

> "Death was in former times in England the ordinary punishment for all felonies. It would be possible to extend almost indefinitely the list of offences for which men could be legally hanged at the commencement of the 19th century" —*Chambers's Encyclopædia.*

But both owing to the spread of more humane and civilized views and to the inefficacy of excessively severe laws,

> "the inhumanity and impolicy of the old criminal code ["there were more than 200 offences in the statute-book for which capital punishment might be inflicted"] gave way to a course of legislation which has reduced the application of death as a punishment within its present humane limits." —*Chambers's Encyclopædia.*

Let us confine our attention to the case of murder.

> The Children Act, 1908 (8 Edw. VII. chap. 67), enacts that sentence of death shall not be pronounced against a person under sixteen years of age. This enactment extends to England as well as to Scotland."
>
> "In the United States,...in some states, as Michigan Wisconsin, Rhode Island, and Maine, capital punishment has been done away with."
>
> "In Holland . . . capital punishment was totally abolished by law in 1870. In Rumania it was abolished in 1864, and Portugal has adopted the same course.—*Chambers's Encyclopaedia.*

So it is historically true that even in the case of offences which seem to be a permanent ugly feature of society, laws are changed or repealed or their rigour softened in course of time.

The Law Member is also reported to have said that compared with what was being done in Germany and Italy to crush rebellion against the powers that be, the repressive laws meant for Bengal were like milk and butter. That is true. But is it not also true that there were and there still are possibilities of the "rebels" in Italy and Germany seizing the supreme power and forming the Government in their respective countries?—possibilities which never existed and do not exist in the case of the Bengal terrorists. Is it not true that in importance and equipment the Bengal terrorists are as "milk and butter"—to use the Law Member's phrase— as compared with the Italian and German "rebels"? In any case, greater severity in one country does not necessarily justify severity of a lesser degree in another. The requirements of each country must be considered independently according to the conditions prevailing in it. The Law Member might also have borne in mind the fact that just as Mussolini's and Hitler's repressive "laws" and "steps" and "measures" are far more severe and drastic than those adopted or intended to be adopted for Bengal, so are the "nation-building" and employment-giving endeavours and activities of these tyrannical Dictators far more extensive than those intended for Bengal by the benign constitutional rulers of India. We do not suggest that the constructive measures of the Dictators justify their tyranny. What we mean is that if there is to be any comparison, it should not be confined to only one aspect.

Caste-creating Endeavours of the British Government

The backward condition of India and many of her miseries are said by Britishers and other Europeans to be due in part to the system of caste which has prevailed here from ancient times. Without discussing the correctness of this view, it may not be unfair to state that the British people consider caste to be an evil. Nevertheless, when it is to their advantage, they like to be caste-ridden. What is the British practice in India? The highest offices in the civil and military administration of the country are held by Britishers. They are the modern Kshatriyas of India. Nay, in the majority of cases they are, or at least until lately they were, the Brahmans of India too; for the highest offices in the education and scientific departments are or were their monopoly. And if the whole truth is to be stated, they are the principal Vaishyas too; for the commerce and industry of the country are chiefly in their hands. The vast majority of Indians have been relegated to the position of the fourth caste of Sudras, and in the British Dominions they are the Panchamas or Pariahs.

But the British nation has not remained satisfied with simply making themselves the three higher Hindu castes, as it were. Among Indian themselves the British Government have created a new system of caste. Take the army. Some Indians are said to belong to a martial race, province, class and caste, and others to unwarlike ones. Recruitment to the army is practically confined to the former to the exclusion of the latter. The former are the British-made neo-Kshatriyas among Indians.

This new caste system is being gradually introduced in the civil administrative departments also, the latest step taken being the communal division of appointments in the services.

If now any Britisher says that Britishers condemn the caste system, an orthodox Hindu may very well reply: "You are either an ignoramus or an unconscious humorist;—you observe caste, have been in fact creating a new caste system and yet you inveigh against it!"

Creating or Propping up Occupational Caste System

The Panjab Land Alienation Act is based on the assumption that, if a man belongs to a certain religious community, it cannot be presumed that he is not an agriculturist—and hence he is not precluded from being or becoming an agriculturist. So he can hold land and purchase more land, and land can be sold to him. But if he is a Hindu, and if he wants to purchase land or if anybody wants to sell him some land, it has to be proved that he belongs to a caste which in the opinion of the Government has agriculture as its hereditary occupation. The result of such a law is that any one, irrespective of his creed and caste, cannot acquire land and become a farmer.

This is a kind of new caste system. Just as according to the old orthodox Hindu theory, a Sudra is not permitted to recite or hear the Vedas, so no one can become a cultivator whose ancestors did not till the soil. Such a rule is the creation of the caste-condemning British raj ! It is not, however, necessarily true that those whose ancestors were cultivators must be the fittest for agricultural work, and those whose ancestors were not cultivators cannot become good cultivators.

Favoured "Castes' in the Public Services

The object of the Government of India's Home Department resolution regarding the representation in the public services of some minorities and of Muslims in particular, is said to be "the redress of communal inequalities." Anglo-Indians and Moslems have long been in practice favoured "castes" in Government service. The resolution only gives fixity to and extends the practice. We call them "castes," because one of the harmful features of the caste system is that under it some groups of men are favoured and others are discriminated against, and this feature is present in the rules under discussion.

Appointments in the public services are a kind of remunerative occupation. There are other kinds of remunerative occupation. In the public services in India as a whole Hindus preponderate for two reasons : (1) because in India as a whole they are the majority, (2) because in India as a whole they are the most advanced in education. If non-Hindus had preponderated in the public services, Government would not perhaps have thought of any "redress of communal inequalities."

We are here treating Government service only as a means of making money like other remunerative occupations. If "redress of communal inequalities" in any occupation leads to the disturbance of the occupational character of any caste or class or community, will Government intervene to give the members of that caste or class or community, thrown out of employment, any new source of certain income ? By the reservation of 25 per cent of posts in public services in general for Muslims, of 8⅓ per cent for other minorities, and of 9 per cent in the railways and 5 per cent in the posts and telegraphs for Anglo-Indians, in addition to those which these communities can get by competition, Hindus are sure to lose a good many remunerative jobs which they could have otherwise got by their merits. Therefore, there is sure to be greater unemployment among Hindus in the future than there is at present. What remedy will Government provide for this increased unemployment among Hindus ?

Among the followers of many callings in many provinces, Muhammadans form a larger proportion than their percentage in the total population. For instance, in Bengal Muhammadans form 54.8, Hindus 43.1, Christians 0.4 and others 1.7 of the population. But of those employed in agriculture Muhammadans form 62.7 per cent, Hindus 34.7 per cent, and Christians and others 2.6 per cent. Will Government "redress communal inequalities" in this occupation ? The reply will, of course, be that that is beyond the province of Government to attempt, *laissez-faire* being the best policy. That is really so. But why did not the Panjab Government then follow that policy as regards land alienation ?

Similarly, of tailors, book-binders, brick-layers and masons, bakers, meat-sellers, boatmen, lascars, etc., in Bengal, Musalmans form more than 55 per cent. Will Government "redress communal inequalities" here ?

Cultivation of the soil and the occupations indicated above are not negligible as sources of income, as many farmers and craftsmen are better off than ordinary clerks and teachers.

If it be said that in the Government service Hindus hold more than 44 per cent of the posts in Bengal and "communal inequalities" should be redressed, our reply is that the Bengal Government has been already doing it. For instance, in the Education Department, among inspectors 54.2 are Muhammadans and among teachers 46.8 are Muhammadans. The Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for the years 1927-1932 states :

> "It appears that the Moslems are well represented on the inspecting branch, but the number of teachers in secondary schools and specially in high schools is inadequate."

This is a curious observation, seeing that

of persons literate in English in Bengal Muhammadans are only 24.9 per cent and Hindus 69.6 per cent! Some idea of the proportion of graduates in the two communities in Bengal can be formed from the fact that Hindu post-graduate and research students are 85.7 per cent and Muhammadans 13.

It is not our opinion that it is the business of Government in any country to "redress communal inequalities" in any occupation. On the contrary, we hold that every one ought to be free to follow the occupation he likes and is fit for and that in all occupations there ought not to be any interference with the fittest obtaining the reward of merit. Government's duty is to see that there is as little unemployment as possible. We have made some remarks on and asked some questions relating to "redress of communal inequalities," only because Government wants to do it only in one occupation, namely, Government service in the civil departments. But to be consistent and fair they ought to do it in all occupations. This they cannot and will not do. This can, of course, be attempted, if, as in Russia, all occupations be brought under State control. But the State in Russia does not care for religious creeds and does not recognize separate communal interests.

Representation of Some Minorities in Public Services

The Home Department anti-National resolution of the Government of India regarding the representation in the public services of *some* minorities and of Muslims in particular begins thus:—

> In accordance with the undertaking given in the Legislative Assembly the Government of India have carefully reviewed the results of the policy followed since 1925 of reserving a certain percentage of direct appointments to Government service for the redress of communal inequalities. It has been represented that though this policy was adopted mainly with the object of securing increased representation for the Muslims in the public services it has failed to secure for them a due share of appointments and it has been contended that this position cannot be remedied unless a fixed percentage of vacancies is reserved for the Muslims. In particular, attention has been drawn to the small number of Muslims in the railway services even on those railways which run through the areas in which the Muslims form a high percentage of the total population. A review of the position has shown that these complaints are justified and the Government of India are satisfied by the enquiries they have made that the instructions regarding recruitment must be revised with a view to improving the position of the Muslims in the services.

The "undertaking" referred to ought never to have been given. No State that we know of reserves any percentage of appointments to Government service for particular communities.

What is the meaning of "the redress of communal inequalities"? What is the standard of communal *equality* in the public services? If it be contended that the numerical strength per cent of appointments held by each community should be equal to its numerical strength per cent in the total population, then the resolution does not at all aim at such equality. For, *in addition to* the jobs which *some* minority communities may get by competition, certain percentages of appointments in all or some civil departments are reserved for them; and these percentages of reservations are *greater* than the percentages of numerical strength of these communities in the population of British India. Musalmans are not 25 per cent of the population, but less, Anglo-Indians are not 9 per cent (or even one per cent) of the population, and so on. Hence, even if the resolution had not said that the reservations were in addition to what the favoured communities could capture by competition, the reservations would have meant the certain *creation, not* the *redress*, of communal *in*equalities. The reservations being in addition to those which can be got by competition, the resulting inequalities would be all the greater. And the greater the progress made by the favoured minorities, the greater would the inequalities be; for there is no limit set to the proportion of jobs which they may secure by competition, nor is the majority (Hindu) community given any guarantee that their share of appointments would not go below a certain percentage.

For these reasons, instead of the words "for the redress of communal inequalities," the resolution ought to have used the words "for the creation of ever-increasing communal inequalities."

The prefatory paragraph is defective in another respect. The real object of the resolution is "improving the position of Muslims" and of the Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans. Therefore, the general reference

to the "redress of communal inequalities" is misleading. For the aborigines, the Buddhists, the Jains, the Indian Christians and the Sikhs are not even mentioned by name. The "depressed classes" are no doubt mentioned, but only to be treated to the very consoling observation that

> In the present state of general education in these classes the Government of India consider that no useful purpose will be served by reserving for them a definite percentage of the vacancies, out of the number available for the Hindus as a whole, but they hope to ensure that duly qualified candidates from the depressed classes are not deprived of fair opportunities of appointment merely because they cannot succeed in open competition.

Verily Dr. Ambedkar has got his reward for being a party to the Mirorities Pact !

The paragraph quoted above contains the words "out of the number available for the Hindus as a whole." But this is misleading, as there is no fixed proportion for Hindus. It would gradually decrease as the Muslims and other non-Hindu minorities are able to capture more and more jobs with the progress of education among them.

Moreover, the following paragraph contains a device by means of which Muslims may be given a certain undefined proportion of the $8^1/_3$ per cent reserved for "other minority communities" :

> (III) If members of other minority communities obtain less than their reserved percentage in open competition and if duly qualified candidates are not available for nomination the residue of $8^1/_3$ per cent will be available for Muslims.

It is taken for granted that "duly qualified" Muslims will always be found not only for the jobs reserved for them but also for those reserved for other communities for which duly qualified persons from those communities cannot be found ! In other words, Muslims must be favoured by hook or by crook !

As "duly qualified" does not indicate any fixed standard, it will always be possible for any departmental or sub-departmental head—particularly if he be a Muhammadan—to declare that "duly qualified candidates" for some jobs belonging to "other minority communities" are not availble and therefore they must be given to Muslims.

And why not to Hindus, pray ? The definite provisions made for Muslims are over-generous without the above additional provision, and the lot of the Hindus has been made very precarious. Therefore, windfalls and "residuary jobs" at least ought to have been assigned to them. But Hindus do not deserve any consideration. For have they not clamoured most for Swaraj and suffered and sacrificed most ?

Communal "Award" No. II

The communal division of appointments in the public service has been called Communal "Award" No. II by some Muhammadans. In effect it will nullify, to a greater extent, all efforts to produce national unity and solidarity in India than the Communal Decision of the Premier. The Communal Decision has given fixity to the already existing divisions and dissensions and created more. But it relates only to a few hundred seats in the central and provincial legislatures, not directly to the loaves and fishes of offices, big and small. The communal division of jobs relates to several lakhs of appointments in the whole of British India ; for what the Government of India has done all the provincial governments are sure to do—we mean those which have not done so yet. Therefore, however much we may dislike and discourage and condemn envy and jealousy and scrambling for office, there will be such things all over India, the exhortations of the lovers of India will not be able to kill them, and the mutual relations of different communities will not be what they ought to be. Nevertheless, we must make the utmost effort to counteract the evil effects of the communal decision and the communal division of jobs.

Why No "Redress of Communal Inequalities" in the Army ?

The Government of India's professed object in reserving certain percentage of appointments mainly for Anglo-Indians, domiciled Europeans and Muslims is to redress communal inequalities. Let us assume that this is the real object.

Why should this policy be confined only to the civil departments ? Why should not there be redress of communal and provincial inequalities in the Army, the Navy (such as it is) and the Air Forces ? The official answer will, of course, be that there are some posts in these departments for which Indians in general are not fit, and for the rest only members of some communities, in some

provinces alone are fit, and it is the fittest alone who ought to be appointed.

Without entering into a discussion of the other statements, we unreservedly agree that it is the fittest alone who ought to be appointed. We ask, why in the civil departments of the state the fittest alone should not be appointed? In the resolution it is stated,

(V) In all cases a minimum standard of qualification will be imposed and the reservations are subject to this condition.

Why should any persons possessed of only a minimum standard of qualification be preferred to any who can satisfy the maximum standard?

Efficiency of the State

Work in the various departments of the state must suffer in efficiency if the rule of appointing the fittest be not followed, as it will not be followed in the case of a considerable proportion of appointments. Efficiency can increase only with securing for all posts, high or low, the ablest persons available. But the Government of India is not going to follow this simple rule.

It is sheer waste of the tax-payer's money to give salaries meant for the fittest to men of minimum qualifications, and it is an infallible prescription for the production of discontent to leave abler men unemployed in order to give jobs to the less able.

Commander-in-Chief's and Law Member's Alleged Opposition to Communal Division of Appointments

It is said that when the question of communal representation of some minorities in the services was under discussion in the Governor-General's executive council, the Commander-in-Chief and the Law Member opposed any such scheme. Perhaps both opposed the communal division of the appointments on the ground that it would make for inefficiency or decreased efficiency and probable corruption, too. The Law Member being an Indian may also have thought that there should not be any addition to the already existing things which set Indians by the ear.

And it is possible that the Commander-in-Chief had some reasons in addition to decreased efficiency for opposing the scheme. He thought perhaps that if there was to be "redress of communal inequalities" in the civil departments, there would inevitably be a clamour for such redress in the Defence Departments of the Government, and that there was no just and logical answer to such clamour;—therefore, let sleeping dogs lie. It is not beyond the range of possibility that while engaged in the discussion he thought that, as the forces commanded by him were meant to defend the country against both internal disturbances and external aggression, it was best not to give any additional avoidable cause for widespread discontent.

A Constitutional Question

The recruitment of the public services was one of the questions discussed by the so-called Round Table Conference. And it is a problem which the Joint Parliamentary Committee is bound to consider. When its report is submitted to the British Parliament, the latter will deal with it.

Such being the case, have the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India any constitutional power to deal with a part of the problem? Have they not usurped functions which do not at present belong to them?

Why This Job Allotment Now?

It is natural to feel some curiosity as to why this allotment of jobs to some communities should have been made at this particular juncture. No definite answer can be given—only guesses can be made.

The genesis of all such measures of favouritism is to be found in the fact that the greater the political self-consciousness in India, the greater must be the efforts made to detach or keep detached considerable groups of men from the national movement and the national struggle. Perhaps the Joint Select Committee has made such changes in the White Paper as to make it still more unacceptable to the people of India—if that is possible, and hence it has been felt that something must be done to keep satisfied some minorities at least among whom National consciousness is undeveloped or confined to a small number. There may be another reason. Government may have felt that by not rejecting the

Communal Decision outright the Congress has made a bid for Muslim allegiance, and so a higher bid must be made. This is the higher bid. If the Congress now says, "Let the Muslims have the jobs," Government may have to disclose something more up its sleeve. Or the Communal "Award" and the Communal Division of Jobs, etc., may be only parts of the patronage which Government promised in return for the Minorities Pact or something similar. The following "inside story" of the cause of the failure of negotiations between the Aga Khan and Mahatma Gandhi, published in the *Daily Sun* of Bombay, dated the 20th July, 1934, makes this conjecture probable :

> It was past midnight. Mahatmaji has just returned from continuous work for the whole day. But he did not stop to take rest. He took his 'Charka" and drove straight to the Hotel where the Aga Khan and the Muslim delegation were.
>
> THE MUSLIM PROMISE
>
> The substance of the Muslim talk was "What do we gain by making a common cause with you! You do not accept our 14 points."
>
> Mahatmaji's reply was, "What will you give us if you get your 14 points? Will you stand by the Congress?"
>
> "But suppose if Muslims remain neutral, will you be satisfied?" Sir Muhammad Shafi suggested a *via media*.
>
> "No," said Mahatma, "we want your co-operation. We are ready to pay the price for it."
>
> The Muslim delegation was engrossed in thoughts. At last the Aga Khan said, "Our whole delegation is not present here. We need consultation. But be sure that, if you accept our 14 points, we are almost certain to join you in your political demands."
>
> MAHATMA ACCEPTS 14 POINTS
>
> Then Mahatmaji wrote in his own handwriting the draft of the agreement accepting the 14 points of the Muslims on condition of their joining the Congress in its political demands.
>
> The Aga Khan promised to let Gandhiji know the final decision before noon. He asked him to obtain Malaviyaji's consent.
>
> HOARE IN A FIX
>
> In the early morning London was fast asleep. But one Englishman was awake. He was the Secretary of State for India. He had his own intelligence department. He knew about the Gandhiji-Aga Khan Pact. He saw the Indian Empire slipping from his hands. He was waiting for somebody. That somebody came. He saw that the Muslims were in a dilemma. Gandhiji had accepted their demands. They had no way out.
>
> HOARE'S BARGAIN
>
> "Now what is the position," asked Hoare.
>
> "What will you give? Anything more?" asked the Muslim member.
>
> "I accept the 14 points and above that the Government's whole-hearted patronage," said the Secretary of State.
>
> MALAVIYAJI UNRECONCILABLE
>
> The *London Times* flashed in the early morning the news of the Gandhi-Aga Khan Agreement.
>
> Jayakar saw Malaviyaji early in the morning. Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Mr. Birla were having a hot discussion with Malaviyaji.
>
> Pandit Malaviya said that he would never accept that agreement. "Tell Gandhi Maharaj that I would never concede all that."
>
> VAIN APPEALS
>
> Sir Purshottamdas and Mr. Birla pleaded with the Pandit. They said that it was the master-stroke of Mahatmaji. And if this opportunity is lost Hindus will suffer for ever. Mr. Birla said to him that he was losing the opportunity of a life-time. But Panditji was adamant.
>
> It was 9 in the morning. Newspaper men were coming one by one in the room near the R. T. C. Hall. They were told of the Gandhi-Aga Khan Pact. They were losing heart at the news. They made long faces.
>
> EMPIRE BREAKING
>
> Then came the Secretary of the Press Committee. When he knew it, he exclaimed, "What! what do you say?"
>
> He sat down in the chair as if reclining. He sat with eyes closed for a while. When he got up—his face was pale. To him the British Empire was being broken.
>
> After him the Aga Khan's messenger came to Gandhiji and informed him that they could not accept his offer, as all the Muslims did not agree.

If this "inside story" be correct, if not in all its details, at least substantially, then the Division of Jobs must be taken to be the fulfilment in part of Sir Samuel Hoare's promise of whole-hearted patronage. What next? the curious reader may ask. The answer is, the Aga Khan most probably has asked for a State to govern, with what result, is not definitely known.

Our last guess is that perhaps the Secretary of State and the Government of India had come to know what the Joint Select Committee were going to recommend regarding the recruitment of the services and finding the recommendations not to their liking, they have confronted the Committee with a *fiat accompli*.

Numerical Strength and Proportion of Jobs

Assuming without admitting that all communities should have their fixed share of Government jobs, what should determine the share? There are some kinds of such work which even illiterate adult persons can perform. These may be divided according to the numerical strength of *adults* in the communities. For other jobs only literate

persons are fit. These may be divided in proportion to the numbers of *adult* literates in the communities. For another class of jobs *adult* literates in English, or rather *adult* undergraduates, are fit. These may be apportioned according to the numbers of *adult* undergraduates among the communities. Similarly, with regard to offices which can be filled efficiently only by post-graduates, medical graduates, graduates in law, graduates in engineering, etc.

Therefore, even on the aforesaid assumption mere numerical strength cannot entitle any community to a fixed proportion of posts of all or most kinds. But we do not at all admit the soundness of the assumption. All posts should go to the fittest.

The Queen's Proclamation and the Division of Jobs

We always take our stand on human rights, on the elementary sense of justice, on the equal rights of all Nationals in a State to enjoy all opportunities according to their ability. We have never taken our stand on Queen Victoria's Proclamation, because it has been treated by British imperialists practically as a scrap of paper. But in recent times in connection with the White Paper, Sir Samuel Hoare took his stand on it in order to give the citizens of the British Dominions (like South Africa, which was not a British Dominion in 1858 when the Proclamation was issued and which treats Indians like pariahs) equal rights in India with Indians. So it may be allowable to make a passing reference to the Queen's Proclamation. In it the Queen said :

> "We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured. . by reason of their religious faith or observance, ...
>
> "And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge."

Is the Government of India Home Department resolution relating to the representation of some minorities in the services, consistent with the passages quoted above ?

The Evil Results of Favouritism

It has been already stated that the evil results of favouritism would be less efficiency in all departments of the Government, and most probably corruption, too. There may also be increase of crime and disease and inadequate collection of revenue. Free and impartial admission to office of the fittest, irrespective of race or creed, gives a great stimulus to progress in all directions. Favouritism takes away this stimulus. As regards education, the favoured feel that they need not strive to surpass or even equal others in intellectual equipment, and those not favoured may feel that, as intellectual achievement does not necessarily count, the pursuit of knowledge has no intrinsic worth. In this way favouritism serves as an obstacle in the way of the progress of education among both the favoured and the not-favoured.

High officers of the Government have declared on various occasions that complete Indianization of the services has not been possible because of the lack of fit Indians for the higher offices. Is favouritism the way to increasing the fitness or the unfitness of Indians ?

Special Pleading for Anglo-Indians

The following passage occurs in the resolution under discussion :

> The Anglo-Indians have always held a large percentage of appointments in certain branches of the public service and it has been recognized that in view of the degree to which the community has been dependent on this employment steps must be taken to prevent in the new conditions anything in the nature of a rapid displacement of the Anglo-Indians from their existing position which might occasion a violent dislocation of the economic structure of the community.

In the above extract, for "The Anglo-Indians," substitute "educated Hindus of the middle class," and you will get an equally cogent, if not more cogent, argument.

Government have done something which will occasion a disturbance of "the economic structure" of the middle classes of the Hindu community. But such an eventuality, being a Hindu affair, can be looked on with unconcern.

Gain and Loss to Muslims

Musalman Indians, like Indians of other religious communities, will suffer from the evil consequences to the State, such as inefficiency and corruption, and to the nation, such as the damping of efforts for educational and cognate

progress, born of favouritism. Musalman Indians will be particularly affected, as intellectual eminence is never the direct, or even the indirect, product of the patronage of a minimum standard of qualifications.

Let us turn to the gain to the Muslims.

Though the Government of India's resolution relates to posts under that Government, not to those under provincial Governments, we may take into consideration all Government posts, for the provincial Governments are sure to do what the central Government has done.

In British India 2,24,996 men serve in the police and 3,52,563 men are employed in other services of the State (not military). So there are altogether 5,77,559 Government servants in the civil departments. In the whole of British India Musalmans will get 25% of these, or 1,44,389. In the census report of 1931 the average size of the family of police employees is given as 3.7 and of other Government officials as 3.8. Therefore, the average size of a Musalman official's family may be taken as 4, or 5 including himself. So by 1,44,389 jobs going to Musalmans altogether 7,21,945 Musalmans will be made gainers. Now, in the whole of British India there are 6,70,20,443 Musalmans. Deducting 7,21,945 from this total figure, we get 6,62,98,498 as the number of Musalmans who will not be direct gainers from the Government policy of favouritism, though they will suffer as much as, or rather more than, non-Musalmans from the evils of favouritism resulting to the State and nation.

Will there be any countervailing indirect gain to the 6,62,98,498 Musalmans? Not to any appreciable extent, we should think. We do not, of course, say or suggest that Hindu Government servants distribute their income to all and sundry. But from our knowledge of the small number of educational and other public institutions founded and maintained by Musalmans in Bengal and the very small help which they give to their co-religionists suffering from famine, flood, storms, etc., it does not seem probable that the pecuniary gain of the 1,44,389 Musalman officials will be of appreciable advantage to the vast majority of Musalmans.

Competitive Examination For Musalmans Alone

If the generality of Musalmans, as apart from the *Jo-hukums*, want to be gainers by the favour shown to their community by the Government, they should insist on all posts meant for Musalmans being filled by competitive examination confined to Musalmans alone. That will give some stimulus to education in the community.

Non-Muslims and Government Service

There are many men who are on principle against the acceptance of Government service. The new Home Department resolution does not make the range of occupations that may be chosen by them narrower than before. As regards others—we refer particularly to non-Muslims, they can still compete for many posts.

Government service may be looked upon from two points of view, as a means of earning money and as a means of serving the country. For, though Government servants and pensioners are precluded from doing anything directly or indirectly to promote the cause of freedom, they can serve the nation to some extent in other ways by doing their duties faithfully. We do not forget that many Government servants are or have to be hostile to the cause of freedom. We are not referring to them.

All non-Muslims should banish from their minds envy and jealousy of Muslims.

The patronage bestowed on Musalmans and withheld from the Hindus may become to the latter a blessing in disguise, if they turn their attention to industries, including scientific agriculture, and trade more than they have hitherto done.

Indore Meeting of All-India Women's Conference

Excellent progress, both social and educational, formed the keynote of the reports of different constituencies at the half-yearly meeting of the Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference held in Indore on the 21st and 22nd July last. No less than 22 out of the 38 members of the Standing Committee attended from all over the country.

The members present were:—Mrs. Rustomji Faridoonji (Hyderabad, Deccan), Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (Jullunder City), Mrs. Hamid Ali

(Satara), Mrs. Brijlal Nehru (Lahore), Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade (Gwalior), Miss L. M. Naidu (Hyderabad, Deccan), Mrs. S. N. Ray (Social Secy., Calcutta), Mrs. Lakshmi N. Menon (Lucknow), Mrs. S. S. Chitambar (Jubbulpore), Mrs. Hosain Ali Khan (Hyderabad, Deccan), Mrs. D. Subhadra Chenchiah (Madras), Miss G. J. Bahadurji (Bombay), Mrs. S. N. Wadia (Baroda), Mrs. S. C. Roy (Calcutta), Mrs. L. F. Massey (Ajmere-Merwara), Mrs. M. Solomon (Konkan), Mrs. Sorojini Mehta (Bombay), Miss A. Khemchand (Sind), Miss Shoila Bala Das (Orissa), Miss Magda Friedmann (Delhi), Mrs. U. Nagu (Indore), and Mrs. S. C. Mukerjee (Hon. Organizing Secretary, Calcutta).

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Nagu, the members were the guests of H. H. Maharani Sanyogita Bai Saheba Holkar H. H. Maharani Indira Bai Saheba, H. H. Chandravati Bai Masaheb and Princess Sabitri Bai Saheba.

In welcoming the members at a public meeting in the Town Hall, H. H. Chandravati Bai Masaheb, who presided, said that at present women were in total darkness so far as real education was concerned, and it was indeed very happy to find that some attempt was being made in educating them. She, however, wished the attempt to be more in the direction of the village population, as the large majority of women in India resided in villages and not in big cities, which were awakening to the fact and endeavouring to shoulder their responsibilities themselves as well as with the help of their own governments. Education, if well-directed, was the soul of every reform, and if the soul was purified, the social side must improve in all its aspects.

The reports of the work accomplished showed that all the constituencies contributed towards the relief of the sufferers in the earthquake in Bihar. Harijan work was being carried out most satisfactorily in nearly all the constituencies. An All-India Sarda Committee was formed by the A. I. W. C. for propaganda against child marriage and to conduct prosecutions and to devise ways and means for improving the Act.

An All-India Day was fixed for November 24, 1934, on which date public meetings would be held throughout India and propaganda undertaken regarding the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the legal disabilities of women.

It was decided that a manifesto and questionnaire from the A. I. W. C. should be issued to candidates seeking election to the Assembly eliciting their views on questions affecting women, so that the members of the constituencies should help only those candidates who favoured their claims, to secure election.

It was further resolved to lay special stress on rural reconstruction work, which was already being undertaken intensively in many constituencies.

A memorandum on women and child labour was submitted by the A. I. W. C. to the International Labour Conference at Geneva.

On the Education side, due to the activities of the Conference, a number of women teachers went for training to Whitelands College, London. The adult education movement, with the free schools started by the constituencies, showed considerable progress.

The advisability of making Hindi the common language for the Conference was discussed and it was decided to encourage speeches in Hindi as much as possible.

The next Annual Session of the Conference will be held in Karachi at the end of December next.

Bethune College Register of Old Students

The Principal of the Bethune College has invited the old students of the Institution to communicate to her at their earliest convenience their names, addresses and present occupations, if any, with the years of their stay in the College. This is in view of the compilation of a proposed College Register. The Bethune College being the premier institution for women's education on this side of India, the Register will be an important and useful work and a contribution to the history of female education in Eastern India. The "Old" Girls—not necessarily old in the usual sense!—of the college should heartily co-operate with the Principal in compiling the Register.

"How to Make a Riot"

By an accidental coincidence, we find today an article in *The New Republic* of America (June 27, 1934) with the heading, "*How to Make a Riot,*" and a news item in the dailies relating to the judgment delivered by Mr. Niblett, Magistrate of Ghazipur, in two communal riot cases. The article in the American paper begins :

> On May 26, police attacked a demonstration of unemployed in front of relief headquarters in New York City. The police got the worst of the battle. Headlines screamed of "Red Riots," but the facts peeped here and there from under reports of jobless "whipped into a frenzy by their Communist leaders." As one newspaper let slip, "Wall (the Deputy Inspector in charge) ordered the police into action, *and in two minutes the riot was in full swing.*"

This is one way "to make a riot."

The Ghazipur news item reads :

> Allahabad, July 28.
>
> Mr. Niblett, Magistrate, delivered judgment in the Ghazipur Riot case acquitting one Muslim and sentencing seven Muslims under section 147 I. P. C. (rioting) to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment each with fines and the rest to one year's rigorous imprisonment each. All the accused were further directed to furnish personal bonds of Rs. 200 and sureties of the like amount each to keep peace for one year after their release.
>
> The learned Magistrate acquitted all the nine Hindu accused in the cross-case holding that the charge of rioting against them was "utterly false and frivolous" apparently started by the police and that their prosecution was "merely to maintain a show of impartiality."—*United Press.*

This is another way "to make a riot," though in a sense different from the first one. The Magistrate has said in his judgment that "the whole trouble had been planned from beforehand," that "the Hindus were not assailants," and that "utterly false and frivolous charges were brought against the Hindus."

"A Search in Secret India" and Visva-bharati"

A book has come to our hands from England for review, named "A Search in Secret India." The author is Paul Brunton, an English journalist, who wandered through the heart of India and won "the confidence of those mysterious men—the *Fakirs* and *Yogis*."

> "He beholds their astonishing feats, learns many closely-guarded secrets, lives in their secluded hermitages and jungle retreats—and returns to write this sensational record."

So the publishers, Rider & Co., ask the reader to—

> "Read of the Yogis who can prolong their lives for hundreds of years, stop the heart-beating and yet live, move solid objects without touching them, pass at will into trances where they sit like statues for hours or days, accurately reveal the past or future to a complete stranger."

But Sir Francis Younghusband, who has written a foreword to the book, says:

> "These are all interesting enough in their way and are well worth study by scientific men interested in psychic phenomena. But they are not the real thing. They are not the springs whence spirituality comes gushing.
>
> "They do not form the secret sacred India that Mr. Brunton was seeking. He saw them. He noted them. He describes them. But he pushed through them. Spirituality at its finest and purest is what he wanted. And this he found at last.
>
> "Remote from the haunts of men, deep in the jungles to which—or to the Himalayas—the holiest men in India always return, Mr. Brunton found the very embodiment of all that India holds most sacred. The Maharishee—the Great Sage—was the man who made most appeal to Mr. Brunton. He is not the only one of his kind. Up and down India others—not many, but a very, very few—may be found. They represent the true genius of India, and it is through them the Mighty Genius of the Universe manifests Himself in peculiar degree.
>
> "They, therefore, are among the objects most worth searching for on this earth."

We make no comments on these observations of Sir Francis Younghusband. The sages whom the author found may be real sages and he may have really discovered the secret sacred India he was in search of.

The *Vidyabhavan* or Research Institute of Visva-bharati has been for years engaged, through Professor Kshitimohan Sen Sastri, M.A., in a search for another secret India, the sacred India of the mediaeval age, which existed not merely in forest retreats or in the Himalayas but also, or perhaps mostly in the haunts of men. The mediaeval saints who represented this sacred India did not forsake the world. They were neither society-shunners, nor miracle-mongers and wonder-workers. They are springs whence spirituality still comes gushing. But these fountain-heads of spirituality are, for the most part, not to be found in printed volumes or pamphlets and in many cases not even in *pothis* or manuscript books. Printed books no doubt contain the teachings of such famous saints as Kabir, Dadu, etc., but not *all* their sayings. And there are interpolations and alterations, too. For their unpublished sayings, for their authentic sayings and for the teachings of many less known but not necessarily less spiritually advanced saints and sages one has to make persistent searches along the highways and byways of the country-side, in peasants' huts, in *maths* and temples, in wandering mendicants' retreats—in fact, where not?

Pandit Kishitmohan Sen Sastri, M. A., has been engaged in this kind of very valuable and very difficult *re*-search for years, appreciated and encouraged by Rabindranath Tagore and once in a way by the Calcutta University, which asked him to deliver the Adhar Chandra Mukherjee Lectures in 1929. He delivered them in Bengali, choosing as the general name for his lectures the title, "Bhāratīya Madhyayuge Sādhanār Dhārā," or the Course of Spiritual Endeavour in the Indian Mediaeval Age. When the lectures were published by the Calcutta University in book form, Rabindranath Tagore wrote an illuminating preface to it from which we reproduce only one paragraph in free translation:

> "India has a *sādhanā* (spiritual endeavour) of her own; that is a possession of her inner being. Its stream has kept flowing in the midst of and through all political vicissitudes. It is a matter for surprise that this stream is not confined within the embankments of shastric conformity and approval; if there is any influence of scholarship in it, that is very little. In fact, this spiritual

endeavour is in great measure unshastric, and not governed by social control. Its fountain is in the inmost core of the hearts of the people, it has gushed naturally pushing aside the stony obstacles of injunctions and prohibitions Those in whose hearts there has been a revelation of this spring are mostly men in humble walks of life, and what they have obtained is 'neither by the power of the intellect nor by much listening'."

The treasures which Pandit Kshitimohan has collected in Santiniketan by tramping through the country and mixing with all sorts and conditions of men, of which we do hope he has written a narrative which may hereafter be published, are such as are not perhaps to be found in any other single place or with any other single person in the country. And they are, if we are not mistaken, mostly in Hindi. It is perhaps strange that, though India contains many religious-minded men rich in this world's goods and many *Hindi-premis* (Hindi-lovers) equally wealthy, no one has endowed Visva-bharati with an adequate fund ear-marked for the permanent carrying on of the kind of "*Search in Secret India*" being conducted by a teacher at Visva-bharati. That is perhaps because sufficient publicity has not been given to this side of Visva-bharati's work.

That many do not flock to Pandit Kshitimohan's dilapidated thatched cottage is neither a grievance nor a disadvantage. For he should not be and does not want to be exploited by literary or spiritual or musical adventurers. Real seekers, we believe, have been and are always welcome as students.

Revolutions and Counter-revolutions in Europe

Mussolini seized the supreme power in Italy by a kind of revolution. Whether he will succeed throughout life in preventing a counter-revolution to establish real democracy in his country remains to be seen.

In Germany Hitler became dictator by a revolution, and he has claimed that recently by killing a good many men he has been able to prevent a counter-revolution.

In Austria there have been revolutions and counter-revolutions. And it is just possible that, from a republic, Austria may again become a monarchy.

A sort of revolutionary coup, which failed, was attempted in Lithuania.

In continental Europe some other countries also contain active revolutionaries. There is a struggle going on between the Haves and the Have-nots—call them Fascists and Communists or by any other name that may fit them. Britain is not quite free from this sort of struggle.

In connection with the political occurrences in Germany, we are reminded of the interview which Churchill (junior) had with the ex-Crown Prince of Germany. It was reported that the latter pronounced the opinion that Indians were unfit for self-government. It was a great discovery. When people are not in fact self-governing, it is quite easy, and perhaps not unfair, too, to conclude that they are not fit for self-rule. And when the rulers of these subject people are a powerful nation whom one may not like to offend, it is quite easy, too, to say that these subject people are not fit to rule themselves. For ourselves, long ago, perhaps eighteen years ago, we proved *on paper* to our satisfaction that we were fit for self-rule. But there was a fly in the ointment. We had to conclude our arguments by saying: It may be objected that, if we are fit for self-rule, why are we not self-ruling; that objection can be met only by becoming self-ruling.

There let it rest.

But the ex-Crown Prince may be asked whether his people, the German people, are fit for self-rule. If so, why are they ruled by a despotic dictator?

Similar questions may be asked about the fitness for self-rule of the Italians, the Austrians, etc.

All these peoples are at present not really self-ruling, and *ipso facto* not fit to rule themselves.

Nevertheless, a difference between them and peoples subject to foreign rule must be noted. The struggles in Italy, Germany, Austria, etc., are or were between groups of Nationals of each country. Their tyrants are their own countrymen. Of course, this does not mean that a man enslaved, killed, assailed or despoiled by a countryman of his, is any the less enslaved, killed, assailed or despoiled than if he were enslaved, killed, assailed or despoiled by a foreigner.

Indian Opinion of the White Paper Not known, Not Understood, or Misrepresented in Britain

Among the batch of books received by us on the 28th of July last from England for review is one entitled, *Beyond the White Paper*, "A Discussion of the Evidence Presented Before the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform," by Philip Cox. We have not had time yet to read any of the books received. But as this one has a topical interest we opened it and found that it has a "Summary and Conclusion" at the end, of which the very last paragraph begins thus :

> "So far as I can estimate currents and forces, the way of the White Paper is the only direction in which one can look hopefully in India today. Through it only is it possible to seek a path out of the bog of suspicion and doubt that has surrounded Indo-British relations and engulfed inter-communal fellowship."

The author is entitled to hold and give expression to any opinion he likes. But the opinion to which he has actually given expression is not the Indian opinion. The Congress, the Indian National Liberal Federation, the Hindu Mahasabha, Nationalist Muslims would not agree with him. Even the communalist Muslims, with the Aga Khan at their head, would have joined the Congress in seeking substantial changes in the White Paper if only the Communal Decision had been left quite untouched. Nationalist Indians, who form the vast majority of politically-minded Indians, agree in considering the White Paper scheme a Black Scheme, through which no ray of hope shines. Instead of dispelling Indians' suspicion of Britishers, it has deepened that suspicion. Instead of helping India to shake off communalism, it has thrown India afresh into whirlpools of communalism.

The author proceeds to mention the evidence on which his opinion, quoted above, is based.

> "That this is so is evidenced by a number of recent happenings, which would have been impossible without a growing conviction in India that the White Paper, with all its shortcomings in Indian eyes, has been conceived in sincerity, and represents a genuine attitude on the part of British statesmen towards India's legitimate aspirations."

It is not necessary to doubt that there are Englishmen who *sincerely* believe that India's *legitimate* aspirations should not go beyond a desire to be ruled for ever by practically autocratic Governors-General, Governors, and the steel-frame of the covenanted civil service. But whether British imperialists consider our aspirations legitimate or not, we have aspirations which cannot in the least be satisfied by the White Paper.

But let us come to the author's evidence.

> "The passing of the Reserve Bank Bill by the Indian Legislature during the early months of this year, the recent textile convention between Bombay and Lancashire, the inter-communal unity behind the Memorandum of the British Indian Delegates, and—in a quite separate sphere but no less significant—the enthusiastic reception of the English Test cricketers, are significant pointers to the mood of active co-operation, which is slowly revealing itself in the minds of some at least of India's leading citizens. It will rest with Parliament and the British people, to show by their attitude to the White Paper Scheme—the only concrete scheme with a measure of Indian support behind it that is in the field today—whether they mean to capitalize that mood and turn it to the advantage of both Britain and India, or whether they desire to thrust back this one chance of an honourable and workable settlement."

It is only when one remembers that the British are a nation not only of shopkeepers but of politicians as well that one can refrain from being astonished at the propagandist spirit which can make political capital out of the hospitality and courtesy shown to the English Test cricketers! We fail to understand what that has got to do with the White Paper or the supposed mood of political co-operation even remotely. Even if Winston Churchill and any of his staunch followers came to India in a really non-political capacity, they would be met as human beings courteously, as Indians have no personal quarrel with Englishmen. Does the author think that even English cricketers ought to have been pelted by Indians with rotten eggs to prove to him that they detested the White Paper?

The Indian Legislature was unrepresentative even when elected and has now become still more so. No legislature representing nationalist India would have passed the Reserve Bank Bill in the form in which it was passed. Even in the present subservient and effete Legislature there was strong criticism of and opposition to it.

The textile convention "between Bombay and Lancashire" may have pleased Lancashire,

but it has had a very hot reception in Bombay and throughout India. It was a convention, not between Bombay and Lancashire, but between Lancashire and one Bombay-man who acted in an unrepresentative and unwarranted manner.

The men from British India who appeared before the Joint Select Committee were not "delegates," they were not chosen by any Indian organization. They were nominees of the Government of India chosen by it to serve its own purpose. . If the leaders of the Congress, the Indian National Liberal Federation, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League had been the delegates and if they had drawn up the Memorandum, then one could have rightly spoken of inter-communal unity underlying it.

"*Some at least*" (how many ?) of India's inhabitants is delightful ! But are they "citizens" ? Are they really "leading" citizens ?

"A measure of Indian support" is also enjoyable ! But it is a microscopic measure.

The author may rest assured that the White Paper does not offer any chance of "settlement" with Indians. Indians do not consider it workable. And they think it would be the reverse of honourable for them to accept it.

British Opponents of the White Paper

Just as there are British supporters of the White Paper, who see or profess to see in it the salvation of Britain and India, so there are Britishers who oppose it, thinking or professing to think that it embodies the policy of "scuttle," of surrender, and of disruption of the British Empire, though it really does nothing of the kind. Both the parties are wrong and are probably acting a part. *The Morning Post* is one of the foremost Tory organs which oppose or profess to oppose the White Paper. Its political correspondent writes under date July 16th last :

> Opposition to the Government's White Paper Indian proposals has become so strong, both within the Joint Select Committee and in the country that the Government are now doubtful whether the Committee will be able to complete its report by the end of the year.
>
> This delay, together with the abandonment of all hope of an unanimous report, is causing serious anxiety among supporters of the White Paper policy.
>
> Seven weeks will have passed to-morrow since the Chairman of the Committee, Lord Linlithgow presented his draft report. The belief in official circles then was that the draft report would have been forced through the Committee and published by the end of this month.
>
> Within a few days it became apparent that the final report could not be expected before the end of October. It is now uncertain whether it will be available before the New Year.
>
> A number of factors are causing delay. The most important is the fact that the draft report is being contested, line by line, from two sides—by the Conservative opponents of surrender and by the Socialists.
>
> The course now being pursued by the Socialists on the Committee is no longer that of friendly co-operation with the Government which they have hitherto adopted in the House of Commons. The Government have, therefore, found themselves deprived of support which they have found valuable in fighting Conservative opposition.
>
> Even without the support of the Socialists, however, the Secretary for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, commands a majority of nearly three to one against the Conservative opposition on the Committee. It is, therefore, clearly within his power to force a majority report through the Committee substantially unamended, should he deem it expedient to do so.
>
> But when the proceedings of the Committee are published, showing the amendments which have been put forward, there is reason to believe that they will disclose two distinct sets of amendments, each amounting, in effect, to a minority report. In addition, it is expected, there will be the amendments of groups less distinctly defined than the Conservative and Socialist oppositions.
>
> Should these anticipations be fulfilled, Mr. Baldwin's task when he consults the Conservative Party in accordance with his pledge, will be even more difficult than it at first appeared. For he will have to admit that the net result of the Select Committee's proceedings has been loss of Socialist support for the White Paper and a corresponding increase in the opposition to it.
>
> It is further recognized in Government circles that the increasing delay of the Select Committee in producing a report in itself constitutes a serious menace to the surrender policy.
>
> The programme of Parliamentary business has already been disturbed, and the Government have been forced to abandon their pledge in the King's Speech to introduce the Indian Constitution Bill in Parliament this session. It is now felt to be doubtful whether it will be possible to pass the Bill next session.
>
> A period of at least four months, it is pointed out, will be necessary for drafting the Bill and subsequent consultation with the Government of India.
>
> In addition, the revolt of the Conservative organizations in the country grows from month to month in strength, despite official attempts to "muzzle" the Party conferences. Every month of delay, it is felt, is increasing the prospect that the surrender policy will be rejected when Mr. Baldwin consults the Party.

It is a ridiculous travesty of truth to say or suggest that the White Paper "surrenders"

to the people of India a title of real power. Nationalist India will be delighted if it is scrapped lock, stock and barrel at the earliest opportunity.

New Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University

Power without responsibility is as bad an arrangement as responsibility without power. The best arrangement is the combination of responsibility and power in the hands of the same person. From this point of view the nomination of Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji, M. A., B. L., Barrister-at-Law, to the Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University deserves commendation. He has been the leading spirit among the senators and syndics for years past, being the *de facto* head of the ruling party. It was, therefore, desirable that he should be made duly responsible for what the senate and the syndicate do.

But it is not merely from the point of view of the same person being vested with both power and responsibility that his appointment can be supported. He has sufficient intellectual equipment, driving power, leadership and ability, and he can devote, as he has been doing, sufficient time and energy to the work of the University, the details of which he has mastered. He has in him the making of an excellent Vice-chancellor. But beyond that we must not at present go in praise of the appointment.

It would not be right to judge him by his past, which is not of uniform character, one way or the other—for, though he is only 33, he has a past as a senator. Let him rise above his surroundings, whenever necessary.

It is to be regretted that one ominous thing has already happened—whether by chance or as the result of scheming we cannot definitely say. He is the Vice-chancellor and he has also become President of the Council of Post-graduate Studies in Arts. Is this the first step in the harmful process of concentration of all power in one hand ? Surely, among the scholarly professors of the University who are eligible and other scholars who are eligible there were several men eminently fit for this office. Let Mr. Mukherjee beware of "vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself,"—and of the flattery or silence of newspaper men enjoying or seeking patronage.

It is to be hoped that, in order to become Vice-chancellor, he has not committed himself in the matter of the officially proposed board of secondary education, or in the matter of the details of the scheme according to which the vernacular is to be the medium of instruction and examination up to the Matriculation, or in any other matter.

The Late Kaviraj Syamadas Vachaspati

In the late Kaviraj Syamadas Vachaspati Bengal, nay India, has lost an eminent Ayurvedic physician. He was as great a Sanskrit scholar in some directions as he was a physician. His philanthropy was well known. A staunch and orthodox Hindu, he respected the religious views of other, and had a liberal religious outlook. He was a self-made man, and rose from poverty to opulence by sheer merit. Whatever help and sympathy he



Kaviraj Syamadas Vachaspati

received in the days of struggle he never forgot, but repaid with abundance of service and gratitude. He founded the Vaidyashastra-Pith for imparting education to students—to many *gratis*—in the Ayurveda, with a hospital attached for the relief and cure of sick men, women and children.

Kapurthala to have a British De Facto Ruler ?

It is reported that the task of administering the Kapurthala State is to be entrusted to an officer in British India of the British race. No wonder.

For some reason or other, in recent years such appointments have been made in several States. And the number of Musalman Dewans in Hindu States is not small. British administrators in Muslim States and Hindu Dewans of Muslim States, if any, are not as plentiful.

Is this accidental, or the result of some Anglo-Muslim *entente* necessitated by the proposed federation of British India with the Indian States ?

M. L. A.s and Zanzibar Indians

It is known to the public that there is going to be some very effective anti-Indian legislation in Zanzibar which will result either in the Indian settlers there being squeezed out of the country or being practically ruined and reduced to helotage. Most of these settlers are in religion followers of the Aga Khan. He sent a cable to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to organize a nation-wide protest against the above-mentioned anti-Indian legislation. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya telegraphed to the leaders of parties in the Legislative Assembly to wait in deputation on the Viceroy and make a representation to him on the subject. Thereupon Sir Hari Singh Gour and Mr. K. C. Neogy decided to see Sir Fazli Hussain first in the company of some other M. L. A.s. to know the facts. But on the appointed day and hour none of these other gentlemen, Muslim or Hindu, turned up !

Devastating Floods

There have been devastating floods in some districts of Assam, east and north Bengal, and Bihar. There has been loss of many human lives, loss of cattle, great damage to crops and destruction of other property on a large scale. Altogether the sufferings of the people have been and continue to be indescribable. Without in any way suggesting any comparison with the catastrophic earthquake shocks in Bihar, it may be said that the floods too have been very destructive, and the sufferers, whose number is very large, deserve every sympathy and help. But unhappily no adequate effort is being made to help them. The earthquake engaged the attention of the most prominent leaders—from Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya downwards. A good many of them visited the affected areas. Nothing similar has been done by the public for the flood-stricken areas and people, particularly of Bengal. Is it because the areas affected are out of the way and rather inaccessible, not lying along the broad trade route stretching from Peshawar and Kalka to Howrah ? Or has the succession of calamities made even our great men callous like us ordinary mortals ? Or is political controversy engrossing all attention, leaving nothing to be devoted to human suffering ? Or may there be some other cause ?

Muhammadan Sporting Club's Achievement

For the first time in its history, an Indian team, the Muhammadan Sporting Club, consisting of players from different provinces of India, has won the Calcutta Football League championship, defeating European and other Indian Clubs. This is a feather in the Muhammadan Club's cap.

Indian Footballers in South Africa

The Indian Football Team which went to South Africa to play with South African Indian Teams has won laurels all along the line. When a South African Indian Team visits India they may have the same good luck. The Indian Team consisted of Praphulla Mukherji (manager), Srish Chakravarti, Naren Guha, Amiya Ganguli, Satya Majumdar, Sati Chaudhury, Manmatha Datta (captain), Karuna Bhattacharya, Prabhas Banerji, Akhil Ahmed, Nasim, Mir Hosain, Mohamed Hosain, Ramana, Lakshmi Narain, and N. Ghosh. They were

not, of course, invited or allowed to play with white footballers—because of colour prejudice and perhaps also because the whites were afraid of being defeated. We learn from *Indian Opinion* that when the steamer carrying the Indian team reached port, the South-African Indians waiting to receive them were not allowed to board the steamer, though the white friends of white passengers were allowed to do so as a matter of course.

Olympic Games in 1936 at Berlin

Olympic Games News Service of Berlin says :

> Germany has invited the nations of the world to participate in the Olympic Games of 1936. The German gymnastic and sport movement knows the obligations which it has thus assumed. Not only is the task placed upon it of equipping itself for the contests with the best of the world, but also of demonstrating to the representatives of all countries in 1936 that the German nation, as host, has conscientiously and whole-heartedly prepared for the Olympic Games.
>
> The countries which have hitherto decided to participate in the next Olympic Games are :
>
> Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Columbia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Yugoslavia
>
> The International Olympic Committee at its meeting in Athens recognized the National Olympic Committees newly established by Egypt and Palestine, so that these two countries have now fulfilled the condition for their participation in the Olympic Games. They have therefore been extended the same invitations as was issued at the end of last year to other countries by the Berlin and Garmisch-Partenkirchen Organization Committees. Good progress is being made in respect of the new constructions required for the contests. The Berlin municipality has undertaken the task of extending the four main thoroughfares with two bridges, leading to the Stadium. This work will be completed by the middle of 1935. The festive aspect of the Olympic Games is under preliminary discussion. The competition for an Olympic hymn, which fired many poetic minds, has brought in so many responses that an exceptional result may be anticipated ; Richard Strauss in the non-distant future will receive the text to which he will supply the music.
>
> The Olympic Art Exhibition, to be held in Hall 8 on the Fair Grounds, in addition to the works of all nations entered for the competitions will include examples of German art outside the competitions. The best works of antiquity will also be shown, some from German excavations and in German possession, and others either originals or replicas loaned from abroad.

"Cultural Fellowship in India"

Years ago, in the now-defunct magazine *Welfare,* we wrote a note indicating how the appreciation of one another's music, painting, architecture, sculpture, etc., and of one another's ethical and spiritual idealism, by the different communities and races of India would be one of the most potent means of producing real inter-communal unity in the country. Such genuine mutual cultural appreciation should never be lost sight of. So when some two years ago Mr. Atulananda Chakrabarti showed us a paper in which he had brought together passages from the scriptures of different communities embodying similar ethical and spiritual ideals, we commended his endeavour. We are glad to find that he has since elaborated and expanded his theme and published a book on "Cultural Fellowship in India." It ought to find an adequate number of serious readers, and the subject at least a few more earnest researchers.

Tariff Board on Protection of Indian Steel Industry

Indians are unanimous that the Indian steel industry still requires protection. There is a difference of opinion as to how that protection should be given—by bounties or in the way in which it has hitherto been protected. But it is not the business of the Tariff Board of India or of the Indian Legislature to give protection and preference to British steel or steel products under the guise of protecting Indian steel. But if a subservient board and a subservient legislature choose to please their masters, surprise need not be felt.

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber has sent the following telegram to the Commerce Department of the Government of India *re* the Tariff Board report on protection to the Indian steel industry :

> "Committee Indian Merchants Chamber deplore the trend of the Tariff Board report on Steel Industry, because it puts forward proposal to reduce level of protection in spite of previous scheme having failed in its objective. They strongly protest against the Tariff Board going below line of revenue duties which will introduce vicious principle. The need for such course is not established and this becomes objectionable because it involves in present depleted state of India's finances direct sacrifice of taxpayers' money in the interests, not of Indian industry, but of the British manufacturer. Committee protest against the pro-

posal for the introduction of excise duty on Steel for which direct taxation on production there is no justification as a normal expedient in Indian finance. The position of Indian manufacturer in the matter of tested steel is weakened by deliberate preference to Britain, while there is no guarantee that Britain will not dump on to this country untested steel at specially low prices. The proposed reciprocity through free entry of Indian Pig into Britain is unconvincing, as it involves preponderating advantage to British interests in low duty on British sheets. The Committee request Government to stand by this national industry and to devise scheme which will enable the existing company to prosper and induce new works to come into existence so as to make India self-sufficient."

"Protection" to Steel

As we go to press, the text of the Iron and Steel Duties Bill to be introduced in the Legislative Assembly has been published. The publication of the Tariff Board Report had prepared the public and the steel industry for what might otherwise have come as a bombshell. For the Board had shown little compunction in withdrawing at one stroke all the protection which the Tata Iron and Steel Co. had earned by a unique record of service alike to the Government and the people. They have carried a stage further the work of those economic counterparts of Clive and Hastings who gathered at Ottawa to fence the empire as a close preserve for the decadent industries of Great Britain. The Tariff Board has found, by a reasoning which betrays at every stage the anxiety for a specific conclusion, that in all cases of goods sold directly in competition with British products the Indian industry does not require any protection at all, or, if any is needed, not more than what is afforded by the normal rates of revenue duties. And they have gone to the length of specifically recommending that the revenue duties on a wide range of steel products should be removed.

The Government of India have naturally been quick to take action on such findings and recommendations. And it is significant that they have torn off the mask of protection, which the Tariff Board would fain keep to shroud their hideous scheme of Imperial Preference, and have called the new legislation the Iron and Steel Duties Bill. There is no doubt that the Board have emboldened the Government to be ruthless to the Indian Industry. In the place of the revenue duties, which are virtually done away with, come the countervailing duties against an imposition of an excise of Rs. 4 per ton as on all steel ingots produced within the country. The Tariff Board recommended the removal of revenue duties and they also suggested that, in case the Government are not in a position to sacrifice revenue, they might levy an excise and a countervailing customs duty. The result of the Government's adoption of the latter alternative is that the Tata Company would have to pay out in hard cash the excise duty on their total output at quite an early stage of the manufacturing process, while all that the Government has done is to weaken the position of the Company and endanger the prospects of the profitable marketting of the Tatas' products.

It is strange how a protected key industry comes all of a sudden to be denied even the advantage of normal revenue duties. All economists, including those of the Ottawa brand, are agreed that there can be no objection to normal revenue duties. And if India alone should proceed to demolish them and rear excise and countervailing duties in their place, it can be attributed only to the virus of Imperial preference which was injected into her at Ottawa. The poison is spreading every day. Is complete Self-government the only antidote ?

Dr. Hutton's Census Report and "Man in India" Special Number

In the special number (April—June, 1934) of *Man in India*, edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., the distinguished anthropologist of Ranchi, the theories of the origin of the *Varna* or caste divisions of Hindus which hold the field have been commented upon. One of the important pre-Aryan theories of caste is that formulated in the last *Census Report of India* by Dr. J. H. Hutton.

> "This theory traces the essential elements in caste to different pre-Aryan peoples,—pre-Dravidian or as they have been termed, 'Proto-Australoid,' Dravidian,—and Mongolian,—and credits the Aryan emigrants with merely describing in terms of an intensive Indo-Aryan society a social system really based on pre-existing conditions."

Mr. Roy has dealt with the supposed Dravidian element in caste in discussing Slater's Dravidian theory. He has subjected

Dr. Hutton's arguments to a detailed scholarly examination which deserves the attention of anthropologists. We are not anthropologists ; but it seems to us a little too original to suggest or assert that the Brahmans are descended from Dravidian witch-doctors. It is still more startlingly original to identify the Vedic *Brahma* with the *mana* of the Polynesian and other primitive races. This latter hypothesis has been subjected by Mr. Roy to very scholarly, able and elaborate criticism. By discussing the *mana* idea of different countries and races, he has attempted to show that even if the interpretation of the Vedic *Brahma* by European Vedic scholars be accepted, it is not the same as the primitive *mana* which Hutton and Pargiter would make it out to be.

Mr. Roy's criticisms ought to be seriously considered at the International Anthropological Congress, to which he was invited but which he could not attend.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's and Mr. M. S. Aney's Resignation

The circumstances under which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. M. S. Aney have resigned from the Congress Parliamentary Board are much to be deplored. They resigned because of difference in principle between them and the majority in the Board. But of course, their future activities will be strictly nationalistic and in accordance with Congress principles, except in the matter of the communal "award." If they want to form a nationalist party in the next Assembly, their election manifesto may very well be based upon the Hindu Mahasabha's manifesto issued just before the last Karachi session of the Congress.

Congress Parliamentary Board's Election Manifesto

The following is the text of the Congress Parliamentary Board's election manifesto :

The Parliamentary Board appointed by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held in Patna on May 29, appeals to the voters of the Legislative Assembly at the ensuing elections to record their votes in favour of the Congress candidates.

CONGRESS POLICY

The Congress policy has been declared and the Board has received its mandate from the Working Committee in the following resolution passed by the latter body in Bombay on June 17 :--

[Here follows the Congress Working Committee's resolution, published in our last number.—Ed., *M. R.*]

Though much has been written for and against the part of the resolution regarding the so-called Communal Award the line is absolutely clear so far as the Congress candidates are concerned. By common consent it is intrinsically bad. It is anti-national. But the Congress cannot refuse to take into account the attitude of the Mussalmans in general who seem to want the Award, nor can the Congress accept it as the Hindus and the Sikhs in general reject it. No other policy than that explained above is consistent with the aim and history of the Congress which has throughout stood for peace and unity and founded all its activities on the firm belief that the various communities in India will act justly and honourably towards one another. The only thing, therefore, that the Congress candidates and the Congress can do is to promote and assist in securing an agreed solution. Suffice it to say that we shall never reach such a solution by appealing to a third party or power. Then again those who have confidence about successful opposition to the White Paper proposals need not feel concerned about the Award. They should know that if the White Paper lapses the Award which was framed for the White Paper must automatically lapse. If the Award is bad, the White Paper is worse. The Parliamentary Board has therefore to concentrate the attention of the voters on the rejection of the White Paper and as only alternative to it upon securing the convening of the Constituent Assembly.

The White Paper is in no way designed to secure a complete or even partial independence. It can easily retard the Nation's progress towards it. It proposes a costly pretender of representative institutions in India with all real control retained abroad. The safeguards with which it bristles are not conceived for the protection of the interests in India. If the proposals contained in the White Paper are carried out, there will be no national control over Army or External Affairs and the burden of the military expenditure will remain what it has been and in effect the foreign control will continue over the finance and the economic policy of India. If it is said that the White Paper proposals at least seek to give complete autonomy to the provinces, it is hedged in by restrictions that make it a sham and a shadow. No wonder almost all the parties have more or less condemned the White Paper scheme.

What is the alternative? Though the Congress claims to represent the whole nation, in the opinion of the Government it is only one of the political parties, albeit, very powerful. Time will show what the position of the Congress is in the country. Votes at the ensuing elections may also show it somewhat. But it is clear that the Congress must not frame a constitution only to be rejected by Government. The Working Committee has, therefore, as stated above, suggested an infallible alternative—a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as may be. We know that such an Assembly can be convened by an agreement between the governing power and the people. We have this in contemplation. We do not despair of its acceptance, if the electors choose their representa-

tives in forthcoming elections with a clear mandate that the Constituent Assembly is the only alternative to the White Paper. True, the existing franchise is narrow and, therefore, not truly representative of the masses. The constitution of the Assembly is further such that the members elected by the people cannot play an effective part in it. Nevertheless, if the verdict of the electorate is unequivocal it cannot be flouted.

If the voters reject the White Paper and insist on the Constitutent Assembly, it will no longer be said by the British Bureaucracy that people are quite satisfied with the methods and measures of the British Government and whatever they plan for them. It will be no small gain to have the illusion dispelled. Every vote for the Congress candidate, *i.e.*, for the Constituent Assembly in the place of the White Paper, will help to clear the atmosphere. We hope that all communities will unite on this simple issue.

The rejection of the White Paper and the acceptance of the Constituent Assembly is not all that the Congress representatives will attempt. They cannot be unmindful of the reactionary legislation passed during past few years, unhappily often, with the elected members' votes. Nor can they be unmindful of the way in which the non-violent struggle for liberty was met by ordinances of extraordinary severity or of the greatest sacrifices of the thousands of Congressmen, including many women who went to prison, suffered privations and lathi charges and submitted to heavy fines and confiscation of property. It will be the duty of those Congress candidates who will be elected to press for the restoration of, wherever possible, and repeal of repressive laws and of the ordinances now called Acts of the legislatures. Extraordinary drastic methods adopted towards the Congress organizations in the Frontier Province will also demand their special attention. It will also be their duty to demand an impartial scrutiny of the methods adopted by the Bengal Government to meet Terrorism and to take measures to give effect to public opinion in regard to them.

The Congress Parliamentary Party will miss no opportunity of rendering such national service, be it small or great as is possible through the legislatures. We are fully aware that the powers of the legislatures, provincial and central, are too small for our effort. The Nation must make for the realization of its goal of complete independence.

The constructive programme of the Congress the successful prosecution of which alone can make our demand irresistible, can be most effectively carried on only outside the legislatures. But there are matters which can only be dealt with through legislatures and which will engage the attention of the Congress Party.

Let the voters show unmistakably whether they stand for Congress method and objective, or whether they are satisfied with the bureaucratic rule and its methods.

ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

The manifesto also adumbrates the Party's economic programme on the lines of the Karachi Congress resolution on the Fundamental Rights since included in the Bombay A.I.C.C. resolution of August, 1931, in order to end the exploitation of the masses and providing for the real economic freedom of the starving millions.

The Congress Working Committee's resolution and its attitude towards the Communal Decision having been fully discussed in our last issue, it is not necessary to do so in this number. Other comments may follow.

Council Entry and the Congress

We have been repeatedly contending that the Congress could send some members to the Councils and keep others engaged in outside work—there being plenty of Congresswalas for both fields, and that if Congressmen had been in the Councils throughout they could have prevented certain things happening. Whether anybody supported us or not, we were perfectly right. Confirmation of this view comes from Gandhiji's speech at Benares on the 29th July, in the course of which he is reported to have said :

> Several things in connection with civil disobedience and other matters might not have happened, as they had happened, had there been Congressmen in the Legislatures. Even if civil disobedience had to be restarted, the Congress might not call upon Congress members of the Legislatures to come out, they could easily spare about a thousand Congressmen for work in the Legislatures. To-day the Government were enacting repressive measure after repressive measure, like the Bengal Act recently passed by the Assembly, and claiming before the world that they had the support of the elected members of the Assembly for the purpose. The Congress would be able to deprive the Government of that excuse.

Dr. Sir Upendranath Brahmachari as Bio-chemical Discoverer

At an evening party held by the Calcutta Medical Club Dr. Sir Upendra Nath Brahmachari was congratulated on his knighthood by the president Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar.

> Referring to his services to the medical world Sir Nilratan said that it was perhaps not generally known that Sir Upendranath was the pioneer in the field of bio-chemical research in India. He recalled the history of the discovery of Urea Stibamina and said that notwithstanding many difficulties and disadvantages Sir Upendra succeeded in discovering a drug which saved millions of lives in India and abroad. He then mentioned how Sir Upendranath began his research work in a small room of the Campbell Hospital under a kerosene light, and said that he will be remembered by posterity as a teacher and research worker. The speaker was sure that his example would serve as a beacon light to young medical practitioners.

Perpetuation of Bengal Terrorist Act

We condemn the perpetuation of the Act for the deportation outside Bengal of Bengalis

imprisoned for an indefinitely long period without charge and without trial. If there is terrorism in any country, the people concerned are no doubt responsible for it, but its Government is also responsible. And a Government which has to try to fight the evil by the non-legal or extra-legal means adopted in Bengal unintentionally admits its failure and its lack of statesmanship.

Midnapur Allegations

The allegations to which Mr. S. C. Mitra called attention some months ago in the Legislative Assembly, relating to the conduct of some troops and of some other Government servants in the Midnapur district were replied to officially in the Assembly recently. It was stated in effect that on enquiry all the allegations had been found to be false! As such enquiries are *not open public* enquiries by officials or non-officials or both combined, but are merely like asking the accused parties or their superior officers whether the allegations are true, we do not attach any importance to them, and do not, therefore, feel called upon to examine the official statement in reply in detail.

No Division of Jobs on Population Basis

Recently at Noakhali it was declared in effect by His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, that the Government had never accepted the principle of giving each community appointments in the public services according to its numerical strength or percentage to the total population. This must be true. So one has to square it with the facts. Perhaps His Excellency was speaking of the Bengal Government, not the Government of India; for the latter *has* actually alloted a certain percentage of jobs to certain communities. Or perhaps he was uttering the literal truth; for the allotment of jobs by the Government of India was not for *each and every* community, but only for some communities. In another sense also the Governor is literally right. For the jobs to be given by the Government of India to Muslims, Anglo-Indians, etc., were not in proportion to but in excess of their numerical strength.

Even if His Excellency's words were uttered in relation only to Bengal, he was literally right; for the principle of assignment of jobs has been adopted only in the case of Muslims, not in that of each and every community. For example, it is shown in the *Government of Bengal Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for the Years 1927-1932*, page 83, that Muhammadan teachers form 46.8 per cent and Muhammadan inspecting officers form 54.2 per cent of the total number. And it is observed on page 83:

> "It appears that the Moslems are well represented on the inspecting branch, but the number of teachers in secondary schools and specially in high schools is inadequate. No direct appointment to the general posts of Sub-divisional Inspectors, sub-inspectors, assistant headmasters of Government schools and normal schools, and English and Vernacular teachers, in any division, is ordinarily sanctioned if the strength of the Muhammadan educational officers in the division is below 45 per cent."

Moslems are 54.8 per cent of the population of Bengal. If Government had accepted the principle of division of jobs exactly according to percentage of population, then in the last line of the extract the limit prescribed would have been 54·8 per cent. So His Excellency was quite accurate in his statement.

No doubt at Noakhali His Excellency said that 53 per cent of the ministerial officers of the Collectorate and 41 per cent in the Civil Courts of the district were Moslems, and four out of five Deputy Collectors (80 per cent) and ten out of thirteen Sub-deputy Collectors (77 per cent) were Moslems. But these figures only bear out the correctness of his assertion; for in no case is the percentage exactly 54·8, being in two cases below and two cases above that figure.

Gandhiji on the Housing of Calcutta Harijans

Mahatma Gandhi in replying to the address given to him by the Calcutta Corporation rightly called attention to the disgraceful housing conditions of the Calcutta Harijans. They should be improved as rapidly as possible.

The Proposed Removal of Pusa Institute

We are entirely opposed to the proposed removal of the Pusa Agricultural Institute to

the neighbourhood of Delhi at a cost of from Rs. 36 to Rs. 50 lakhs. The arguments against Pusa are not cogent. No scientist can say that Delhi is earthquake-proof, storm-proof, drought-proof, etc. Nor can it be said that Delhi is more suitable for agricultural research than Pusa. The inaccessibility of Pusa has been vastly exaggerated. One morning we started from Muzaffarpur after 8 A. M., saw all the kinds of work being done there, returned to Muzaffarpur, had our bath and lunch and started for Calcutta the same day by railway train at noon. Nor does it at all matter that it is not centrally situated — for that matter Delhi, too, is not centrally situated. What matters is whether the researches carried on there about some crops are of advantage to the areas where these crops are grown. And it is well known, *e.g.*, that the improved varieties of wheat produced at Pusa have been of advantage to the Panjab, U. P., etc. Coimbatore is even less centrally situated than Pusa. Yet the superior type of sugarcane obtained at Coimbatore has been widely adopted all over India.

"India's Loyalty"

In a speech at Edinburgh Lord Willingdon paid a warm tribute to the loyalty of the people and princes of India. Whether Indians are spoken of as loyal or as disloyal, in neither case is it of any advantage to them. If they are spoken of as loyal, the average Britisher's conclusion is, "Then our rule must be very good and no change is necessary." If, on the contrary, Indians are spoken of as disloyal, the conclusion is, "Don't grant any boons to the ungrateful wretches."

The Army Bill

We are opposed to the creation of a class of Indian officers for the Indian army whose status and powers are to be inferior to those of British officers having the King's commission, as the Army Bill intends to do.

Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian States' People

Mahatma Gandhi's reply to Mr. N. C. Kelkar regarding the attitude of the Congress to the Indian States has produced discontent among their people. The Working Committee of the Indian States' People's Conference has passed a resolution of which we quote the following portion :

> (*i*) That Mahatmaji's view of the constitutional and legal position of the States is incorrect.
>
> (*ii*) That the States are an integral part of the political India as envisaged in the constitution of the Indian National Congress.
>
> (*iii*) That it is the constitutional duty of the Indian National Congress apart from its moral obligation, to render effective help to the people of the States, in their endeavours to secure freedom for themselves.
>
> (*iv*) That this Committee is of opinion that safeguarding of the interests of the people of the States should be one of the essential conditions to secure the consent of the Congress to any constitutional changes of the country.

In an article published in its issue of the 11th July last, *The Daily Sun*, the organ of the Indian States' People's Conference, stoutly assails the position taken up by Gandhiji, and not at all without success.

"A Bad Decision"

Advance, a Congress paper, says in its issue of the 31st July last that the Congress Working Committee's decision relating to the communal "award" is "a bad decision.' It observes :

> "We are convinced that Panditji and Mr. Aney have made out an unanswerable case. All the logic and precedents are on their side and not unfortunately on the side of Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee."

We do not know what case the former have made out, but we think we ourselves made out a strong case against the Working Committee's resolution in our last issue.

Census of Overcrowded Houses in Madras

> Madras, June, 2.
>
> According to the census of the overcrowded houses recently conducted by the corporation, which has just been published, the city has 4,470 houses and huts with a total number of 71,380 inmates. 2,588 houses are without water taps, while 2,256 houses are without latrines. In Mylapore, the least congested division in park town, 2,771 people are living in 23 houses.

Such a census ought to be taken in other big cities also, and overcrowding should be made a punishable offence.

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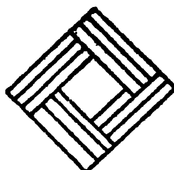




IN EXPECTATION

By Saradindu Saha

THE MODERN REVIEW

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"I AM HE"

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

IN the Brihadaranyak Upanishad there is a remarkable verse :

अथ योऽन्यां देवाम् उपास्ते
अन्योऽसौ अन्योऽहम् अस्मीति
न स वेद, अथ पशुरेव स देवतानाम् ।

"A person who worships God as exterior to himself does not know him, he is like an animal belonging to the gods."

This statement may rouse angry remonstrance. Should man then worship his own self ? Is it possible to offer oneself in self-devotion ? Then the whole process of worship becomes a mere magnification of the ego.

The truth is quite opposite. Glorification of ego is the prerogative even of the animals, but it is only man who can realize *Bhumā*, immensity, within his own soul as detached from his ego. It is easy to place one's God outside and worship him through traditional ceremonies, observance of injunctions and taboos but the difficulty comes when we have to realize and acknowledge the divine man in our own thoughts and actions. Therefore is it said :

नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यः ।

"They who are weak cannot attain the truth of the Eternal Spirit."

स य आत्मा अपहत पाप्मा विजरो
विमृत्युर्विशोकोऽविजिघित्सोऽपिपासः
सत्यकामः सत्यसङ्कल्पः सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः स विजिज्ञासितव्यः ।

"The great soul who is within me, who is beyond age and death and sorrow, beyond hunger and thirst, He who is true in thought and in action, Him we must seek, Him we must know."

This seeking and knowing him is not seeking and knowing outside oneself. It is knowing through becoming, receiving through being true within.

As man is essentially a spirit this principle of unity holds good in all departments of his life. He must identify himself with his family and then in his service to it there can be no indignity. The mother is spiritually one with her child, otherwise she would become a maidservant. When our government is not foreign to us, when it represents our own will, then we are saved from humiliation in our relation to it. And in our Indian philosophy we realize the dignity of man in our spiritual identification with God himself, for it is truth, and man is never पशुरेव देवतानाम, "like an animal belonging to the gods." The true freedom is not in isolation, it is in the profound union which is perfect.

I have already said that the knowledge of things which man attains by overcoming personal idiosyncracies and prejudices is called science. It is valuable, because it is acceptable to all men. Similarly, the self in man which transcends his self-interest finds its infinite truth in union with All. Its actions are विश्वकर्म, universal actions. The functions

of the isolated self are a bondage, the functions of the universal self are unfettered. The Upanishad has said :

युक्तात्मानः सर्वमेवाविशन्ति

"The individual souls united with the Supreme Soul enter everywhere."

And this is the freedom of spirit which we must attain.

The truth which has been acknowledged by our scriptures, known as 'I am He'—सोऽहं, sounds like a prodigious egoism but it is not so. It has not exaggerated the small self which is isolated but expressed the great soul which comprehends all. This word सोऽहं carries assurance of the truth of a grand unity which waits to be realized and justified by the individual.

Man's passions come in between and divide the realization of सोऽहं, "I am He", into a duality, and our ego becomes disproportionately augmented. Therefore the Upanishad says मा गृधः, "Covet not". Greed tempts the world-man and turns him into a worldly man. The enjoyment which is fit for human beings is an enjoyment which is shared with all, it is universal. It is expressed in man's art, his literature, it is manifested in his social doings, in the hospitality of his love. Therefore our scripture says अतिथि देवोभव:, the guest is divine. Because into the house of the individual man comes the guest, the representative of the universal man, he extends the limits of the home towards the world. If this invitation is obstructed, then it is penury even for a royal household. In this hospitality lies the philosophy of सोऽहं, that is to say, I am in union with him who is mine and who is more than me. In our country there are some *sanyasis* who translate in their lives the philosophy of सोऽहं into extreme inactivity and callousness. They torture the body in order to cross the boundaries of animal existence, they also discard the independent responsibility of man in their presumption to deny and transcend humanity. They give up the ego which is attached to materials, they also disregard the soul which is united with all souls. That which they call *Bhumā* is not the *Isha* of the Upanishad who dwells in the union of all, their *Bhumā* is divorced from all others and therefore has no responsibilities of action. They do not recognize him who is पौरुषं नृषु, who is humanity in man, who is mahatma and visvakarma, in whom work is not fragmentary work but world-work.

Man was once a barbarian, he lived on the plane of the animal; his mind, his work, then, were confined within the limits of his bare physical existence. And then he was पशुरेव देवतानाम्, "like an animal belonging to the gods"; he was in a servile manner afraid of his gods and tried to appease them with flattery and incantations; the divine in himself remained self-oblivious. When his mind was illumined his awakened consciousness journeyed along widening avenues of life, crossing the frontiers of individual life into the universal life of humanity. From my friend Kshitimohan's rich storehouse of medieval Indian poetry I have got these precious words of the seer Rajjab. He says—

सब साँच मिले सो साँच है ना मिले सो झूँठ ;
जन रज्जब साँच कही भावइ रिझि भावइ रूठ ।

—"That which conforms to all truth is truth, that which does not conform is false, this is wisdom, says Rajjab, whether it angers or pleases you."

It is evident that Rajjab knew that the majority of men would be angry at his words. Their opinions and customs were at variance with universal truth, yet they could claim them to be true and lie enmeshed in coils of unreality; indeed the very consciousness of an inner disharmony roused their excitement to an aggressive pitch. Trying to refute truth by angry remonstrance is like trying to pierce the flame with a knife. The knife cannot kill truth, it can kill man himself. Yet standing before that fury one has to say.

सब साँच मिले सो साँच है
ना मिले सो झूँठ ।

"That which conforms to all truth is truth, that which does not conform is false."

When one day a solitary scientist declared that the earth revolves round the sun, through his own intellect he revealed the mind of the Universal Man. On that day millions of people were bitterly angry at his words, by the terrorism of force they wanted

to make him say that it is the sun itself which revolves round the earth. But however numerous those other people may have been, by denying truth they at once denounced their eternal humanity. On that day alone in the midst of fierce opponents the man of truth declared सोऽहं, "I am He", that is to say, my individual knowledge and that of the eternal man are one.

Even if many millions of men say that because of some special combination of certain stars and planets in the immeasurable distance of space some supernatural force is generated in the river of a particular province of this earth, and that by bathing in its waters sins of the bather along with those of his forefathers are washed away, then we must stand up and say—

सब साँच मिले सो साँच है
ना मिले सो झूँठ।

—With the universal mind of man this does not agree, therefore it is untrue.

But where it has been said—

"अद्भिर्गात्राणि शुध्यन्ति मनः सत्येन शुध्यति"

—"by water the body only can be cleansed, the mind can be cleansed only with truth," this conforms to the standard of the universal mind.

Similarly it has been said—

कृत्वा पाप हि सन्तप्य तस्मात् पापात् प्रमुच्यते
नैव कुर्य्याम् पुनरिति निवृत्या पूयते तु सः।

—"If one is penitent after having committed sin then through that penitence the sin is purified; by resolving never again to repeat the sin man can again be pure."

By saying this man acknowledges in his own mind the truth of the universal mind of man, the God within us whom we know in our soul and who reveals to us our own truth.

One day the Brahmin Ramananda leaving his disciples went and embraced the *chandal* Nabha, the Mahomedan weaver Kabir, the sweeper Ruidas. The society of his day made Ramananda an outcast. But he alone really rose to the highest caste, the caste of the universal man. On that day standing in the midst of the curses of his community, Ramananda alone had said सोऽहं, "I am He". By that truth alone he had transgressed the limits of petty conventions and contempt which cruelly dividing man and man in the name of social stability strike at the roots of social morality.

One day Jesus Christ said सोऽहं—"I and my Father are one." For, in the light of love and goodwill for all men, he crossed the boundary of his ego and realized himself as one with the supreme man.

Lord Buddha preached, "Cherish towards the whole universe immeasurable *Maitri* in a spirit devoid of distinctions of hatred, of enmity. While standing, sitting, walking, lying down till you are asleep, remain established in this spirit of *maitri*"—this is called ब्रह्मविहार।

Such great message can be given only to man, for deep in man lies the truth of सोऽहं, "I am He". The Buddha knew this in himself. That is why he has said that it is through immeasurable love that man reveals the immeasurable truth within himself.

The Atharva Veda says—

तस्मात् वै विद्वान् पुरुषमिदं ब्रह्मेति मन्यते

—"He who is wise knows man to be greater than he appears to be."

ये पुरुषे ब्रह्म विदुस्ते विदुः परमेष्ठिनम्

—"They, who know the Great in man know the Supreme Being himself."

It was because he realized the divine man in humanity that Buddha could say—

माता यथा नियं पुत्त
आयुसा एकपुत्तमनुरक्खे
एवमपि सर्वभूतेसु
मानसम्भावये अपरिमाणं

—"Cultivate the spirit of immeasurable love within you even as the love the mother feels for her one child."

We should not by counting the number of heads try to find out how many men can actually follow this advice. In such computation does not lie the test of truth.

He who realized man's infinitude within himself never had to wait for statistical assurance. Without hesitation he demanded that man may reveal through immeasurable love the divine within himself. By giving this message with perfect faith to all men he offered his true reverence for humanity.

I have already referred to the saying of

the Atharva Veda that man is spiritually much more than his apparent self, he lives in his infinite surplus. In that surplus is all that is supreme in man, his धर्म, righteousness, his सत्यं, his truth.

The atmosphere around the earth far transcends its mass in extension. Through that invisible atmosphere comes its light, its colours, flows its life. In this atmosphere gathers its cloud, showers its rain, through its influence the eternal mystery of beauty reveals itself on earth in ever-varied form. From this atmosphere comes that which is most glorious on earth, its loveliness, its life itself. Through the open window of this atmosphere comes every night crossing regions of darkness the messages of radiant kinship from the starry Universe. This atmosphere can be described as the surplus, the soul of the earth, just as the complete man has been described as " त्रिपादस्यामृतं "—in one part he is apparent, in the other three he is infinite. It is because this intangible atmosphere is so intimately an extension of the earth itself that exuberant wealth of life manifests itself on the very dust, a wealth which is immeasurably more precious than the dust itself.

The Upanishad says that when we know united in a completeness असम्भूति, the unmanifested infinite, and सम्भूति, the manifested finite, we know truth, in a reconciliation of the duality. He who is infinite in man must be expressed in the finitude of human life, of human society. Man must translate this idea in his action. So Isha Upanishad says, "You have to live a hundred years, you must act." Fulfil your hundred years of life by work, such work as can truly be claimed through belief and result to express the truth of सोऽहं, "I am He". Not by turning up one's eye-balls and sitting with closed breath and staying far away from man do we gain this Truth.

This work, this toil is not for earning livelihood. In which truth then is the source of its constant energy ? What is it that gives man this strength to sacrifice his life, to embrace suffering, to defy ruthless power without material safeguard, to endure without submitting the constant torture of injustice and cruelty with such amazing fortitude ? The reason is man has within himself not only life but immensity. From Kshitimohan's priceless collection we get this message of the Bauls "जीवे जीवे चाइया देखि सबइ ये तार अवतार'—"When I see through men I find in them the divine incarnation." Innumerable men in knowledge, in love, in self-giving, in various forms and ways are revealing the immeasurable within them. History does not record their names ; from their individual lives they pour into the living stream of humanity the immortal energy of Him—

"यश्चायमस्मिन् तेजोमयोऽमृतमयः पुरुषः सर्वानुभूः"

—"Who is the immortal Purusha of inexhaustible light dwelling within our soul, who comprehends the All."

If through the plants the universal energy were not converted into the stuff of life then this living world would have been converted into a desert. Similarly if with or without our knowing men and women had not through the centuries, in different lands, transformed their indwelling, immeasurable energy of the Supreme Man into love and knowledge, work and welfare to be absorbed endlessly into the living texture of human society, their society being devoid of the truth of सोऽहं, "I am He," would have been reduced to the status of the animal world. Not only so, by being severed from its own truth, society would not at all be able to live. Physicians tell us that by infusion of animal-blood into human body we do not increase its life but cause death. Herds of animals can live for ever according to animal laws, but human society cannot live at all like animals. It may be said in contradiction that many brute-like men seem to thrive very well indeed in human society. Boils on the skin also thrive on the body, their growth is indeed more vigorous than the rest of their surroundings. If the power of health in the body does not transcend the boil, then it hurts and in killing the boil kills itself. Society in its normal stage can endure many sins but when its degeneration becomes emphatic, then by absorbing animal blood in its thought, behaviour, literature and art, human society seals its own death.

The greatness born of a vast surplus about which Atharva Veda has spoken is not in any particular kind of fulfilment. The greatness

comprehends all the efforts of humanity, all the bravery, grace and strength of man. Perhaps there is a deep self-forgetful joy in the ascetic when he succeeds in concentrating the various powers of his mind on one immovable point of his consciousness. But ततः किम्, "what then"? So long as there is any suffering and insult in humanity, no individual man can ever win his escape. Great men who have desired the freedom of humanity, have therefore told us सम्भवामि युगे युगे. From age to age indeed are they born in different lands. Today this very moment they are being born, tomorrow also we will see their birth. The stream of that birth flows through history, bearing this message "सोऽहं"। "सोऽहं" is the mantram of the united evolution of Man, not of one particular individual.

In the midst of the vast nebulae where new worlds are being fashioned appears from time to time a star; it clearly indicates the creative ferment of the vast fires which stir in the heart of the nebulae. Similarly in the firmament of history now and again we see manifestations of the Supreme Man. From them we understand that in the heart of all men is constantly working the urge of evolution. Man in human society is all the while striving to realize himself in the world-man by breaking through the shell of his ego. In fact, it is in this process that the whole cosmic universe seeks its own truth, the supreme truth of the ever-growing, ever-becoming Humanity. After billions of years since the beginning of the world first appeared man. Some scholars are overwhelmed by the mathematics of number and comparing the massiveness of time and space to the smallness of man indulge in the luxury of our humiliation. But it is a mere illusion to consider quantity to be greater than Truth, which cannot be measured at all by quantity. That which we call matter or unrevealed life, lay slumbering for unnumbered Ages. But when one day a single cell of life appeared on this earth the whole evolution of the universe reached a great meaning. Amidst the externality of matter appeared the truth which is internal. For life is internal, organic. Who can despise the speck of life because it has been born recently after æons of time and because in comparison to the mass of matter it seems to be small? Man first realized the truth of infinite life when from the heart of the dumb matter comes the Great voice of life, यदिदं किञ्च सर्वं प्राण एजति निःसृतम्, "from life is born all-that-is and trembles in the vibrating life." Matter we know as a fact because it is external to us; but life we know as truth from within ourselves. The expression of life is internal, the whole of it is pure movement. Therefore the language of movement is immediately real to us, it is the language of our life. The reality of this endless movement we have known as truth in relation to our own inner self. The urge of incessant movement we may call heat or electricity or something else; yet all these are mere words. If we say that in this movement there is life, then we indicate something which has meaning in our immediate experience. At the same time we realize that this life of mine which is moving is also comprehended in the larger movement of Universal Life. That the urge of life's movement is nowhere else in the universe excepting, accidentally, only in living beings, is a statement which our mind cannot accept because our mind can offer its homage to truth only in its background of wholeness.

The Upanishad says—

"कोह्येवान्यात् कः प्राण्यात् यदेष आकाश आनन्दो न स्यात्"

—with what assurance would a single insect desire for life if the joy of life did not pervade the whole of the infinite space? How can the flame burn for a single moment on the tip of the match-stick if the whole sky did not sustain its truth of ignition? Within life we find an inner meaning of the entire creation—that meaning we call Will. Matter remained dumb—it could not express the language of will,—Life came and expressed its will. That message which was implicit so long found at last its voice.

The student after much effort and time first learns the alphabet, then the spelling, then the grammar; he wastes paper and ink scribbling incomplete and meaningless sentences, he uses and discards much acquisition of materials; at last when as a poet he is able to write his first utterance, that very moment in that composition all his inexpressive

accumulations of words first find their glimmer of a significance. In the great evolution of the Universe we have found its first significance in a cell of life, then in an animal, then in Man. From the outer universe gradually we come to the inner realm and one by one the gates of freedom are unbarred. When the screen is lifted on the appearance of Man on earth we realize the great and mysterious truth of relatedness, of the supreme unity of all that is. Only can Man declare that those who know Truth can enter into the heart of the All—Only man can open our heart with this aspiration

सब्बे सत्ता सुखिता होन्तु अवेरा होन्तु
अब्यापज्झा होन्तु, सुखी अत्तानं परिहरन्तु ।
सब्बे सत्ता दुक्खा पमुञ्चन्तु । सब्बेसत्ता मा
यथालब्धो सम्पत्तितो विगच्छन्तु—

"May all beings be happy, may they have no enemies, may they be indestructible, may they spend time in joyousness. May all living beings be free from suffering and not be denied of their dues."

We can only pray, let sorrow come if it has to come, let there be death, let there be loss, but let Man declare across all space and time सोऽहं, "I am He".

This article is principally based upon my "Religion of Man" and the Kamala lectures delivered at the Calcutta University. In the translation of it, I have been greatly helped by Mr. Amiya Chandra Chakravarty. In the present revised form it was delivered at the Andhra University, Waltair, on the 10th of December, 1933, being the last of a series of three Readership lectures.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

MORAL WARFARE

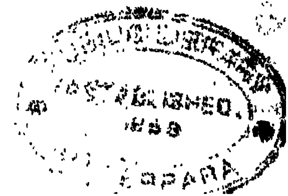
BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

BY segregating ethics to the Kingdom of Heaven and depriving the Kingdom of Earth from its use man has up to now never seriously acknowledged the need of higher ideals in politics or in practical affairs. That is why when disagreements occur between individuals, violence is not encouraged but punished, but when the combatants are nations, barbaric methods are not only not condemned but glorified. The greatest of men like Buddha or Christ have from the dawn of human history stood for the ideal of non-violence, they have dared to love their enemies and defied tyrannism by peace, but we have not yet claimed the responsibility they have offered us.

Fight is necessary in this world, combat we must and relentlessly against the evils that threaten us, for by tolerating untruth we admit their claim to exist. But war on the human plane must be what in India we call Dharma-Yuddha—moral warfare, in it we must array our spiritual powers against the cowardly violence of evils. This is the great ideal which Mahatma Gandhi represents, challenging his people to fearlessly apply man's highest strength not only in our individual dealings but in the clash of nation and nation.

In the barbaric age man's hunger did not impose any limits on its range of food which included even human flesh but with the evolution of society this has been banished from extreme possibility: in a like manner, we await the time when nothing may supposedly justify the use of violence whatever consequences we are led to face. Because, success in a conflict may be terrible defeat from the human point of view, and material gain is not worth the price we pay at spiritual cost. Much rather should we lose all than barter our soul for an evil victory. We honour Mahatma Gandhi because he has brought this ideal into the sphere of politics and under his lead India is proving everyday how aggressive power pitifully fails when human nature in its wakeful majesty bears insult and pain without retaliating. India today inspired by her great leader opens the new chapter of human history which has just begun.

Message to the Society of Friends, Ireland



WHY INDIA LIVES

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THERE is a certain unconscious wisdom in some fables according to which the soul, or the vital principle of life, of some giants and magicians, was to be found outside the body. There was a jinnee who could not be killed because his soul dwelt in the body of a bird, but as soon as the bird's neck was wrung the evil spirit fell down dead. Among men the span of individual life is measured; so is that of nations, and just as the length of life varies in the case of individuals, so does it in the case of nations, and yet it would almost seem that there are instances of nations attaining an extraordinary length of life because of some persistent vitality outside of themselves.

Some instances readily occur to the mind. There is India in Asia and there are Greece and Rome in Europe. There can scarcely be any question that the ancient Aryans of India, the ancient Greeks and Romans belonged to the same stock of the human family. Their kinship is undeniable. At one time they might have had a common language; as they divided and went different ways dialectal differences must have sprung up and these ultimately grew into distinct languages. The similarity in the religious belief remained. The Aryan, the Greek and the Roman pantheons had nearly the same gods and goddesses. In India there was no other religion and no other civilization that could challenge the Aryan faith and culture. Near Greece and Rome was Israel with a more ancient civilization and a higher creed, the firm faith in one God. Israel had its period of magnificence and power, and perhaps no crowned monarch has ever had a higher reputation for wisdom than Solomon. The Jews were the chosen people of God but that did not help them when they were subdued successively by other nations who were idol-worshippers or pagans. A higher form of religion is not necessarily associated with political power though the rise of a new religious movement has undoubtedly more than once coincided with territorial expansion. In fact, it has been seriously maintained that the test of the truth of a religion lies in its ability to found and govern an empire. A more absurd theory cannot be advanced, for empires are founded only to be lost and Christian empires have been lost as well as pagan empires.

It is impossible to say whether Greece paid any attention to the Hebrew religion, but Rome took no notice of it. Palestine was part of the Roman Empire and it was a Roman Governor who condemned Jesus Christ to death. The early Christians were inhumanly ill-treated by Rome, and yet Rome was quickly conquered by the new faith. The earliest translation of the Old and New Testaments, it should be remembered, was made in Greek. Next followed a translation in Latin, and later on Hebrew was learned with the sole object of reading the Bible in the original. Although the Old Testament is an integral part of the Bible and forms part of the creed of the Christian religion, Judaism has not spread as a religion, because it carries on no propaganda and neither seeks nor admits converts. To be a Jew one must be born in the fold; there is no other entrance to the Mosaic faith.

Greece and Rome have done wholly away with the past. Not only are the modern Greeks and Italians entirely different from the ancient Greeks and Romans, but they are utterly detached from all past traditions. Greek and Latin are ancient classical languages that are studied in many countries In the Roman Catholic Church and at the Vatican in Rome Latin is used as an ecclesiastical language and the ancient literature of Greece and Rome cannot perish, but there is no other living link between the ancient and the modern. While the ancient languages and literatures of Greece and Rome are admired and studied the ancient religions of those countries are scoffed at as superstitious paganism. When Mussolini strikes an attitude and thumps his breast declaring himself to be a Roman he is thinking of the Roman legions and the Roman eagles, and not of Roman temples and the gods and goddesses of ancient Rome The past of tradition is completely wiped out; the religion of the ancient Roman is an abomination to the modern Italian.

In India the present inhabitants are as unlike the ancient Aryans as the modern Greeks and Italians differ from the Greeks and Romans of yore. But there is a striking difference. The India of today has not shaken herself free from the past. From the remote past down to the present day there is an unbroken continuity of tradition. Every link in the chain has been tested and it has been found unbreakable. India has refused even under very trying conditions to break away from the past. She has clung fast to her ancient faith in spite of every effort to break her allegiance. In Greece and Rome, and generally throughout Europe Christianity spread only through persuasion. Even in the case of the Jews who were cruelly persecuted, no compulsion was used to convert them to the Christian faith. In India the tide of invasion and conquest was swelled by the zeal of proselytism and a fierce iconoclasm. Thousands of temples were

razed to the ground, hundreds of thousands of idols and statuaries were smashed or mutilated, and a senseless and wanton vandalism flung thousands of priceless manuscripts into the flames. At an earlier period there had been a grim struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Buddha himself was not rejected in India. He was Sakya Muni and is now universally accepted as an *avatar* of Vishnu. Brahmanism had two serious reasons for a quarrel with the new religion. Buddhism refused to venerate the Veda and the Brahmin and it accepted converts, both utterly abhorrent to the Brahmanical creed. A day came when Buddhist monks in consequence of the decadence of Buddhism disappeared from India. The persecution and wholesale massacres of Buddhist monks at the instigation of Kumaril Bhatta are unfounded calumnies. But although Buddhism ceased to exist in India the teachings of Gautama Buddha have left an indelible stamp upon the Brahmanic religion now in existence in India. Christian missions have carried on an intensive propaganda in India and many converts have been made.

Three great religions of the world have tried, one after another, to uproot the ancient Aryan faith from India and they have failed. Millions have been converted to other religions, but more millions are left, and there is no fear that the Aryan religion will perish for lack of followers. The power of resistance displayed by the people of this country may be attributed to two causes: the Aryan scriptures and traditions of religion. The world is aware of the great literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome, but it has heard nothing about the scriptures, if any, possessed by those great peoples. They had no books like the Old and New Testaments, to say nothing of the extensive and profound scriptures of ancient India. It may be truly said that as mentioned in the fable the soul of India is to be found in her religion, and since that religion has not been destroyed India has not perished but has continued to live while other ancient nations have passed away.

By what name is the religion of India to be designated? As a matter of fact, the religion professed by the ancient Aryans of India had no name. In the case of other religions some are called after the founders, such as Confucianism, named after Confucius, Taoism, called after Lao-tsze, Judaism, named after Judah, a son of Israel, Buddhism called after Buddha, and Christianity named after Christ. Mahomedanism is a name invented by Europeans. The religion founded by the Prophet Muhammad is called Islam and it is so designated in the Koran. It is a beautiful name for Islam signifies complete resignation to the will of God and a man professing this faith is known as a Muslim. Zoroastrianism, which closely resembles the ancient Aryan faith, is named after the prophet Zarathushtra, otherwise known as Zoroaster. But the religions of other great ancient nations, such as the ancient Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, had no names. The religion of the ancient Aryans of India might be called the Vedic religion, but that would not exhaust the entire range of the Aryan faith and they themselves gave no special name to their religion.

Has it been ascertained how the word Hinduism came into existence? The notion that it is derived from the word Sindhu, which is the name of a river and a province in India, cannot be entertained. If that were so, it would be found in some of the ancient Sanskrit books. The word Hindu or even Sindhu as descriptive of the country or religion of India cannot be discovered in any Sanskrit book. The word Hindustan is a Persian word and corresponds to such words as Beluchistan, Afghanistan, Waziristan, Kaffirstan, etc. All these countries, it will be observed, are named after the people inhabiting them. The word Hind is a Persian word, meaning black. It occurs in a famous poem of Hafiz, in which the poet offers to make a gift of the cities of Samarkand and Bokhara for the sake of a black mole on the skin of a youth of Shiraz. These are the well-known lines:

Agar an Toork shirazi bedastarad dile mara, Bakhale Hindyush Bakhshum Samarkando Bokhara ra.

The real name of the Hindukush mountains is Hind Koh, the black mountain, *hind* meaning black, and *koh*, a mountain. It will scarcely be contended that the name of a mountain in Afghanistan is derived from a river in India. The early Mussalman invaders of India came from Central Asia and they were a fair-complexioned people. The Aryans in India had largely intermarried with the original inhabitants of the country and had become dark-complexioned, while the Aryan settlers of Kashmir remained a very fair people. The word Hindu marks a distinction of colour, and Hindustan is the land of the dark people. It may be noted that for a considerable period of time the people of north India did not call the new rulers of the country Mussalmans but Toorooks, or Turks. In course of time, the Mussalman conquerors, by large admixture of blood and intermarriage with converts to Islam, lost their original complexion and became indistinguishable from the mixed Aryans. These latter accepted the designation of Hindus without demur and their religion came to be known as Hinduism. The name of the people as well as of their religion is an imposition from outside. If an ancient Aryan were to come back to life and were greeted as a Hindu he would be utterly perplexed. Hinduism is an instance of an ancient religion being known by a modern and misleading name.

In the modern world detached from the distant past there is an air of smug self-complacency.

There is a prevailing belief that in these twenty centuries of the Christan era the world has taken great strides towards the fulfilment of the destiny of the human race. Men have for their servants steam and electricity, djinn more powerful than the slaves of Aladin's lamp. Man has conquered the elements and flies through water and air with equal ease. But behind this incredible material prosperity looms a sinister apparition of terror—the shadow of desolation and extinction. At man's elbow stands the Tempter, whispering into his ears and urging him to invent infernal machines for the destruction of whole nations. Christ may be found in the Church and the cloister, but certainly not in the senates and chancellories of the Western World. Moloch still sits enthroned and claims innumerable human sacrifices.

India has fallen upon evil days. Shorn of her ancient glory she has known many masters and has been subservient to their will. There is a marked decadence in her ideals and institutions. The pristine purity of her ancient faith has been encrusted with the evil growth of many centuries. The ancient scriptures have been smothered under a mass of crude and primitive doctrines of worship and ritual. From the lofty heights of the Upanishads to the Brahmavaivarta Puran, which solemnly sets up the worship of the Salgram stone, it is a lamentable descent and degradation. Religion is ensconced in the kitchen; the priest has superseded the prophet and the philosopher. The right of worship in the temples is denied not only to strangers, but even to Hindus, who, by the accident of birth, belong to the lower strata of society. Rama, a Kshatriya King and an *avatar* of Vishnu, now worshipped by millions, had no hesitation in forgathering with a Chandala, but the caste Hindu of today considers himself polluted by the shadow of a pariah. The incident in the Ramayana of Rama and the Chandala is a parable meaning that Rama, who was God incarnate, treated an untouchable as a friend. It is true that untouchability has been known out of India. The Helots of Sparta, the Etas of Japan, the gypsies of Rumania and Eastern Europe, the Cagots of the French Pyrenees were untouchables. But while in other countries this reproach has disappeared, in India it continues to be an essential part of religion. So long as this canker is permitted to fester in the body-politic of India there can be no hope of the political emancipation of the country and the national well-being of the people. In spite, however, of the undeniable fall of India from her former high estate the past is neither forgotten nor ignored. The authority of the Veda is as absolute as it was thousands of years ago. The hymns of the Rig Veda and the songs of the Sama Veda are chanted on the bank of the Ganges at Benares as sonorously as they were intoned on the shores of the vanished Saraswati. The Upanishads, the Vedanta and the various systems of philosophy are studied as reverently as in the past. The mnemonic method of mitting whole books to memory is
Many sects and schisms have appeared, there have been many prophets and *avatars*, many creeds claiming originality, but high above them all stands the ancient teaching, the fountainhead of all spiritual wisdom and the spring of all inspiration. It is idle for any new sect or creed to claim to transcend the knowledge of the ancient Aryans and their exaltation and concentration of spirit. They tower high as Mount Everest, rightly named Gaurishankar, and they dwarf and darken all other claims to be their peers.

This steadfast faith has saved India from extinction. She is like a vessel that has held fast to her moorings in all weathers. She has been wave-tossed and storm-swept, but her cable has not parted, nor has her anchor been dragged about. In the Far East, China and Japan do not present a close analogy to India. Japan is probably the only country in the world that has remained inviolate through the rolling centuries. The foot of the invader has never been planted on her soil, no conqueror has ever deprived her of her sovereign independence. If China and Japan have accepted Buddhism they have done so of their own unfettered will and not because it was at any time the creed of a conquering race. The Buddhist missionaries were humble mendicants, who spoke ill of no other religion, nor boasted that the religion taught by the Buddha was best suited for governing an empire. The ordeal to which India has had to submit, time after time, has not been experienced by any other ancient people. Through all her weakness and degradation she has retained the strength of loyalty—loyalty to the scriptures and teachers of the past, loyalty to the glorious traditions of the past. She has run the gauntlet of conquest and bondage, she has been wrought upon by fear, persuasion and temptation to fling away her old faith and choose another, but she has refused to part with her religion, which is her soul. So long as that religion lives India will live and perhaps win back her self-respect and her old place among the nations of the world. The deep stirring that is moving India from end to end is a sign of returning life. Because India has lived in the past therefore is she living in the present and will live in the future. But before she comes once more into her own she will have to undo many evils of her own making.

Dead is Egypt, dead are her gods. Isis and Osiris are mere names. Hammon, Lord of eternity, has passed away into eternity. Ptah, maker of the world, no longer looks after the world. Thoth, god of wisdom and the inventor of art, science and letters, is forgotton. Where are the gods of the Amenti and the triads of

the Nomes? Equally remarkable is the fact that of the living magnificence of Egypt, the palaces of the Pharaohs and the pleasure houses of the wanton Cleopatra there are no signs, but the houses of the dead still reveal their treasures to the rummaging curiosity of modern Europeans. Truly are the dead greater than the living. The most valuable finds in the royal tombs are the Books of the Dead, for these are of some importance from a religious point of view. The pyramids, reckoned among the wonders of the world, are also the mausoleums of the dead. Most of the famous ancient races, with all their splendour of achievement, have utterly vanished.

And yet men dream of perpetual power and empires that will defy the ravages of time. They learn nothing from the signposts of the past, they are not discouraged by the wreckages of kingdoms and empires strewn all over the world. No heed is given to the lesson writ large over the history of the world that the thought of men endures longer than his handiwork. What appeals to the senses and eyes of men is objective accomplishment. The eyes are most pleased when they are dazzled; the ears are most gratified when they hear of great deeds of arms and feats of derring-do. The word immortal is bandied about thoughtlessly and used in respect of performances which are far from immortal. What would the ancient Greeks have thought if any one had ventured to assert that Homer was greater than Alexander of Macedon? Is there any difficulty in conceiving of a time when the Parthenon, the splendid temple at Athens dedicated to the goddess Athene, will be levelled with the dust but the teachings of Socrates will not be forgotten?

The human heritage that lasts longest comes from the intellect and the spirit. The least durable are the things fashioned by mere wealth. The pomp of power is no more than a showman's trick. The trappings of royalty are as ephemeral as a child's baubles. Yet men crowd round these trifles as moths buzz round a flame and perish in it. The slower and subtler influence of the mind and the spirit takes longer to make itself felt. Great teachers find disciples slowly; great truths take time to take root in the minds of men. Yet it is marvellous how, in the long run, the gold is separated from the dross and jealously treasured. The sieve of time is perpetually at work and winnows the grain from the chaff. In India there are no traces of any ancient Aryan monuments. European savants are indisposed to assign a great antiquity to Aryan civilization in India. That is a matter of no consequence. Only a few facts need be mentioned. The Aryans founded many kingdoms and many great cities; there is not a vestige of them left. Even the river Saraswati, famous in the Vedic period, has disappeared and no European antiquarian or geologist has ever advanced any theory on this important subject. All that can be traced is part of the dry bed in the Ambala district in the Panjab.

It is admitted that Buddha appeared five hundred years before Christ. At that time, the Vedic religion had established a firm hold over north India and was already recognized as an ancient religion. In Buddhist works it is mentioned that the Buddha met Nathaputra Mahavir, the famous Jain Tirthankar, but there is no mention anywhere of any Rishi of the Vedic or a later period. The ancient Vedic Sanskrit had been replaced by a more modern form of that language. Sanskrit was no longer the spoken language of any part of India. The current lauguage was Prakrit of different kinds, derived and corrupted from Sanskrit. Buddha himself was profoundly learned in Sanskrit lore, but he never used that language in his sermons, or while instructing his disciples. He invariably spoke in Pali, a Prakrit dialect derived from Sanskrit and evidently understood by the common people. It is impossible to accept the theory that the Vedas had been revealed only a few hundred, or a thousand years before the birth of Buddha. The Vedas are not an isolated or a solitary proof of the antiquity of Aryan civilization in India. Between the promulgation of the Vedic religion and the preachings of the Buddha intervene several cycles of spiritual and intellectual evolution. Round about the Vedas grew up the multiple teachings of the Vedanga-lexicons of the Vedas, the intonation and singing of the hymns, the Vedic metres or *chhandas*, grammar, astronomy and astrology. The concluding parts of the Vedas, or the Brahmans, were condensed into *sutras* or aphorisms. The six great systems of philosophy were founded and elaborated. The unrivalled epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were composed. In temporal affairs illustrious reigning dynasties had been founded and flourishing kingdoms and cities had been established. Of these there was no trace when Buddha appeared. And yet the world is seriously asked to believe that between the Vedic and the Buddhistic periods there was a space of only a thousand or fifteen hundred years.

Though there are no material relics of the Vedic era the monolithic edict pillars of Asoka are still standing, some of them as good as when they were chiselled by the sculptors. According to the computation of European antiquarians they are over twenty-two centuries old. The Aryan monarchs of an earlier period either did not raise monuments in stone, or they were of such an unsubstantial character that they have been obliterated in the course of time. The Aryans raised monuments of thought, they built on the foundations of spirit, and these cannot be effaced by time. Egypt embalmed the bodies of the dead, for whom they built houses more durable than the tenements of the living, but to the living spirit they gave little thought. As a distinguished writer* has said, Egypt had only

* Joseph Haleny.

a 'funereal mythology' and she 'perished without having attempted to rise from her coarse animal-worship.' In India it is perfectly true that from the exalted monotheism of the Upanishads and the subtle and intricate pantheism of the Vedanta —there is no English word corresponding precisely to *Advaita*—to the diffuse image worship and widespread superstition of the present time there has been a marked decline of spiritual thought, but still there has been no complete rupture with the past. For instance, the Hindu marriage ceremony is essentially a Vedic rite, barring the fact that in many parts of the country the Salgram stone is introduced, though the *mantras* have no connection with it. The *Homa* is the essence of Vedic sacrifice and no Hindu religious ceremony can be performed without the sacred fire of the *Homa*. The past overshadows the present and holds it with grapnels which cannot be broken.

Today Hinduism has banged its door in the face of the stranger and the seeker. The temples will not admit even a lowly Hindu; the priests will not admit a newcomer to the faith. It was not so in ancient times The Aryans must have converted millions of people to their religion. The bulk of the indigenous population of India must have been assimilated with the Aryan conquerors and colonists. There is nothing suggestive of exclusiveness in the early Indian scriptures The Aryans were an extraordinarily virile race, large of limb and keen of brain, large-hearted and liberal-minded, partaking freely of animal food, noted hunters and doughty warriors. They never claimed that they were the chosen people of God, or had a monopoly of wisdom. The Rishis were not all hermits, or anchorites of the forest. How entirely free were the holiest and wisest Rishis from all prejudice is strikingly demonstrated by the story of the Rishi Gautama and the boy Satyakama in the Chhandogya Upanishad. Satyakama wanted to become a disciple of Gautama and presented himself before the Rishi. As only Brahmin youths could be admitted as disciples Gautama asked the boy his father's *gotra*. This Satyakama did not know and he replied he would ask his mother and inform Gautama. Javala, Satyakama's mother, lived outside the village and when Satyakama wanted to know his father's *gotra* she replied she could not tell him, because as a newly-wedded wife she was busy in serving guests and forgot to ask her husband his *gotra*. And she became a widow while quite young. Satyakama went back to Gautama and faithfully told him what he had heard from his mother. Instead of turning him away the Rishi embraced him and accepted him as a disciple, remarking that since he had told the truth he must be a Brahmin. A much later instance is the reconversion of Indian Buddhists to the Vedic religion. After the decadence of Buddhism the Buddhist monks left India. There were, however, many thousands of Buddhist converts and these renounced Buddhism and were readmitted to the Brahmanic faith. There can be no question, therefore, that down to a time later than the appearance of Buddhism the number of the followers of the Aryan religion was augmented by conversion and readmission of those who had strayed from the fold. At some later period—it is impossible to fix the date even approximately—Hinduism barred its gates against all newcomers, and the sin of apostasy entailed permanent e[illegible] from the Hindu ritual and Hindu society. [illegible] is no evidence that the Aryans ever in[illegible] mission work or carried on a religious prop[illegible] This was first introduced by the Buddha an[illegible] missionary monks of his Order of Bhikkhus carried the new gospel to the banks of the [illegible] in the West and to China and Japan in the Far East.

Of the six principal religions of the world three, namely, Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Hinduism admit no converts. The only entrance to any of these religions is the doorway of birth. For the rest, they are fenced round by stone-walls which cannot be scaled or penetrated. If an outsider believes in any of these religions he may call himself a Zoroastrian, a Judaist or a Hindu, but he will not be permitted to enter the fire-temple, the synagogue, or the Hindu temple, nor admitted to the right of worship. The other three religions, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, freely admit converts. Buddhism has ceased carrying on active propaganda, but the other two religions are zealously engaged in mission work. Every religion believes, more or less, that it is the only true religion in the world. The witty definition that orthodoxy is my doxy and herterodoxy is your doxy is perfectly true. Baldly and somewhat summarily put every religion claims a privilege denied to others. Every religion based upon revelation insists that its scriptures alone were revealed. It rejects the claims of all other revealed scriptures. Inside each particular religion is salvation; outside, damnation. The prophet of every religion, every little sect, is the greatest that the world has ever known. If religion is truth it may be revealed in many ways and there can be no monopoly of truth. Alas, religions have died as well as races. There were great nations in the past as there are in the present. They had their own religions and these were believed to be as true as the present religions of the world. These have not only disappeared but the world knows scarcely anything about them, and it is only by patient and prolonged research that fragmentary knowledge about them has been obtained. Phoenicia, Babylonia, Assyria were all great in their time and famous world-centres. They have completely disappeared, leaving no heritage for the world and no legacy that has added to the knowledge of the world.

How is it that India has survived while other

nations that were her contemporaries in the past have been submerged in the unfathomed depth of oblivion? The only answer to this question is to be found in the unparalleled spiritual advancement of ancient India. She was not content with material prosperity, the accumulation of wealth and treasure, or even the cultivation of the graces and arts. Of her it may be truthfully said that she plunged in thought while the legions thundered past. While other nations contended keenly for the prizes that life has to offer the sages and thinkers of ancient India intently fixed their gaze beyond life and sought to distinguish the eternal from the ephemeral. Even the intellect alone does not ensure the longevity of a nation, for there were few nations among the ancients so intellectual as Greece, but in religion they made no advance beyond 'their castes of irresponsible gods', and hence Greece, perished. India built her house of life upon the rock of the spirit. 'And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.' This parable points the moral of the fable of the giant and his soul.

In the clash of creeds and contending claims to the sole possession of the truth it must be remembered that there can be no such thing as a chosen people of God, a solitary revelation of the truth, or a single path to salvation. There are many mansions of faith and many roads leading to them. There is no privilege and no disability anywhere. God's truth is for all, to be revealed to the seeker in various ways. There are no distinctions, no exclusiveness in the laws of nature. Under Providence there are no favours and no frowns. The sun, the *Ra* of the Egyptians and the *Savita* of the Aryans, gives heat and warmth to priest and pariah alike. The rain falls impartially upon the lands of the Christian and the heathen. Zoroastrian and Hindu, Israelite, and Gentile, Buddhist and Taoist, Muslim and Kaffir are all creatures of the same God and they are all equal before His throne.

CHINA'S RED ARMY

BY SURESH VAIDYA

[The following *Reuter's* telegram raises curiosity relating to the "Red" forces in China:

"Honkong, Aug. 3.

The British destroyer *Witch*, a Japanese cruiser and an American gunboat have been despatched to Foochow, in the Fu-Kien province, to protect foreign nationals against a threatened invasion by Communist troops from the interior.

The 'Red' forces, estimated at 5,000, are advancing in an attempt to break the prolonged blockade of their strongholds in South Kiangsi enforced by Chinese troops.

It is reported that they have already captured Paisha which is only twelve miles from Foochow."

The article printed below gives some information. We have, besides, received a book, *viz.*, *Suppressing Communist-Banditry in China*, for review in which the Communists in China are described as "bandits."

—Editor, *M. R.*]

SURPRISINGLY little is known of the territory called Soviet China, its Red Army, its young commanders, and its people.

The size of the Chinese Soviet territory cannot be properly determined, its boundaries shifting with the fortunes of war. Roughly it can be estimated to be twice the size of England and Wales put together. On the whole, its boundaries rather expand than shrink.

The reason why the National Government at Nanking always seems to be busy to attend to other matters is because of the existence of a menacing neighbour like Soviet China. Only recently the exiled Chinese war-lord General Chiang Hsueh Liang was hastily summoned from his place of recluse at Brighton to help the National Government forces to organize a campaign for the purpose of crushing Soviet China. Chiang Kai Sheik is fully aware of the difficulties that lie in the way of his undertaking. The chances of failure are greater for the national forces than the hope of success. The reason is obvious: in matters of tactics, discipline, courage and determination the soldiers of the Red Army are unsurpassable.

Its regular forces number approximately 10,000. But as military training is prescribed for every citizen as a measure of self-defence the forces can be augmented at any given notice. Besides these, there are other irregulars organized of women soldiers which have so far proved no less efficient.

The equipment of the Red Army is, however, meagre. For it has mostly to rely for its supplies on the loot of the ammunition stores of the Nanking Army. The Soviet Army has no artillery, no tanks, no Air Force, only a few thousand rifles and hundred and fifty machine guns.

As against them the National Government have

all the latest equipment, including an Air Force manned by foreign experts.

The man supreme in command of the Red Army is the young President of the Soviet Republic Mao Tse-tung. Mao is a former Peking University man who on leaving college organized the coal-miners of central China and carried on a ceaseless war against the rule of the war-lords. When the present Nanking Government came into power Chiang Kai Sheik held high opinion of Mao. But when the latter attempted to stabilize the power of the workers in Kiangsi district he was declared an outlaw and a price placed on his head. 'Mao is in his early thirties.

His two commanders are Ho Lung and Chu Teh both of whom are well known all over China for their capableness as shrewd and valiant fighters. It is mainly due to the untiring efforts of these two men that the Red Army has been able to hold its own against an overpowering antagonist.

The tactics pursued by the Generals of the Red Army might sound peculiar to one accustomed to seeing wars in their European fashionableness. The instructions for the rank-and-file soldiers contain amusing clauses such as :

> "Separate the Government (National) forces by making them pursue you, then turn and strike on the flank or rear.
>
> "Utilize the population to harass the Government forces, for example, by displaying red flags on the hill sides or by continually repeating bugle-calls
>
> "Do not attack permanent defence works or be drawn into planned engagements Undermine the morale of the Government forces with propaganda."

With these instructions to follow the Red Army never comes in violent conflict with the National forces. Thus the Air Force, the tank equipment, and other latest devices of warfare prove futile for the purpose.

Last summer the Nanking Government dispatched 500,000 troops and 100 bombing 'planes to fight the Red Army. The expedition, however, was unable to achieve any success. Fighting took place on a front extending from Nanchang to the north of Kwantung, several thousand miles in length. In all, fifty-six battles were fought. Four divisions of the National army were killed, besides four brigades and a number of regiments having been wiped out. The Red Army captured 41,000 rifles, 50 machine guns, 82 light machine guns, 200 automatic rifles, 12 wireless sets, 3 aeroplanes and 3 field guns. 40,000 soldiers were taken war prisoners many of whom have now become subjects of the Soviet Government, land being given to them on basis of equality with other citizens. A Nanking Divisional Commander, 5 brigadier-generals, 9 regimental commanders and 20 captains were also taken prisoners during the war. The Nanking forces captured or killed a divisional commander, four brigadier-generals, and thirty captains of the Red Army. Those who were captured were immediately shot.

The most important factor which accounts for the growing popularity and success of the Red Army is the support it receives from the Chinese peasants in general. At the beginning of the current year a big conference of workers and peasants was held in Soviet territory which was attended by delegates from all over China. Even Manchuria sent her representatives. Many of the elections of the delegates were carried out under adverse curcumstances. How the elections were organized and the way the delegates reached the Soviet territory, is a story that has baffled the Nanking Government.

The fact is that Soviet China is a country having a stable Government and ruling over people who do not seem disposed for a change. The Lytton Commission which investigated Chinese affairs, says in its report :

> "The programme of action (of Soviet China) consisted of the cancellation of debts, the distribution among landless peasants and small farmers of land forcibly siezed from large private owners or from temples, monasteries and churches. Taxation is simplified : the peasants have to contribute a certain part of the produce of their lands. With a view to improvement of agriculture, steps are taken to develop irrigation, rural credit systems and co-operatives. Public schools, hospitals and dispensaries may also be established."

"Communication of life can only be through living agency. And culture, which is the life of mind, can only be imparted through man to man. Book learning, or scriptural texts, may merely make us pedants. They are static and quantitative ; they accumulate and are hoarded up under strict guards. Culture grows and moves and multiplies itself in life."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE SAAR AND ITS PLEBISCITE

By SANTOSH KUMAR GHATAK

THE peace of the world hangs today on a slender cord which may any moment be snapped by the slightest shock. One of the impending dangers that threaten Europe in the near future is the Saar and its plebiscite. Europe is ready for a combustion and only a slight spark is needed for a European conflagration. That spark might come in the shape of the Saar concussion. According to the Treaty of Versailles the fate of the Saar will be decided next year. The entire inhabitants of the Saar will decide by their votes whether they will remain with France or Germany or as an independent political entity. As there is no love lost between France and Germany in the present, there can be no doubt that there will be much heart-burning about the affair, and who knows it might end in a European Armageddon. "We look back in order to look forward" (Burns). The past is so entangled with the present that we cannot understand the political situation in civilized countries without continual reference to situations no longer in existence. The Saar has the root of its history buried deep down in the time-worn ages.

The Saar is a small buffer-region (to put it more correctly a buffer district) between the frontiers of Germany and France. It lies to the north-east of Lorraine (Lat. 49°-50½°, Long. 6°-7½°) approximately. It is bounded on the west by the Moselle River, a branch of the Rhine, on the east by the Rhine; and the Vosges forms its southern boundary. Saar with its surrounding countries, Alsace and Lorraine, had played an important part in the past history of Europe. It is, so to say, a pawn on the European chess-board that is moved to and fro by the victorious powers.

Terribly fond of war as he was, Louis XIV, the Great Monarch of France (1643-1715 A. D.), propounded a theory of "natural boundaries" to justify his aggressive actions. He maintained that every country should have such frontiers as nature had provided—mountains, lakes, rivers or oceans, and France was naturally provided with the frontiers of ancient Gaul—the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine river, and the Ocean. All throughout his reign Louis XIV tried to reach the Rhine. By the Treaty of Westphalia (1648 A. D.) France received Alsace, and by the Peace of Pyrenees she was recognized as a protector of the Duchy of Lorraine. After the Dutch War Louis continued to occupy Lorraine. But by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) he had to restore Lorraine to its duke. If the annexation of Lorraine had been a hard nut for Louis XIV to crack, it was however solved by Louis XV (1715-1774). It was formally annexed by the latter in 1766.

What was beyond the dream of monarchical France was achieved by Republican France. Eight decades elapsed after Louis XIV's demise before his ideal to reach the Rhine was realized in a manner which was beyond his fondest hopes. By the Treaty of Basel (1795) Prussia gave France a free-hand on the left bank of the Rhine. Almost the whole of modern Belgium, together with what is known as the Saar valley up to the Rhine river, came under the suzerainty of France.

The French Revolution, which had been raging at that time in Europe, brought about new ideas and new institutions. It turned over a new leaf in the European history. Alsace and Lorraine were imbued with a new spirit of national conciousness after the Revolution. They had become a part of the French body-politic. In 1871 Bismarck had unified Germany and had annexed the two above-mentioned countries (Alsace and Lorraine). The French had always regarded this anexation as a crime—"the brutal dismemberment of a nation", "the tearing of children from their mother". "History shows that it was worse than a crime,—it was a blunder". As it has been said, "Bismarck had mutilated

a living body and the wound would not heal; it was to remain an awful open sore, threatening the peace for forty years". It did threaten the peace of Europe in 1914. France had only one ambition from 1871 onwards, it was to take revenge on Germany. This desire for "revancho" was one of the main causes of the Great War. France actually paid back Germany in its coin in the Treaty of Versailles. If Germany had mutilated France in 1871, the latter also mutilated the former (Germany) in 1919. France compelled Germany to separate the Saar Basin, which is overwhelmingly German in thought, culture and nationality, from the German body-politic.

The Saar had played an important part in the industrial life of Germany. Her coal (for Saar is rich in coal mines) had helped the growth of German industries. By the Treaty of Versailles France recovered Alsace and Lorraine, but she wanted to occupy the Saar Basin. It would be an important acquisition, for the Saar coal would give an impetus to the French industries. And bereft of it the German industries would suffer greatly. But the annexation of the Saar valley was most vigorously resisted by the United States. When President Wilson declared that he could not agree either to the separation of the left bank of the Rhine or to the annexation of Saar, the French statesman, Clemenceau, dubbed him a pro-German, and melo-dramatically left the hall. The French claim to the district was vehemently opposed both by Great Britain and the United States, and was withdrawn. All acquiesced that France should have the Saar coal while her own mines were out of action; but, while Mr. Lloyd George was willing to create an autonomous state under French protection, the President would at first approve nothing but a tribute of coal equal to the losses of France. The French showed their political foresight by renouncing the claim to the annexation of a German population. But they demanded a special political organization for the district which included the whole of the mining area. A compromise was finally reached in an Administrative Commission of five, of which three were to be appointed by the League of Nations, one by inhabitants and one by France. A plebiscite was to be held after 15 years, to determine whether the district should be annexed to France or to continue the existing regime or return to Germany. In the latter event Germany was to pay France the estimated value of coal mines at that date.

Fifteen years have elapsed since 1919. The proposed plebiscite will be held next year. The pelbiscite is one "in which a certain question is submitted to popular vote; the decision, while having no binding force, is intended as a guide to the policy of the government". In the present case the Saar people will be given the opportunity of expressing their opinion about the future course of their land, as to whether they would remain as they are, or they would like to join Germany or France. In anticipation of the plebiscite the Saar people are very much agitated, but more excited are the Great Powers, specially Germany and France. The Saar people, Germans as they are, are more intensely German in their culture and outlook. Wronged by the injustice of being separated under compulsion from their father-land, they are more anxious than ever to be again united with Germany. They leave no stone unturned to show their appreciation of Germany and demonstrate their willingness to go over to it. *Reuter* reports that on the afternoon of May 6, 1934 over 800,000 people crossed the frontier from the Saar into Germany at Zweibrucken to demonstrate their intention to vote for the return of the Saar to Germany next year, when the Saar plebiscite will be held. Dr. Goebbels, in a speech amid cheers, declared that the Saar would remain German despite terror and treachery. At the end of the speech a blonde girl presented Dr. Goebbels with a bowl of earth from the Saar. According to the version of Dr. Goebbels' speech published in Paris, he declared that Germany could now resist France and the League of Nations, come what might. He denounced the German "emigres" and Jews as traitors, and said that when the Saar was re-united with Germany, "they would be beaten by their co-religionists". The leader of the German Front is reported to have informed the League that 93 per cent of the Saar electorate are pro-Germans. Undoubtedly, the inflammatory speech of Dr. Goebbels

has created a flutter in the French dove-cot. The French can never brook the idea of the Saar being united with Germany. The union of the Saar with Germany will mean firstly an increase in the German population, secondly the extension of the German frontiers, and thirdly the economic prosperity of Germany. The first would give Germany increased man-power, the second would extend the German frontiers and bring Germany nearer to Paris, the heart of France, and the third means the greatest advantage to Germany and therefore the greatest menace to France. The Saar, when unified with the German body-politic, would undoubtedly place her coal at Germany's disposal; and the Geman industries would increase by leaps and bounds. The growth of German industries would mean her economic prosperity, which is concomitant to the strengthening of the power of the German nation. Germany has been bled white by the unjust war debts and reparations. If she can pay off all her debts and regain her economic prosperity, her power would certainly increase. The increase of the power of the German nation is the greatest danger to France. France would try her best to see that Germany ever remains weak. That is why she never agrees to give Germany equality with regard to armaments and that is why also France will prove a veritable stumbling-block in the way of Germany's acquisition of the Saar. That there will be great bickerings among Germany & France about the Saar affair is certain. One is oppressed with a vague fear now-a-days—when in this twentieth century one often hears of deadlocks and when nations talk with one another with "pistols bulging out from their pockets"—that the Saar affair might lead to a war.

Another problem, which confronts the League of Nations, is that many Germans and Jews, who have fled away from the Hitler regime have taken refuge in the Saar. If Germany occupies the Saar, the fate that awaits these refugees is neither promising nor rosy. The League of Nations wants a guarantee from the German Government—in case they occupy the Saar—that they will not maltreat these refugees.

The League of Nations is considering the problem of the Saar plebiscite. The League is also occupied in planning a method for conducting the Saar plebiscite in the coming year. The Rhinelands with Alsace, Lorraine, Saar etc. have always been a difficult problem for the European statesmen to solve. They are an open sore which had threatened the peace of Europe from the 17th century onwards and which is still threatening the peace of Europe. Let us see how the Doumergues, Roosevelts and MacDonalds cut the Gordian knot of Europe. The Saar problem will prove a veritable test to the efficacy of the League, and also to the veracity—if there is any—in the vociferous declarations of the nations to maintain world peace. If it is settled smoothly, it will justify the existence of the League and attest that the nations today are sincerely eager for the maintenance of the peace of the world.

HAGGARD SEEMING

By VERRIER ELWIN

Forgotten by the greater world,
  The leper sits beside his fire;
The fragile smoke that upward curled
  Is sign of his desire.
His hut is like the broken shell
His body has become, and well
It is for him his eyes are blind.
Stern nature can be sometimes kind.

His swollen limbs he cannot see;
  The hideous sores, the filthy dress,
The ruin and the misery,
  His sorrow's ugliness.
But he his wife's dear hand can feel
In his, and tastes his scanty meal;
While in the darkness every pain
He conquers to our human gain.

Son of an old noble race,
  What dignity still rests in thee,
The patience in thy gentle face
  Transforms thy poverty.
Thy wretched hut enlarges now
Into a palace; on thy brow
I see a crown; and thy poor dress
Becomes a king's for loveliness.

What secret elemental dream
  Dost watch, what do those sightless eyes
Behold of sorrow's lofty scene,
  What mystery surprise?
Perhaps the hands of Christ in thine
Thrill thee with ecstasy divine;
The kiss of Francis, or the arm
Of Damien shelters thee from harm.



RURAL INDIA,

THE NEST OF SINGING BIRDS

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

[The poet Rabindranath Tagore writes

"I have been delighted to listen to Professor Devendra Satyarthi reciting and singing some of the folk-poems and songs which he has been collecting from all parts of India. It is a valuable work requiring delicate sensibility for the exploration of an obscure region of literature which is a spontaneous creation of the sub-conscious mind of the people. Prof Devendra Satyarthi has evidently the gift of a sensitive imagination that has enabled him to do his work so thoroughly because he has enjoyed doing it.

"The creative aspect of the popular mind has its revelation which is of immense interest and I feel deeply thankful to Prof Satyarthi for helping us to realize it."

Prof Devendra Satyarthi has been very usefully occupied for some years in collecting the folk-songs of different parts of India in the languages spoken there. His collection is already rich, and I hope it will be richer as time passes. The work he has been doing is very important.

Folk-songs enable us to understand the mind and heart of the people. From similarities in the folk-songs of different regions we perceive the unity in diversity of human nature throughout India. And if the folk-songs of all countries could be collected and compared, it would be seen that there was one mind and heart, underlying these, common to all mankind.

Prof Satyarthi's collection properly transliterated and translated should be of considerable use to philologists, anthropologists and educational psychologists in addition to bringing a source of pleasure to ordinary listeners and readers. Editor *M R*]

LIFE is like a spontaneous and perennial song in Rural India, the nest of singing birds.

Folk-songs pervade all walks of life; they are deeply associated with various religious rites, social ceremonies and all festivities of joy and glee. All classes, all forms of occupation, men and women, young or old, all alike, have songs of numerous tones and tunes.

Since the very first dawn of the folk-songs of India, innumerable songs might have been born and disappeared, as none cared to preserve them in beautiful anthologies. Who can say that there were no folk-songs in Vedic India and again in the days of the Ramayana and the Mahabharat? Where are they all now? Most probably many of those songs which disappeared from the living lips of the masses, might have been re-born at various times again and again in different languages and dialects.

We must not forget that the folk-songs which have come down to us breathe the life of the times when they were composed. But it is very difficult to throw upon them any light from outside to fix the dates of their composition. It is just possible that the origin of some of these folk-songs, inspite of all alterations and additions, made at various times, goes back to the 10th or 11th century. And who knows if many of the songs, current among the primitive tribes of of the country, go far beyond the above-said centuries, as life sings amongst them, moved very little by time.

Folk-songs of India are to be compared only to the songs of the birds; they come as easy to the country Muse as sweet coo-ings to the doves. Many of them are as beautiful and fragrant as the lotus flowers, most natural in their form and colour,—and most natural is their fragrance. They are of numerous variety; as in expression so in substance they are simple and direct and



Author at Santiniketan with Poet Tagore

bring before us vivid pictures of the open-air country-life. There is scarcely any place in them for the day-dreams of intellect and convention. We are impressed by their spontaneity, freshness, and originality.

There are songs of Love, Beauty and Yout, of the glories of the past and of the dreams of the future. The tears and smiles of the masses that are nourished in the country-atmosphere, their hopes and despairs, their joys and sorrows are all enshrined in these songs.

We hear in these folk-songs the very heart-beats of India ; through them vibrates the life-lit music of India's soul. No picture of India can convey more forcibly and clearly to our mind the manners, habits and the psycho-logical depths of her inner life, than an insight into these songs.

Here we give a short study of the English renderings of some selected folk-songs of India.



An old lady sings in the Chakrota valley

Songs of Chivalry.

In the vllages of Rajasthan, the land of heroes, the people still sing the songs of chivalry. Partaps and Sangas are gone but the hearts of the sons and daughters of Rajasthan will ever beat with the cherished glory of their heroic deeds.

The following are some specimens of these songs:—

A Rajput hero is just ready to go to the battle-field. His sweet-heart instils courage into his heart and bids him farewell in the following vein :

Three things only will be in the field of battle,
A (stout) heart, a (sharp) sword, and a hand (to wield the weapon
Which of them, O which of them, will be at thy side
There, there, in the field of battle, my love.

Again she asks him to make haste :

Thy horse neighs at thy door,
Brave soldiers are waiting for thee, my love,
Here is the hero's bracelet, wear it and go to the wa
Dost not thou hear, the war-drum they are beating my love

In the following song, which may aptly b named 'desiderata', we come to know th Rajput damsels wanted to marry none but th ...,

The shell awaits the fall of he heavenly
The bird 'Chakoi' † awaits the rising sun
The hero awaits the advent of battle
The damsel, O the damsel, aw..s the he

Heroes are compared t following song :

No distinction have the lions
Between their own and oth
Any jungle where roams a lion



Singing while Spinning
Inset : Grand-mother and grand-child singing in tune

The wounded hero lies on sick-bed. Suddenly a minstrel comes to him and begins to sing his life-lit song. The Rajput wife seeks entry into her hero's room and asks the minstrel to stop his song :

Wounded by swords, here lies my brave love,
Innumerable close stitches there are on his limbs ;
Stop, stop, thy song of chivalry, O minstrel !
Lest my hero runs to the war with his green wounds.

* It is popularly believed that the heavenly drops deposited in shells form themselves into pearls.

† The masses suppose that a particular bird known as 'chakoi' is attracted by ties of love to the rising ......

Very pathetic are the references to the lost glory of old Rajasthan in Nopla, a famous bard of the land. Thus in one of his songs we find :

The Rajputs of today, O the Rajputs of today
Have the same houses, which once their ancestors had
Live in the same villages where once their ancestors lived
Eat the same food, which once their ancestors ate,
Worship the same God, whom once their ancestors worshipped
But, alas ! what a pity, says Nopla, the bard,
No spirit, O no heroic spirit, have they today

Songs of Pathos

Pathos pervades a large number of Indian folk-songs. There are many human settings such as a childless mother hankering to have an off-spring, an orphan shedding tears, calling, 'mother, O mother, so dear,' a widow weeping for her love with her bleeding heart, etc., but the most pathetic songs are those which are full of sympathy for the mute creatures, who cannot speak for themselves. This pathetic sympathy is time-old in India. The first poetic utterance of Valmiki, the primeval poet of the land, is traditionally said to have been due to the sad sight of a wounded and dying *Krauncha* bird.

In the villages of Tippera District in Bengal, the children of the peasantry sing a song full of warm tears from beginning to end. The spontaneous flow of pathos makes it exceptionally tender and suggestive. It runs as follows :

Lo ! there grazes the doe and the archer seeks for game
Suddenly he hits her with his sharp arrow
Thus breaks forth the poor innocent doe
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

I am but a forest-doe and owe to none
But my delicious flesh and blood
Turn the whole world against me,
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

Never have I trespassed into thy meadow to partake of its grass
Nor have I ever drunk the sweet water of thy pool
For no fault of mine am I struck !
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

My child remains unfed by my milk !
Nor will his moon-like face be seen any more by me !
No words of endearment from me shall please him any more
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me

For my own death I am not at all sorry
But what answer, O brother archer,
Wilst thou render to the gods above
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

Whenever my child aflame with hunger,
Will cry calling, 'O mother, mother dear !',
That cry will surely strike at the heart of the gods
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me



Pastoral life near Missouri

O ye my comrades tell my mate, my love,
To nurse my suckling child with love and care.
Tell him that we will not see each other any more in this life.
The archer's shot ends all my hopes and dreams
What a deep wound brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

Who is that smith, O who is that smith—
Who manufactured this arrow that kills me !
Extinct O extinct from the world,
May his whole family be !
What a deep wound, brother archer, thy arrow has given me !

(*A Bengali folk-song.*)

Again, in the United Provinces of India we come across a folk-song which well illustrates the pathetic tale of an innocent doe. Her mate is killed at the altar of sacrifice, but like a faithful wife she does not forget him at all. The village poet has very successfully given it a thoroughly human setting. We do not know why Queen Kaushalya's name is associated here. She represents a human figure whom the composer of



In the author's village Peasant women singing while returning home after day's work

of the song has given this particular name While the doe's request to get the deer's skin shows her extreme love for her mate, Queen Kaushalya's refusal to give it shows the intensity of human cruelty. The song runs as follows :

So small in size but full of leaves
Lo ! there we see a *Dhak* tree !
Beneath it stands an innocent doe
O see how sad is she.
Seeing her sad asks the grazing deer
So low in spirits, O what makes thee, my doe !
Is it for thy meadow has dried up—
Or for that water is so rare, my doe ?
My meadow, O my meadow is green
And water too not rare, my love !
Today is the sixth day of the prince's birth
Alas ! they will take thy life my love !
Here we see Queen Kaushalya,
On her *Machia* * sits she
Standing near her prays the doe :
'Hear me, O Queen, hear me.
'The flesh of the deer—my mate, O Queen
They are cooking in thy Kitchen
Do give them order, O kind Queen
To hand over to me his skin.
'On the *Dhak* tree will I hang it
Circling around, towards it will I always see
Some solace will I get and feel :
Here is the deer—my mate and that still lives he.
'Skin of the deer', says the Queen
I will not give thee, O doe,
With it will I prepare a *Khanjri* † for my Rama
Go away, O go away poor doe,
Beneath the *Dhak* tree stands the doe
O, see how sad is she !
Whenever sounds the *Khanjri*, high or low,
For the deer longs the she.
(*A folk-song from U.P.*)

Those who sing and hear the above song melt into tears and their sympathy undoubtedly goes to the poor doe whose mate is no more on this earth, and whose bleeding heart passionately



A Santhal girl going to dance

* A particular seat.
† A particular musical instrument.

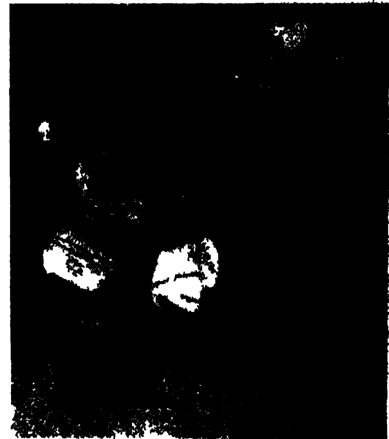


Pasture land in the author's village Bhadour Patiala State Cow boys sing while cows and buffaloes graze and drink water Similar scenes charmed the author in his boyhood



A Garhwali ploughman singing in the field

Photo by an esteemed friend of the author



A coolie though sufficiently loaded, sings

yearns at the vibrations of the *Khanjri* made of the skin of her dear mute

It may not be irrelevant to note here that this sympathy for the mute creatures who cannot speak for themselves is also a particular note of the English romantic poetry of the early nineteenth century and is heralded in the following lines of W Blake

'Each outcry of the hunted hare
A fibre from the brain doth tear
A skylark wounded on the wing
Doth make a cherub cease to sing'

Comic Songs

Inspite of the many sorrows to which the villager may be said to be born, there are moments of joy and gladness when life becomes as rippling as a laughing brook. 'No man who has once wholly and heartily laughed,' says Carlyle, 'can be altogether irreclaimably bad. In cheerful souls there is no evil'

There is a large number of comic-songs in Rural India, sung at times of festal mirth. People sing and hear them and laugh to their heart's content. If the Italian saying, *viz.*, that 'Laughter makes good blood' be right, the gain to the people by these songs is not inconsiderable

Here is a comic-song

Very kind of you that you have come
But no room for you have I, friend.
Return, O return to your home
By the same way, you came to me, friend.
A drop of water I would have offered you
Sorry, no water in my cracked jar
Don't sit, make haste and see your way,
How long will you stand, O friend so dear.

A fine seat I would have offered you
And could allow you to sit and take rest
Alas! some child has taken it for a while away
It was the only seat I ever had my friend
Some Oil certainly I would have given you
On your body you could have rubbed it
It is your ill luck that some pepper is mixed in it
Your eyes will burn friend if you use it
The tale of my joys and sorrows I could have told you
But sorry friend from fever am I suffering
Don't sit, O don't sit near a sick person
Make haste friend and reach your home
A *pan** I would have prepared for you friend
But sorry no betel nut is available
See, there lies the empty *pandan* friend
Nothing but stray tobacco leaves are in it
With a sweet dish I would have entertained you
Yesterday if you were here my friend
Its taste you could ever remember
So delicious was the dish my friend
So late it is turning, O friend so dear
At a long distance is your home from here
Make haste stay no more and go away
With a happy heart will I welcome thee some other day
(An Oriya folk song from Puri District)

A mother and father were the only living beings
At the dawn of our world so pretty,
The mother gave birth to me, o maidens
And the mother-in-law to my groom
Hour of blessings there came O maidens
Hour of blessings there came.

A father and a father-in-law were the only living beings
At the dawn of our world so pretty
The father brought me up with love and care
And the father-in-law blessed me with modesty
Hour of blessings there came O maidens
Hour of blessings there came

The red spot of vermilion on the parting of hair is considered as a sign of married girl in Hindu life. When the proper marriage ceremony takes place the groom is asked by the priest to put some vermilion in the bride's hair in the presence of the sacred fire. Here is a song which pictures the pathetic mood of the girl who is nervous when her groom adorns her hair with vermilion as she thinks that now she will have to leave her mother's house, where she had lived so happily.

Numerous such songs are current in different parts of India. Amongst the primitive tribes, lovers serenade their lady-loves with such songs in which the untranslatable humour of the rustic folks finds an adequate expression.

MARRIAGE SONGS

Songs are indispensable accompaniments of marriage festivities. Women sing innumerable songs as they perform different rites of the ceremony. These songs are supposed to have an auspicious influence over the marital life of the couple.

Here is a song which the maidens sing in chorus on behalf of the bride



At Serampur Bengal. Bengali fishermen singing while plying their boats

[illegible]

The earth and the sky were the only things
At the dawn of our world so pretty
Sweet showers from the sky came
The earth received them with a dear embrace
Hour of blessings there came o maidens
Hour of blessings there came

A cow and a mare were the only creatures
At the dawn of our world so pretty
The cow gave birth to a bullock to serve in our fields
And the mare to her son to take us to far off lands
Hour of blessings there came o maidens
Hour of blessings there came

Father father do I cry
Ah my father hears me not!
See, O see father my groom by force
Puts vermilion on the parting of my hair!
Vermilion's price is rising in the market
And the bridal veil is beyond price
Ah me father the dear vermilion put in my hair
Makes me bid adieu to thy land so good.
(A folk song from Bihar)

In the following song we find a bride at her toilet

Most beautifully shall I comb and arrange my hair
And will adorn it with vermilion so auspicious
Today my Krishna comes to me, they say,
O let me dress myself just like Rukmini.
(An Assamese folk song from Shibsagar District.)

* A typical preparation of betel leaf and nut for chewing.



A rural Bride







Top Santhal dance in *mela* six miles off Barakar [illegible] *Middle* Peasants singing while reaping harvest *Bottom* Near Benares, A camel driver taking rest and singing

As in the above song Krishna is [illegible] in many marriage songs of India We can see it in the following song too which is a beautiful colloquy between a father and a daughter about the choice of a groom for the latter

What makes thee stand thus dear daughter
    What makes thee stand thus ?
Behind thy father's sandal pillar dear daughter
    What makes thee stand thus ?
To knock at my father's door do I stand
(Make me a bride) father and find me a groom
What sort of groom dost thou wish to have
    dear daughter
    What sort of groom dost thou wish to have
Fair as the moon amongst the stars dear father
    And lovely as Krishna amongst men
To knock at my father's door do I stand
(Make me a bride) father and find me a groom '
(*A Punjabi folk-song*)

Deep and lasting is the pathos, created by the songs, sung to give a farewell to the bride when she accompanies the groom's party to reach her father-in-law's house

Here is a song, sung to wipe the tears of the weeping bride

Weep not O weep not
    My darling weep not
They do not seize thee to tie thy hands and feet
    My darling weep not
Nor do they seize thee to wound thy body,
    My darling weep not
(*A Kachari folk-song from Assam.*)

In the following song the name of Rama, the great hero of the Ramayana, becomes typical for that of a bridegroom The closing lines show how the bride instead of rejoicing at her happy marriage, is sad at heart with the moving pathos of departure from her parental nest.





Above: Mother smiling and singing at the marriage ceremony of her daughter. *Below*: Author's wife. She sings as she grinds. She has supplied the author with folk-songs of various kinds current among Panjabi women. She has also toured many places with him

Why did the betel-nut grow
And why did blossom the saffron-flower ?
Why was my little daughter born ?
Perform thy marriage-rite, my son.*
Run ye barbers and ye leaf-dish makers
Run and bring us the happy news
Search ye, the East, the West and Gujrat
O make a thorough search and bring us the news.

* Here it means a son-in-law.

'Eighty on foot and a hundred on horse-back
Numerous in the marriage-party,' they say
It makes my father tremble and thus says he :
'A virgin wilst thou remain, daughter, what more should I say !'†
'Fear not, father, and grieve not at all.
Go and just lodge the marriage-party,
With sweets will entertain them my mother's brother
And my uncle will give me away in marriage.'‡
Rama, the son of Dasharatha, starts in his chariot
With the bride's palanquin by his side,
On the high-roads goes the bride's palanquin
And beside it go so many riders.
The nightingale gives out a sweet note
As the palanquin passes out of the garden.
'What singest thou, O nightingale, so dear,
To my father's sweet land and mother's sacred lap I bid adieu
Farewel, O ye the sweets prepared by my brother's sweet-heart,
Farewell, O brother so dear, ever-sad my heart will be for thee.
(*A folk-song from U. P.*)

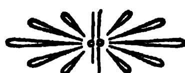
In the following song of the departing bride there is a mixed feeling of gratitude for her mother's care and love, as well as a fling at her apparent cruelty in giving her away to the strangers :

To beautify the branches of their own trees
The birds bring their children up :
Ah me, with cherished love and care my mother brought me up
To adorn, O to adorn others' home.
(*An Assamese folk-song*)

These old old coo-ings of Rural India, the nest of singing birds, are fast fading out of the memory of the young ; their place is being taken by new folk-songs. Old men and women who often sing these traditional songs are being quietly removed from the stage and these gems of India's literature are also disappearing with them. Let us awaken to the duty of preserving these relics of the past, which have not merely intrinsic worth as being beautiful in themselves, but have a further historic value as the precursers of later literature. Let us learn to love them, to admire them and to preserve them in beautiful anthologies.

† The father is afraid that if the groom's party, unsatisfied by his poor entertainment, returns away before the proper marriage-ceremony takes place, it will be a great insult to his family and moreover his daughter will remain a virgin.

‡ It is the function of the guardian of the bride to make a gift of her to the groom.



MAES-YR-HAF

By AMIYA C. CHAKRAVARTY

To a stranger passing by motor-car through the Rhondda Valley, the prospect that lies around seems to be one of great peace, beauty and plenitude. The idea that behind this screen of Nature's loveliness, proverty and extreme misery may lie hidden, would not occur to one unversed in the lore of modern industrial conditions. I have just been on a short visit to the unemployment centre in Rhondda Valley near Dinas in South Wales. As I said, I was struck with the extreme beauty of the scenery. As one left Cardiff, the rolling Downs, the shimmering trees along the curving roads and the groups of attractive cottages dotting the hill-sides conjured up an atmosphere of richly gracious existence. Gradually one encountered some smoke in the atmosphere of the valley, and occasional aggregations of dwelling sites, but the effect of picturesque content remained undisturbed. It was when I had been for some time in the Maes-yr-haf Educational Settlement that I began to realize what depths of discontent and distress existed amongst the unemployed miners in that district.

In the settlement of Maes-yr-haf itself I found tangible evidence of the most splendid reconstructive and educational work being done to relieve the minds of people who suddenly, through no fault of their own, discovered that not only had they lost all their resources but that evidently they were not wanted by anybody in the present arrangement of society. Here are people not only from Wales, but from parts of England, drawn to this coal district by the prospect of dependable work and good working conditions supplied at the beginning with high wages (up to £7 or £8 a week). In the days of industrial prosperity the big magnates found their labour useful and lucrative and so the arrangement seemed to work perfectly well; but as soon as the economic crisis began to make itself felt, down went the wages and gradually out went the workers so that the industrialists who had made great profits could save themselves from further loss. The real crash seems to



Trehérbert Unemployed Clubhouse opened February 1934.
The surrounding land is cultivated as a Communal Garden by the men

have come a few years after the War, and it was then when almost overnight thousands of workers were disbanded and left to the mercies of unemployment, that the Maes-yr-haf Settlement itself came into existence. It was started by Mr. and Mrs. Noble, who felt that even if they could not solve the whole problem of the unemployed, they could perhaps create a little centre from which to radiate new hope, friendliness and means of providing people who had no work to do, with interesting and useful forms of occupation.

There are now thirty unemployed clubs with a total membership of between five and six thousand. The co-operation in the main-

tenance of these clubs which is shown by the unemployed men themselves is remarkable and encouraging, and the activities of the clubs are flourishing and of great benefit. Both formal and informal educational work is carried on in them, including classes in biology, English literature, social philosophy, local government, ethics, psychology, political geography, and short courses and lectures on other varied subjects. Most of the clubs have libraries and facilities for distribution of useful books, while discussion classes are held revealing much debating talent. A successful singing festival has been held, also a football competition, and an inter-club paper launched and circulated. Handicrafts and women's and boys' interests receive full consideration, while holiday camps have proved a great success. When one considers that the unemployment figures for the country of Glamargan, the industrial county of South Wales (containing most of its population) are 84,500 of whom 4,500 are eighteen to twenty-one years of age. It is a matter of great congratulation to all concerned that so many of these clubs have been started and are developing in such an encouraging way.

Now, coming from the East, I must confess that even the spectacle of appalling poverty as it appears in this country does not seem so tragic or so extreme to an Indian eye as in a country where things are unorganized, where even the rudiments of industrial life have not spread over the country at large, and where proverty means complete helplessness and dependence on the vagaries of Nature or on charity, and on any chance developments that may occur to relieve distress. We have been for a very long time dependent (and still are almost wholly dependent) on agriculture. The system of our civilization is built on the village as the unit—unlike that in industrial Europe where the towns are like the brain-centres and are really the vital points of the whole of the social and industrial life of the race. So that when times of war and crisis occur, the first effort of each country is to get at these brain-centres—the big cities—and to attempt to crush them because by crushing them the whole nation--the whole country can be completely ruined. India, however, has had its full share of natural and national calamities, invasions, pestilence, and exploitation of every kind ; and yet—due to the diffusedly spread life of India's millions,—no amount of distress seems to have succeeded in completely paralysing our civilization. There is much to be said for basing one's civilization on the candid recognition of the soil, of the simple life, as the primary sources of human existence, and yet India is increasingly recognizing today that unless she benefits by the development of science, for bettering the conditions of human life through the application of modern systems of drainage and irrigation, and through electricity and so on, we have no chance either of developing or of preserving our civilization in harmony with the modern age. The experiments that have been made in big cities like Bombay, Karachi and Amedabad have been indiscriminately imitative of the worst forms of industrialization in the West with the whole paraphernalia of slums and exploitation of labour, appalling working hours and completely inadequate methods of helping the workers in the amenities of insurance and medical help, and other essential needs of human welfare.

But fortunately, these experiments have not been, speaking generally from the point f view of India, either very significant or of great importance. They have hurt us by their power of mal-adjustment, but their evils have not penetrated the depths of our social texture. We are beginning now to realize that we have to adapt Western methods of production and distribution, the machinery of industrialization, to the essential genius of India's agricultural civilization. As to how this adjustment can best be made, we are not at all clear in our mind ; but it may well be (as Mr. Wells said to me the other day) that India and other Eastern countries are in one way more favourably situated for making industrial experiments because of the fact that they can profit by the experiments, failures and the achievements, of the industrial technique in the West. India may proceed directly from the hand-loom to the electrified machine without having at all to go through the coal and smoke stage and all the indignity and almost sub-human conditions that industrialization in Europe has more or less meant up to this day. There has been little to choose between primitive agrarian

conditions and the highly modern life of the slums. And yet it must be said that in Europe even evil has to reckon with movement so that there is always the prospect of better possibilities though these must be illusive and impermanent when they occur because of the unreality of their foundation in a disharmonious fabric of class inequality; while in the East, evils often take root and attain the dignity of mere immobility, which is hardly an attribute of life. The former explodes in wars, the latter revolves in an interminable round of misery and habitual chaos of petty contention. This is a larger aspect of the problem which we can now barely touch upon, but what is abundantly evident is that humanity has nowhere an exclusive monopoly of geographically isolated suffering from evils. One can only hope that the rich variety of common human misery may help us in better dealing with the problem of their eradication.

Looking at the condition of the distressed miners, I often wondered whether the path toward solution of their problem did not lie in an understanding of the need of adjusting human life to the essential claims of kinship and co-operation with the soil. Here again, evidently, is a case for a better adjustment of life to industrial and agricultural conditions which cannot with impunity be maintained in their separateness. While the East has to master the movement of the machine, the West must learn to live closer to the durable basis of the earth, and come back to it for a new sanity of prosperity.

When I looked at the rolling Downs and the virgin fields, untilled and unused, whether belonging to the State or to individual landowners, I wondered why there was not that much-needed control over ownership of land which would make it possible immediately for the thousands of unemployed people in the valley to devote themselves to production of living wealth through intensive working up of the land. To a certain extent, I know, the land is used for the purpose of cattle-raising, and one hears increasingly of schemes of allotments. It seems to an Easterner that the path of sanity and well-being must evidendly lie in that direction. Here are people with keen intelligence, with active minds and hands, waiting for a chance to be used. Here are families somehow maintaining their barest human needs of living through the dole, passionately looking forward to any opening that they can find of establishing their homes with security, and yet being unable to do so because of overwhelming social conditions and the tyranny of a dislocated industrial system. Overcrowding in houses, the feeling of complete despondency mixed with that very laudable spirit of pride and dignity which prevents the unemployed from airing his or her grivances, combine to produce acute tensions in the distressed homes, in the miserable minds of these humble and lovable people, which seem to be almost incurable if we have to depend purely on the maintenance of the present regime of the industrially mechanized civilization for a solution.



A "Santa Claus" Workshop.
Putting the finishing touches to toys for X'mas at the Pentre Unemployment Centre

One comes up against such extraordinarily

tragic facts as that of people with more families being compelled to live in smaller houses. It is only when the family is very small that they can afford a larger house, whereas when the family is large and really needs a bigger home, they have to go into even smaller houses in order to make it possible for them to pay the necessary rent. There is a complete lack of skilled occupations which would utilize the well-marked abilities of these workers. The industrial owners who reaped a rich harvest from an intense and short-lived prosperity have left these people after the flow of wealth had ebbed away, high and dry on the unworked soil, and retreated to their own offices in London and Sheffield and Mammon knows where else. There are one or two garden houses one finds where occasionally those profiteers who still have enough money to spare come with their friends for a week-end's revelry without dreaming of giving back some of the wealth which they had gained through the help of these thousands of honest workers who, through no fault of their own, are now left to the vagaries of circumstance.

I do not pretend for a moment that there is an easy solution for the complicated problems of industrialization and unemployment. Keen and able minds are tackling them in the most helpful and constructive manner all over the land, and the public conscience is awake to some of the inevitable evils of industrialization and of centralization of life in the cities and the wholly wrong emphasis that has been placed in recent times on the highly elaborated mechanism of life in Western cities. If the thinkers and sufferers direct their brains a little more to the reverse side of the problem, so to say, of agricultural civilizations trying to adapt their needs to modern possibilities and to the harnessing of Science for raising their standard of life, perhaps some indication of the happy golden medium can be found which may yet stabilize life more or less on the same kind of principles in the West and in the East. The Nazi movement has on its credit side an attempt to reach the soil in a scientific spirit of humanism ; Italy has got some way towards the solution of the needs of earth-adjustments of their social structure ; Russia, a blend of the East and the West, is a seething laboratory of experiments at every level, but being more Siberian than European, their civilization has first swung ever to the imitative extreme of industrialization for hope of power and prosperity. All over the world today experiments, costing life and wealth and sanity, are being made unabated, to the limits of ardour and ingenuity, to evolve a new technique of human existense harmonized with the foundations of earth-life. The solution, however, cannot be attained by zealous or militant exclusiveness of nations. Human civilization must solve its fundamental problems in the knowledge of basic unities and in co-operation. At each point, wherever we turn, in our agricultural and industrial problems, again and again we are faced with this inescapably interlinked background of our present human civilization.

The Maes-yr-haf Colony has tackled the local problems of unemployment from all the immediately necessary points of view. As already described, they have opened clubs or rather, inspired the workers to open their own clubs, all over the Valley. There are many other settlements which have done good work for a very long time. The Maes-yr-haf Settlement which is comparatively new, is providing first class trained workers to explore the possibilities and the problems of the unemployed, and while dealing with their social life they are in a great measure providing skilled training in handicrafts, (the Weaving Department of Maes-yr-haf, with its fine success in reviving Welsh and Celtic designs is epecially impressive), in carpentry, and other forms of skilled work which would enable many men and women in the neighbourhood to utilize their talents. Above all, the settlement is providing these simple and suffering people with that faith in life, that hopefulness of better prospects in the future, and that understanding of some of the abiding truths of human existence, which no circumstances of material world can affect. This goes beyond the immediate necessities of the people and yet there can indeed be no solution of any of even our daily problems unless we have learnt to know them in the light of deeper humanity and with the clarity of sympathetic and precise intellectual cognition.

I have come back with a sense of deep

happiness and inspiration from this Settlement, having seen with my own eyes what splendid work is being done there. Mr. Miles Davies and other friends of the Settlement took care to acquiant me with the varied activities of that area and provided me with a wealth of economic facts and knowledge of local social conditions. I was able to come in close touch with unemployed homes. The unemployed, as usual, are men who are used to honest work and have a commonsense way of dealing with facts. Dire distress has widened their range of sympathies even more, so that they begin to feel today that their distress is not something special and peculiar to themselves, but is a part of the general effect of disintegration of the social, political and industrial machinery which prevails all over the modern world. The lack of control over distribution and production, the possibility of exploitation and profit, the attitude of somehow "muddling through things" in the hope that some good results will somehow ensue, have landed them in a state of living burial, just as it has brought complete cessation of life to millions at one stroke during the War. These are all the inevitable effects of an unorganized scheme of industrial and social life: lack of control, lack of sympathy, and dependence on mere technique and machinery to do the things which can be done by them only when it is the mind which is using the machinery and not *vice versa*.

I found in talking to members of the local "Don Club" (one of the best-known clubs of the neighbourhood) how sympathetic they were towards the starving peasants in India. We all realized in a short time that, whether it was a foreign race exploiting a weaker one, or people in power exploiting labour at home, the results were very much the same; and the nature of the evil is not very different in either case. What we are up against, therefore, are evils which are a menace to humanity in the East as well as in the West. It is our common fight against exploitation, lack of sympathy, and the relentless greed and possessiveness of the powerful.



Unemployed's New Venture

After a term of tuition under a local engineer the members of the Ystrad Unemployed Club are putting their theory into practice and building a motor-car. The photograph shows members at work

At the end of our Sunday evening gathering the unemployed miners spontaneously gave me a message to carry home to my own people in India. Here are some lines from it:

"We would like you to know that our expressions are accepted and shared by all the thinking section of the working class of the country. It can be said that we, whilst sharing in the proceeds of world plunder, were

guilty of thoughtlessness regarding the conditions of those people whom we, with our Imperialist education, accepted as subject races. Altered conditions have forced us to think from a different angle ; we have rid ourselves of the 19th century ideology—we can no longer be described as unstable and mob-minded in our attitude to our fellow-beings. Our minds have been disabused of the real mission of our national heroes of that period, they were conjured up to be all that was chivalrous, and whose whole lives we believed were dedicated to take peace and goodwill to all mankind.

"We are no longer dazzled by the glorious picture of mere Empire-building ; we are no longer deluded by race prejudice, and cannot be depended upon to assist in the exploitation of any people in any part of the world.

"The name of Mahatma Gandhi is revered by all decent people in this country. His policy has perhaps not been understood, but he should know that which is best for India under the circumstances.

"The working class of Britain have everything in common with you ; they are also being called upon to make sacrifices for greed by the same forces that have caused such suffering all over the world.

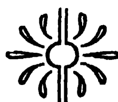
"There are developments to indicate tremendous changes in the character of Society ; it must be, it shall be based on humanity and brotherhood, where nation with nation, land with land shall live unarmed as comrades, when every race shall be liberated to work out their own destinies in co-operation.

"Our message concludes by bidding the people to have patience and courage a while longer. The realization of their ambitions cannot possibly be delayed much longer. God speed the day—is the sincerest wish of,

Yours fraternally,
THE DON CLUB."

I shall certainly feel happy to tell my countrymen of this deep love which English men and women, so many of them, cherish in their hearts for their brothers and sisters in the East. Let us realize very clearly that it is not the peoples of the world who have anything against each other ; given the proper opportunities, the normal possibilities of contact, it would be inevitable that they should discover their affinities and respect their differences. But between the peoples of the world stands the formidable machinery of national Governments who build walls between man and man and drive the peoples of the world into wars and into sub-human conditions of living. It is the nations which seize hold of the minds and the bodies of the people and whether a country is technically free or not, the lot of the citizens under such conditions is that bordering on slavery and serfdom.

The memory of the beautiful woods and green hill-sides glimmering in a summer afternoon remains with me, blended with the beautiful experiences of my contact with the members of the Settlement at Maes-yr-haf and the Malthouse : and at the very heart of all this remains imperishably in my mind the kindly and sympathetic faces of the many unemployed men and women with whom I had the honour to associate during my stay in South Wales. Suffering shared together, I felt, is one of the strongest of human bonds, but surely our pain is a prelude to that greater fellowship of freedom which humanity will create through the growth of knowledge and consequent readjustment of human and natural resources.



HOW MANY MUHAMMADANS PAY INCOME-TAX IN BENGAL

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M. Sc., B. L.

THE Muhammadans form 55 per cent of the population of Bengal. On that ground they demand 55 per cent of services under the Government or under the Calcutta Corporation and other local bodies; they demand 55 per cent representation on the local bodies, in the University, assuming that the population strength is the only criterion. Let us see how many of them put anything into the coffers of the State for the general well-being by way of Income-Tax.

In the Bengal Census Report for 1911 subsidiary Table XI, castes of income-tax assessees are given at p. 586. We give below so much of it as is relevent for our enquiry

Income from—

Castes	Profession	Manufactures	Commerce & Trade	Owners of Property	Total
Jolaha			25	—	25
Mussalman (unspecified)	209	59	2,373	121	2,762
Saiyed	6	—	13	5	24
Sheikh	8	17	323	18	366
Total of all Mussalman groups	223	76	2,734	144	3,177
"Others"	121	137	1,111	208	1,580
Hindu Castes	(figures not given in this extract)				
Grand Total	3,116	588	17,761	1,359	22,872

That the "others" do not include any Mussalmans will appear from a perusal of the Table, and from the context. Thus in 1911, the Muhammadans formed some 13 or 14 per cent of the income-tax payers. At that time Rs. 1000 was the taxable minimum.

In the Bengal Census Reports of 1921 and 1931 no such comparative figures of income-tax payers are given. But an estimate of the relative proportion is possible from the 1921 figures. In Table XX showing the distribution by Religion of Workers and dependents in different occupations, at p. 368 of the 1921 Report we find the number of "Persons living on their incomes" by communities. We give below the relative entries:

Distribution by Religion

Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Buddhists	Animists	Others
30,633	4,643	1,784	84	21	255

Total number of workers and dependents 37,420

All persons living on their incomes are not assessed to income-tax. Only these who have an income of Rs. 2000. or over are taxed (the minimum is now temporarily reduced to Rs. 1000). Further, agricultural incomes are not charged. Hence the figures quoted above give the upper limit of the possible number of assessees; and the Muhammadans form 12·4 per cent of such persons.

In the Census Report of 1931, the corresponding Table has been omitted—why? Sir Abdel Karim Ghuznavi, who was in charge of the Census Department and whose son has contributed paragraphs to the Census Report, can best answer the question.

The territorial distribution of these 37,420 persons is in Calcutta 11,450 and in the rest of the province 25,970.

From the Bengal Administration Report of 1920-21, we find that

> "the number of persons assessed to income-tax during the year was 37,598". "Only one person in 2,779 of the population outside Calcutta paid income-tax, and the average amount paid by each assessee was Rs. 174. In Calcutta, which for income-tax purposes includes the town of Howrah, the proportion was one person in 57 of the population and the average tax paid by each assessee was Rs. 2,139".

The population of Calcutta and Howrah was in 1921, 9,07,851 and 1,95,301 respectively. So the number of the income-tax assessees works out to 19,353. Having regard to the fact that many persons, who live in the metropolitan districts of 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Howrah, such as daily passengers &c., are assessed at Calcutta, there is sufficient correspondence between these figures and the territorial distribution according to the Census of 1921 to warrant the assumption that all those who live on their incomes generally pay income-tax.

We may, therefore, accept the relative proportion of the Muhammadan to the non-Muhammadan income-tax payers as that of the number of the Muhammadans "living principally on their incomes" to the rest of such persons under that head i. e., 4,643: (37,420-4,643)=32,777 or some 12 per cent of the total.

In 1927 the number of the Muhammadan and the non-Muhammadan (over 95 p. c. Hindu) Municipal voters of Calcutta was 9,586 and 57,493 respectively. In 1926, the respective numbers of Council voters were 4,446 and 32,619; and those of the Assembly voters 1,700 (an estimate) and 13,761. The estimate is based on a proportionate reduction in the number, as in the case of the non-Muhammadans;

(for whom alone the absolute figures are available) an assumption greatly in favour of the Muhammadans, it being generally admitted that the curve showing the distribution of wealth, is steeper among them. (See *Mysore Economic Journal*, April 1934, p. 199.)

The respective main qualifications for a Municipal, Council and Assembly voter are payment of Rs. 12, Rs. 24 and Rs. 60 as taxes. Those who pay Rs. 60 as Municipal taxes must be the owner of premises of an annual value of over Rs. 300. Such an owner may be expected to have a gross income of over Rs. 2000 from all sources, taking the notional value of the house occupied by him to be some 15 per cent of his total income, as is usually done in demographical calculations.

So the respective number of income-tax payers in Calcutta may be taken to be proportional to the number of the Assembly voters, *i. e.*, 1600 Muhammadans to 13,761 non-Muhammadans.

In the mofussil of Bengal, all the income-tax payers may be taken to be congregated in the urban areas, especially as income-tax is not levied on agricultural incomes.

The number of the Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan urban Council voters outside Calcutta are 37,818 and 121,335 respectively. (The figures given in the Command Papers showing the Results of Election are generally smaller, and against the Muhammadans, for very many urban voters are included in rural constituencies.) In the absence of better materials, if we assume that the number of the Muhammadan and the non-Muhammadan urban Council voters is reduced in the same proportion as the number of the respective Council voters to the Assembly voters, the estimated numbers of urban Assembly voters become 4,700 Muhammadans, and 30,500 non-Muhummadans. (This again is greatly in favour of the Muhammadan, as the curve of wealth is steeper in his case.)

The main qualification of an urban Assembly voter is payment of Rs. 5 as taxes. In 1926, 76 out of 114 municipalities levied a "Tax on Persons" *i. e.*, an indirect income-tax on circumstances and means. At the usual rate it means a gross annual income of Rs. 500 and a tax of Rs. 20 would mean an income of Rs. 2,000—the ordinary taxable minimum of income. At this level, the estimated numbers of Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan income-tax payers become 2,500 and 21,250,

The respective totals of the estimated Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan assessees are 4,100 and 35,000. The grand total is 39,100. In 1926-27, the number of income-tax assessees in Bengal was 42,036. As we have made several assumptions, we find sufficient correspondence between the two figures to warrant us in thinking that we are right. The Muhammadans are some 10 per cent of the total of income-tax assessees.

In 1911, the Muhammadan income-tax payees formed 11 per cent of the total by actual count. (Then the taxable income was Rs. 1,000.) In 1921, they were estimated to be 12 per cent; and in 1926-27 they were estimated to be 10 per cent. As all these percentages sufficiently agree with each other we are not far from the truth. Taking the mean we take the percentage of the Muhammadan income-tax payers in Bengal to be 12 per cent

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TO MY MOTHERLAND

Blessed am I that I am born to this land
and that I had the luck to love her.
What care I if queenly treasure is not in her store
but enough is for me the living wealth of her love

The best gift of fragrance to my heart
comes from her own flowers
and I know not where else shines the moon
that can flood my being with such loveliness.
The first light revealed to my eyes
was from her own sky
and let the same light kiss them
before they are closed for ever

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A Translation by himself of Rabindranath's famous Song "सार्थक जनम आमार जन्मेछि एइ देशे" published in *Visva Bharati News*.

A PEEP INTO THE EARLY HINDU ARCHITECTURE

By Prof. P. K. ACHARYA, I. E. S., M. A. (Calcutta), Ph. D. (Leiden), D. Litt. (London),
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THE idea of architecture in all countries and in all historical times has been associated, somehow, with public buildings, especially churches, mosques, temples and in some cases with forts and palaces of certain artistic shape known as style. In histories of architecture no special reference is found either to the internal arrangement of these public buildings of infrequent use or to the residential buildings and their internal arrangement of rooms where the most part of life is spent. When we speak of the Saracenic, Gothic, or English architecture of different periods the picture which arises in our mind is not of a residential house of the Muslims or Christians, but of the Mosques and Churches of certain external shapes and doors, windows, and arches of certain styles in palaces of Kings and chiefs and nobles. To exclude from the purview of architecture the dwelling houses, especially their internal arrangement, where we are born and brought up, where we get the joy and sorrow of living, and where we ultimately die, would be to reduce architecture to a mere fine art of comparatively little practical utility and importance for a vast majority of civilized people. This was, however, not the case with the Hindu architecture, which is known by the significant title of *Vāstu-Śāstra* or science of dwelling houses. The historians of Hindu architecture, on the analogy of Muslim and Christian architecture, have confined themselves to the description and discussion of the recent Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples and the scanty remains of some dilapidated forts and palaces. In fact, no archaeological remains of dwelling houses are available for those historians who depend mostly upon such remains and do not consider seriously such evidences as can be gathered together from general literature and avowedly architectural texts numbering a few hundreds. The details in those architectural treaties as well as in Hindu and Buddhist scriptures, epics, Puranas, Agamas and other literature are of such a nature as can hardly be recorded from mere fanciful imagination.

The long controversy between Fergusson and Rajendralala Mitra on the existence of burnt brick edifices in the Vedic period is a matter of no worth in presence of the discoveries of cities and buildings built of stone and burnt brick at Mahenjodaro and Harappa, which must be placed long before the Vedic period. These discoveries have fully justified the conclusion (of Rajendralala Mitra) that the Vedic people were not ignorant of stone forts, walled cities, stone houses and brick edifices. At the period of Buddhist scripture the subject of domestic architecture became of such popular importance that Buddha found it necessary to conclude a religious discourse with a long lecture on architecture stating,

> "I allow you O Bhikkhus, abodes of five kinds—Vihara (monastery), Ardharyoga or Suvarna-Vangagriha (gold coloured Bengal house or Bungalow), Prasāda (long-storied mansion), Harmya (storied edifices), and Guhā" (cave houses)."*

These are expressly stated to be 'abodes' or dwelling houses, not temples. And the residence of a mere devotee (upasaka) contains a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, a one-peaked building, a shop, a *boutique*, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store room, a refactory, a fire room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a house to walk in, a well, a well house, a weapons-room (yantragriha, a lotus pond, a pavilion, and a bathing place for hot sitting baths. (Mahavagga III. 5. 6. 9.)

These hot-air baths are fully described in the Vinaya texts (III. 105-110, 297):

> "They were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone, with stone stairs leading up to it, and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skins, and then with plaster; the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an ante-chamber and a hot room, and a pool to bathe in. Seats were arranged round a fire place in the middle of the hot room; and to induce perspiration hot water was poured over the bathers. After the bath there was shampooing and then a plunge into the pool."

This advanced state of modern scientific achievements at such an early time in India has naturally puzzled the wit of those who can hardly believe in the ingenuity of early Indians. Thus Mr. Rhys Davids observes that "it is very curious to find at this very early age at the Ganges valley a sort of bathing so closely resembling our modern Turkish bath." "Did the Turks," he asks in utter confusion, "derive this custom from India?" (P. 74).

> "In the King's palace there was accommodation also for all the business of the state, and for the numerous retinue and the extensive harem."

> "The entrance to the great houses was through a large gateway. The gateway led into an inner

* Vinaya texts, Mahavagga 1. 30. 4, pp. 173-174, Chullavagga, VI. 1. 2, p. 158.

courtyard round which were chambers on the ground floor. And above these chambers were a flat roof...where the owner sat usually under a pavilion, which answered the purpose at once of a drawing-room, an office, and a dining hall."

"The inner chambers of larger house were divided into three classes called Sivika-garbha (square halls), Nālikāgarbha (rectangular halls) and Harmya-garbha (state-rooms or round halls). The blessed Buddha says, 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, covered terraces, inner verandahs, and over-hanging eaves.' Storeyed buildings were supplied with verandahs supported on pillars with capitals of elephant heads. There were stairs built of brick, stone and wood. They were furnished with balustrades. Each of the flights of stairs is stated to have posts or banisters attached to it, cross bars let into these banisters, and either a head-line running along the top of the banisters or a figure-head at the lower end of such:a head line."

Doors were furnished with

"door-post and lintel, with hollows like a mortar for the door to revolve in, with projections to revolve in those hollows, with rings on the door for the bolt to work along in, with a block of wood fixed into the edge of the door-post, and containing a cavity for the bolt to go into what is called monkey's head, with a pin to secure the bolt by, with a connecting bolt, with a key-hole, with a hole for a string with which the door may be closed, and with a string for the purpose." (Chullavagga VI. 3.;8 ; 2. 1 and 17.)

"Windows of three kinds were made with railings, lattices and slips of wood as in Venetian blinds. The shutters were adjustable and could be closed or opened whenever required."

Five kinds of roofing are mentioned—brick roofing, stone-roofing, cement-roofing, straw-roofing, and roofing of leaves. The roof was first covered over with skins and plastered within and without; then follow white-wash, blocking, red-colouring, wreath-work, and creeper work.

The floor was coloured and with a view to removing dampness gravel was spread over it.

The epics also refer to dwelling houses in addition to temples and palaces. It is stated in the Rāmāyana (1. 5. 10-15) that

"The temples in the city of Ayodhya were as resplendent as the sky. Its assembly halls, gardens and alms-houses were most elegant ; and everywhere were arranged extensive buildings. The steeples of houses were as resplendent as the crests of mountains and bore hundred of pavilions .. The rooms were...exquisitely gilt and decorated and seemed as charming as pictures ; and they were so arranged that men could pass from one room to another without perceiving any inequality (in the floor)."

The guest houses built in connection with the royal sacrifice (Rājasuya) are described in the Mahābhārata (B. II. c 34, A. S. rd. I. p. 354) :

"Those houses were lofty...most charming in appearance, and provided with excellent furniture. They were surrounded on all sides by well-built high walls of a white colour. The windows were protected by golden lattices and decorated with a profusion of jewellery. The stairs were easy of ascent...The houses were white as the swan, bright as the moon, and looked most picturesque even from a distance of four miles. They were free from obstructions, provided with doors of uniform height, but of various quality, and inlaid with numerous metal ornaments. They had by them charming lakes and ranges or ornamental plants."

"In the cities described in the epics special palaces existed for the King, the princes, the chief priests, ministers and military officers. Besides these and humble dwellings, the larger houses being divided into various courts, there were various assembly halls, courts of justice, and the booths of small traders with goldsmith's shops, and the work-places of other artisans."

Apart from such casual references found in all the Puranas, nine of them have treated the subject of arthitecture more systematically and have dealt with the technical details of plans, measures, classifications, pavilions, halls, storeys, steeples, etc. In the Matsya-Purāna pillars are divided into five orders, as in the western system and their component parts into eight mouldings exactly like those of the Greco-Roman orders. In this Purāna pavilions are divided into twenty-seven classes according to the number of pillars they are furnished with and may be triangular, quadrangular, octagonal, sixteen-sided, crescent-shaped, and round or circular. Buildings proper are divided into forty-five types under five plans, quadrangular, rectangular, round, oval and octagonal in the Agni and Garuda Purānas. In the Matsya and Bhavishya Purānas as well as in the Brihat Sambita buildings are divided into twenty types and described with minute details. Thus a type of building called *Meru* is stated to be fifty cubits broad, and is furnished with a hundred cupolas (Sringa), sixteen storeys, and many variegated steeples.

Similarly the extensive literature known as the Agamas deals with the subject in greater and more technical details. The Kāmikāgama devotes sixty chapters out of a total of seventy-five to architecture and its treatment of the subjects can hardly be surpassed by that of an architectural treatise. Just like a Vāstu-sāstra it begins systematically with the preliminary matters, such as testing and preparation of soil, selection of site, scheme of measurement, and orientation of buildings. Buildings are classified under twenty types and described with highly technical details of styles, shapes, genders, materials, situation and ultility.

The great popularity of the subject has induced the authors of other classes of literature also to deal with the subject. Thus we find a more or less detailed account of it but without technical details in the Arthsāstra, the Sukraniti, the Harsha-charita, the Rajatarangini, even in the astronomical works (as the Garga-samhitā, Lilavati, Suryasiddhanta, etc.), poetical works

(*e.g.* Vikramorvasi, Uttara-Rama-charita), romances, dramas and medical works.

So far as the avowedly architectural works are concerned it would be impossible to refer here to all matters discussed therein for the benefit and direction of the practical builders. The standard work, Mānasāra, deals with the subject of architecture and its hand-maid sculpture exhaustively in seventy chapters. The first eight chapters are introductory wherein full accounts are given of the system of measurements, the necessary training and qualifications of the different classes of architects, the testing of soil, the selection of site, planning, designing and dialling, finding out of cardinal points for orientiation of architectural objects, and astronomical and astrological calculations. In the next forty chapters are given all the architectural details of various kinds of villages, towns and forts; joinery, dimensions, and foundations not only of buildings but also of the villages, towns, tanks, etc.; pillars and their component parts such as pedestals, bases, shafts, capitals, and entablatures; storeys varying from one to twelve in ordinary buildings and to seventeen in gate-houses; the artistic arrangement of mansions in as many as ten rows; compounds and courts of edifices, their gatehouses, their attached and detached buildings; the doors, windows and other openings; the stairs and staircases for buildings, hills, rivers, etc.; the courtyards, quadrangles and arches; royal courts, palaces, thrones, and crowns; cars, chariots and other conveyances; articles of furniture such as bedsteads, couches, tables, chairs, wardrobes, baskets, cages, mills, lamps, various dresses and garments; and the personal ornaments such as various chains, armlets, anklets, head-gears and foot-wears. In the concluding twenty chapters are given the sculptural details of idols of deities of the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains, statues of great personages, and images of animals and birds.

No proper elucidation of all these various subjects is possible here. The plates may give some idea. Of the preliminary matters attention may be invited to two things which have been specially emphasized in Hindu architecture. In the thirty-two illustrative site-plans, the area of the site selected for a village, town, fort, harbour, and residential buildings, after a thorough examination of the soil, the wind-direction, the humidity, salubrity of the air, and the sloping, etc. for drainage, and the general aspect, is divided into as many as 1024 quarters (each one of) which are named after the quarter lords (numbering some forty-five). The importance of this device is that the exact situation of a particular spot where a certain structure is to be built can be most accurately ascertained. No other method can point to a spot with so much accuracy. The sites admit of all possible shapes, quadrangular, triangular, circular, semi-circular, etc. Before referring to the other preliminary matters, namely, the aspect and orientation which together with the scheme of arrangement of rooms in dwelling houses will be briefly elucidated in conclusion, it is proposed to refer here to the foundation to which the modern builders do not seem to have paid sufficient attention.

In the Mānasāra the foundation is classified under three heads, namely, for buildings; for villages, towns, cities, forts, etc.; and for cisterns, wells and tanks. So far as the modern Indian villages and towns are concerned, there is no trace of any proper foundation being ever laid. The recent earthquake areas in North Bihar where many villages and towns have been demolished do not show that in those settlements any foundation was ever laid for the whole areas. In the same areas the destroyed cisterns, wells and tanks also do not show any proper foundation. In fact, it is almost a general practice to dig the well and complete it by a sort of wall for the sides only, leaving the bottom more or less unattended to for supply of water like the tube-wells. In case of tanks there is no side-wall even. The Mānasāra has prescribed foundation for wells and tanks as deep as the joined palm of man (narāñjali). For villages, etc. that is for *grāma*, *nagara*, *pura*, *pattana*, *kharvata*, *Koshtha*, *Kola*, *etc.* foundations are stated to be of five kinds, and vary according to the size of the construction. The foundation of buildings is divided into two classes, as it belongs to human dwellings and to temples and other public buildings, for the latter of which a stronger foundation is prescribed. This would account for the lesser destruction of Hindu temples in North Bihar by the earthquake.

> "The best ground selected for foundations is excavated to the depth of man's height with uplifted arms. The bottom of the pit thus excavated is stated to end in rock or water. The depth of the excavation should be equal to the height of the basement. The four corners and sides, built of brick or stone, are stated to be equal. The pit is first filled with sand and water, which are closely pressed and hardened by means of (wooden) hammers shaped like the elephant's foot. From the bottom should be removed all water if there remains any. The floor of the excavation should be consolidated with seven kinds of earth, namely, from rivers, mountains, anthills, crab-holes, sea-shores, tops of trees, and cow's hoofs. Upon this earth deposit should be further deposited the roots of white lotuses, blue lotuses, water-lily, *saugandhi* grass, and Kākali (ganja) plant. Upon this should be placed in order the eight sorts of corn, namely, Sāli, brihi, kodrava (paspalum scorbi cultum), Kangu (panic seed), mudga (phaseolus mungo), Māsha (bean, phaseolustradiatus). Kulattha (dolichos uniflarus), and tila (sesamum indicum). Upon this finally depositing the other usual materials (concrete etc.) the foundation should be raised up to the upper surface of the excavation. The twelve kinds of dimensions of excavation to suit buildings of

one to twelve storeys are specified with various alternatives."

The plinth proper is also stated to vary in accordance with the number of storeys and size of the building. Pillars of five main orders are erected in suitable places. Halls of a thousand columns are also described. Walls which admit of various thickness and shapes are stated to be both solid and hollow, and external and internal containing paintings, doors, windows, lattices dormer windows, sky-lights and other openings are specified with details of measurement and designs even for the kitchens and privies. Steps and staircases of various designs including circum-ambulating ones are stated to be both fixed and movable. The floor is stated to be solid all over and coloured and decorated.

The roofing needs more than a passing reference. This is a matter like the foundation which distinguishes a cave-house from a free-building. The primitive people living in caves like animals to protect themselves from the inclemency of weather did not concern themselves either with the stability based on foundation and roofing or for the proper situation and thickness of the walls. The natural rocks supplied the models of all the three kinds of roof, namely, flat, pent and spherical. A scientific calculation of the strength of foundations, supports and walls, and roofs became unavoidable as soon as a free-standing building after the model of the caves at first was attempted by skilled men. The natural cementing of the layers of rocks must have supplied the idea of erecting walls by placing stones at first and bricks later on, one layer upon another joining by concrete as was the case with the rocks. Thus, incidentally, stone and brick-built dwellings must have preceded the wooden and straw buildings.

Although the spherical roofing is the highest development in architecture both from the scientific and artistic point of view yet flat-roofing for the tropical countries like India is the most popular both in congested cities like Calcutta and in the country-side as it supplies an open-air space. The corrugated iron sheet which has been manufactured and introduced by greedy merchants for the roofing of dwelling houses fits in both for flat and pent roofs. The poor people of Bengal, who live on diets on which, it has been authoritatively stated, even rats cannot live long, have found it very convenient to build their houses with corrugated iron sheets both for roofing and walling upon wet earthen floor. The inside of these houses, the surroundings of which spread unbearable smell of jute-plants, and corns, and cow sheds, is like hell : it is sweltering in summer, leaks in rainy season and bitterly cold in winter. Who is responsible for this criminal device ? Who should remove this widely spread practice and the appalling ignorance of its baneful effect ?

The Mānasāra has described the roofing in great detail. It is stated to be built in flat, pent or spherical shape, not with corrugated iron sheets, but with wood, brick or stone. The Buddhist literature has suggested straw-roofing also, which is certainly much more salubrious than the corrugated iron sheets, which however last longer and are less ignitable. The Mānasāra has suggested paintings for the ceiling also.

The houses thus built comprise rooms which are luxuriously furnished* and are stated in all architectural treatises on Hindu architecture to be arranged in accordance with a definite principle. The Mānasāra has devoted a large number of chapters to articles of furniture and a detailed account of thrones, etc. The following particulars are supplied by the Buddhist canonical texts. . . :

> "Articles of furniture, which form an important part of the architectural subjects are also described elaborately in the Buddhist list. Benches were made long enough to accommodate three persons. The bedstead (pallanka) or divan was a separate piece of furniture. Large couches (Asandi) or chairs seem to have been important articles of furniture. Couches covered with canopies are also mentioned. Mention is made of a large variety of chairs, namely, rectangular chair (asandako), armchair, sofa or sattango, sofa with arms to it, state chair (bhaddapitham), cushioned chair (pithika), chair with many legs (amalaka-vantika pitham), leaning board (phatakam), cane-bottomed chair (kochchham) and straw-bottomed chair. Mention is also made of the litter or the sedan chair."

Valuable carpets, rugs, pillows, curtains and such other luxurious decorations also are elaborately described. Thus mention is made of

> "coverlets with long fleece, conterpanes of many colours, woolen coverlets, white or marked with thick flowers. Mattresses, cotton coverlets dyed with figures of animals, rugs with long hair on one or both sides, carpets inwrought with gold or with silk, large woolen carpets such as the nauch girls dance upon, rich elephant housings, horse rugs or carriage rugs, panther or antelope skins, large cushions and crimson cushions"

Pillows are of various kinds ; they are stated to be of both "the size of a man's head" and half "the size of a man's body." The Buddha allows the Bhikkus "to comb out the cotton, make the cotton up into pillows if it is of any of these three kinds—cotton produced from trees, cotton produced on creepers and cotton produced from potaki grass." The bolsters made for the use of high officials were of five kinds, as they were stuffed with wool, cotton cloth, bark, grass or leaves. There were also coverlets for them. The smaller articles like the floor-cloth, mosquito curtains, handkerchiefs and the spittoon did not escape the notice of the then house-decorators. †

Two small texts, the *Vāstutatva* (published

* See the writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 15-16.

† For detailed references see the writer's "*Indian Architecture*" according to the Mānasāra. Pp. 15-16.

from Lahore) and the *Grihavāstu-pradipa* (published from Lucknow), which have apparently drawn upon a larger and more comprehensive treatise like the Mānasāra supply the plan and arrangement of a sixteen-roomed dwelling house with the courtyard in the middle, which is typical and admirably suited to a middle-class family. According to this plan there should be in the north-east (1) the family chapel; in the east (2) the room for keeping all things, (3) the bath-room, and (4) the room for churning milk in; in the south-east corner (5) the kitchen; in the south (6) the Britashagriha (? washing room), and (7) the lavatory or latrine; in the south-west corner (8) the library room; in the west (9) the room for private study, (10) dining hall, and (11) the weeping room for receiving by the ladies the newly arrived relations; in the north-west corner (12) the granary; in the north (13) the bed room, (14) the store-room and (15) the room for the invalids (lit. Medicine).

It should be noted that in this plan the house faces the north, where the best residential rooms are located. The rooms in the south and the east are those which are not frequently required for residence. Here north is the best direction and the west is the next best, the east being the third in order and the south the worst. This plan is suitable for places in western and northern India, as indicated by Lahore and Lucknow wherefrom these texts are published, and where the northern and western wind from the Himalayas is the most salubrious.

Another similar text, the *Vāstu prabandha* (II. 25-26) stated to be a compilation supplies the plan and arrangement of a smaller house with eight rooms. According to this plan there should be in the east (1) the bath-room; in the south-east (2) the kitchen; in the south (3) the bed room; in the south-west (4) the library; in the west (5) the dining hall; in the north-west (6) the room for the domestic animals; in the north (7 the store-room; and in the north-east (8) the family chapel.

In this plan the lavatory is missing, and apparently some public latrine, closed or open, is intended to be used. Here the bedroom is located in the south, indicating the southern aspect of the house, which is suitable for southern and eastern provinces where the healthy south wind blows from the southern seas and the Malay hills. The Matsya-Purana (Chap. 256, vs. 33-36) supplies a curious plan, which is also adopted in an architectural compilation, *Silpa-sastra Sara-Samgraha* (II. 24-28). According to this rooms are all built in the corners, the four main directions, north, east, south and west being left entirely vacant. Thus there should be built in the north-east corner (1) the family chapel, and (2) the bedroom; in the south-east corner (3) the kitchen, close to it (4) the room for storing water; in the south-west corner (5) the room for collecting the rubbish, beyond that and outside the house (6) the slaughter house (or confinement room) and (7) the bath-room; in the north-west corner (8) the granary and the store-room combined, and beyond that and outside the house (9) the workshop or the office-room.

This plan is specially stated to bring peace, prosperity and health for the house-holders. This house faces the north-east where the bed-room is situated.

The Agni-purāna (Chap. 106, vs. 1-12, 18-20) makes provision for residential houses in cities in particular and recommends the four typical plans, namely, rooms being built covering the four sides with the courtyard in the middle, rooms being built on three sides and the fourth side in continuation of the courtyard being left free for the passage of light and air; rooms being built on two sides only, leaving the other two sides vacant, and the rooms being built on one side only, apparently without any courtyard, the purpose of which is supplied by verandahs and balconies both in the frontside and backside. The arrangement of rooms is illustrated by the plan of an eight-roomed house. According to this plan there should be in the east (1) the library or strong room (lit. for sree, learning or wealth); in the south-east (2) the kitchen; in the south (3) the bedroom; in the south-west (4) the room for weapons; in the west (5) the dining hall; in the north-west (6) the granary: in the north (7) the room for storing all things; and in the north-east (8) the family chapel.

This is also a plan with the southern aspect. The *Kāmikāgama* (XXXV. 177-191) also describes a house with southern aspect, but comprising some thirty rooms. This Agama which is directly indebted to the Mānasāra prescribes like its original alternative quarters for the same room. The Mānasāra appears to be an all-India work and does not prescribe any one aspect either for a house, or a village or town. It has, however, divided India into ten architectural provinces for which special directions have been given.

So far as the aspect and orientation are concerned the Mānasāra has discussed in great detail the exact situation of residential and public quarters in eight village schemes, eight town plans and fifteen fortified military establishments. The plates may supply an idea. A matter which deserves notice of the modern builders is the caste or sectwise partition of residential quarters. It cannot be denied that there is a special advantage of housing the people of the same caste, rank, profession, means and taste in the same quarter. Another important point to note is that in shopping centres it is directed that the houses should be built on one side of the road only, like the Calcutta Chowringhee Road. The object is to avoid congestion. The free passage of air is provided for by the straight and broad

streets and lanes running from one end to the other.

The internal arrangement of rooms in small dwelling houses is essentially like those described above. In the large edifices, palaces and mansions the buildings of various storeys are artistically arranged. There are stated to be one to seven enclosures in palaces of Kings of nine orders. These enclosures are surrounded by walls each of which is furnished with a large gateway known as the *Gopuram*. In the innermost court (antarmandala with the gateway called the Dvārasobhā) are erected the residential palaces of the King, queens and princesses, and would be analogous to the Muslim harem. In the second circle (antanihara, with the gateway called Dvāra-sālā) are built the edifices for the crown prince and other princes, royal priests, ministers and such other people. In the middle court (madhyamāhāra, with the gateway Dvāra-prāsāda) are built mansions for council halls, office rooms, and quarters for the resident members of the council, high civil and military officers, resident clerks and others. Within this enclosure in some properly secured lanes are built secret residences for the King. In the fourth enclosure (Prākāra, with gateway Dvāra-harmya) are quartered the foreign offices, for negotiating war peace and such other matters. In the fifth court (Mahāmaryāda, with the gateway called the great gate-house) are erected military quarters, barracks, and offices of smaller importance. The sixth and the seventh encloures, which are not included in the smaller palaces, are reserved for the defence forces, guards, royal stables, houses for domestic animals, zoological gardens, etc. which are sometimes accommodated in the fifth court also. Prisons, cemeteries, cremation grounds and temples of certain fearful deities are quartered beyond the palace compounds. Temples are built within each court. The pleasure gardens, orchards, tanks, etc. are suitably built within all the enclosures. In each of the enclosures mansions of one to twelve storeys are artistically arranged in rows varying from one to ten, while the gate houses are furnished with one to seventeen storeys.

The exact situation of particular private and public buildings is specified. Thus it is stated that the main royal chapel should be built in the central plot known as the Brahmapitha, and the public audience hall in the quarter of Yama, Soma, Vayu, or Nairrita in accordance with the situation of the palace in a particular province or city, and so forth.

These descriptions may make it clear that what the early authorities wanted most is to give a proper aspect to villages and towns and orientation of dwelling houses therein in order to supply abundantly salubrious air, light and sun for the rich and poor alike. It was also directed that in bed the head should be kept towards a certain direction in order to get the maximum benefit of pure air in sleep also. The Roman architect Vitruvius also emphasized the absolute need of keeping the proper aspect for Italian cities.

> "A city on the seaside," it is stated (BK. I. Chap. III, IV), "exposed to the south or west will be insalubrious; for in summer mornings, a city thus placed will be hot, at noon it would be scorched. A city also with a western aspect would even at sunrise be warm, at noon hot, and in the evening of a burning temperature. Hence the constitution of the inhabitants of such places, from such continual and excessive changes of air, would be much vitiated."

After citing opinions of physicians and historians and supporting by illustrations it is further stated

> "When, therefore, a city is built in a marshy situation near the sea coast with a northern, north-eastern, or eastern aspect...the site is not altogether improper, for, by means of sewers the waters may be discharged into the sea."

In other words, the errors other than those of the aspect, concerning equally villages, towns, and dwelling houses, can be corrected, while those of the aspect are incorrigible. A house at Puri facing the direction other than the sea wherefrom the pleasant breeze blows may serve as an illustration. The dwelling houses in Calcutta facing the north are extremely hot in summer in all hours of day and night, and bitterly cold in winter, while the houses in towns of the United Provinces, like Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares, etc. facing the west and the south are unpleasantly hot in summer and bitingly cold in winter.

Considering the present condition of our dwelling houses not only in modern towns, cities, ports, business centres, mill areas and factory quarters but also in villages, nobody can easily imagine that there were times in India when it was almost obligatory on the part of those who control public health and revenues not to be callous to the extent of denying even pure air to the poor and uneducated and reserve for the rich and those in power the healthier civil lines and cantonment areas.

It is, however, not difficult to follow the present state of things in the layout of our villages and towns and the orientation and arrangement of our dwelling houses therein. Following the break-up and disappearance of Hindu culture, not by bodily removal or modification for the better but by superimposition, first by the Persian, Grecian, Scythian, Kushan, and Hun invaders, and later by the Pathans, and Mughals and lastly by the European powers, the Hindu Sastras (or guide books) were all but lost, the Hindu traditions were forgotten, and the essentially Hindu habits and customs were materially changed. Thus a purely Hindu village, town, and house was built upon by a Buddhist one, upon which was imposed by turn a Persian, Grecian, Central Asian, lower Asian and modern European ones. The result

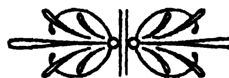
has been that in the orientation and internal arrangement of our houses we do not find the scientific principles of any one country or climate. A casual inspection of houses in cities like Bombay, the Panjab cities, U. P. cities, Bengal and Madras may serve convincing illustrations. Even the so-called business, and European and aristrocratic quarters contain purely European style of houses in an entirely different soil, climate and weather. Not only certain quarters of Lahore, Delhi, Meerut, Lucknow, Benares, Patna, Calcutta are named after the Pathans and the Mughals, but there are actually houses with all the characteristic features of the Arabian deserts and the colder regions wherefrom the Mughals emerged. This inexplicable state of things seems to have been due partly to the natural desire of the conquerors to firmly establish their domination and culture by removing the custom, habit, and tradition of the conquered as far as possible, and partly due to the ignorance of the scientific methods of Indian architecture or a dislike to apply them in preference to their own.

Then in the times of certain invaders and rulers the protection of women and wealth became extremely difficult Thus not only in towns but also in villages houses had to be built like dungeons removing all openings, windows, and verandahs, retaining only a single entrance and in some cases a small dormer window high up in the wall, not with a view to provide for the passage of requisite air and light, but rather to enable the inhabitants to listen to the noise of a passer-by, who might often turn to be an officer out in search of young women and gold ornaments. In fact, in western and northern India where such a state of things obtained for a long time, villages still exist which look like prisons, and in the cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow and Patna, etc., even the parapets on the roof of storeyed houses are like the high prison walls and represent the tower of silence of the Parsees.

Since the establishment of the British government through a company of traders the security of life and property began to improve from the beginning because trade in a foreign country could never prosper except in peaceful conditions. But now though our gold could be kept with more security in a British Bank and our womenfolk would be safer in the custody of a British family, yet in the meantime, in consequence of the experience of some seven hundred years, we have become slave to the habit of personal *purdah* and domestic seclusion, and have entirely forgotten the sanitary need and the principles of Hindu architecture. Unfortunately, however, the commercial feature of the British rule is responsible for criminally insanitary things like the corrugated iron sheets for the roofing and walling of our dwelling houses, waiting rooms in Railway stations, and sheds in mill quarters and factory areas. Moreover, we ourselves have developed, as the result of the mental or cultural conquest, an eagerness for blind imitation of everything western. The habit of using commode in the bed chamber by the educated rich may serve as an illustration. The Commode itself is an insanitary device to replace the water closet wherefrom the discharges are carried off by the flow of water, thus preventing the vitiation of the air of the surrounding places. This blind imitation is responsible for the introduction of dry commode in our villages and towns, where no flushing system is possible, and thus an unfortunate class of people had to be allured to take to the profession of carrying away nightsoil and helping some upcountry municipal boards in filling up pits and caves whereupon the so-called town Improvement Trusts supply so-called improved quarters for our residence. But either owing to the scarcity of this human career, or due to the desire of practical economy in many of our houses, the unclean commode placed in bed chamber or in a room close to it is used again and again. In most instances this commode room known as the bath-room is the place where we actually wash and bathe, and thus we gather together in one place the internal and external discharges of our body, and live the life of studied economy and purity.

Owing to economic difficulties and social habits the necessary food and clothes are not available for a large majority of our people. In addition to this pure air and water, the free gifts of God, are also denied to us as a result of the unscientific layout of our dwelling houses and the insanitary aspect of most of our villages, towns and cities. Due to our ignorance, indifference and reluctance we are unaware of the extent to which we have been sacrificing our national health and individual comfort and convenience.

Cinema shows, popular lectures, and architectural exhibitions of houses of all civilized countries with the latest improvements may possibly remove our appaling ignorance and rouse a public desire to improve the conditions of our dwelling houses.



THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI.

XI

OLD Delhi has been replaced by New Delhi, as the capital of British India. But the older city is still the capital of the land of romance. Its dead and gone emperors are still reigning supreme in that kingdom. There time has made no change.

A party of Bengalis had just got down from carriages and was about to enter one of Delhi's most picturesque old shrines, *viz.*, the tomb of the sage Nizamuddin Aulia. A private motor-car and a hackney carriage had conveyed the party thither. "Thank God, we have actually arrived," said a young girl, getting out of the car, "the way the carriage behaved scarcely left any hope in that direction."

"Really," said another girl. "I thought we, too, would have to take our last rest here, in the midst of this royal Moghul family. Our guide Kashinath prides himself on being a very good conductor; he was going to achieve supreme success by leading us to the doors of heaven."

The guide Kashinath was a real Delhiwallah. He was the descendant of a long line of guides and very proud of it. He felt himself insulted at this jest, and began a long explanation in faultless Urdu. He could not help it, if the horse of the hackney carriage suddenly went lame. Neither could he help the wheel coming off, and rolling away.

An elderly lady now intervened. "Please, Amitâ," she said, rather vexed, "tell your guide to cut short his peroration. It is already getting late. When do you propose to return? Remember that your aunt's bones are not as young as yours."

"Kashinath, stop at once," said Amitâ peremptorily. You can talk, all you want, when we are once inside. Why do you waste your words needlessly? Am I not right, Su? A person who lives by selling his words need not waste them unnecessarily."

"Well, as he canot talk when he is inside, he is doing his best to impress us outside," said Su, who was none else than our old friend Suparnâ. "You know this place has got its own guides and none from outside is allowed to act."

Nobody would now recognize Suparnâ as the oppressed and ignorant village girl Subarna. This was a slender and beautiful young woman, extremely well-dressed and self-possessed. Her talk, her manners, her appearance, everything had changed, and not a trace remained of the Subarna of old times. She had emerged a new being, during the course of these few years. She had tried her best to forget the cruel and fearful past, and had succeeded fairly well. Nothing here reminded her of those awful days. Her father, Pratul Chandra, came once a year to see her, and this annual visit was the sole link with her past life.

Amitâ's aunt had come here with all her children on a visit. They were going about all day visiting the show places of old Delhi. The party was a fairly big one, so their own car had not been enough and they had to hire a hackney carriage.

Nothing of the glorious architectural beauties of Nizamuddin could be seen from the outside. From here, you can only see only a few blackened domes. The party had to walk through knee-deep dust to reach the main gate. They all had to take off their shoes here, as to enter a shrine with shoes on was prohibited. A guide now approached them. He was so handsome and well dressed and his manners were so grand that he could easily be mistaken for a Moghul prince.

"But where is Sudarshan Babu?" suddenly asked Amitâ.

A young man came forward. He was rather dark, but very well-built and strong. "I am all right," he said, "I did not fall out of the carriage. I was looking out for another carriage to take us back. If we go back in the same carriage we came in, we won't get back before twelve o'clock at night.'

"Have you been able to secure another carriage?" asked Suparnâ.

"Not yet," said Sudarshan. "But I met a friend of mine here and asked him to get one for us. Let us go on now."

The party advanced. They came up to a well, which had a flight of stairs, leading down to the water. The water possessed the power of healing diseases, the guide informed them. It looked greenish in colour. Many people stood here bathing in that water.

"I don't know how certain places come to possess such reputation," said Suparnâ. "Sudarshan Babu, you are nearly a full-fledged doctor, can you tells us how it happens?"

"This is something outside medical science,' said Sudarshan. But faith-healing had been practised in all climes and in all ages. The water, too, might possess some healing properties, I don't deny that. There are many springs of mineral waters in France and Germany which really do heal certain maladies."

"But you know how and why these cures are effected in those cases. Here you don t under-

stand anything at all. In my childhood, I saw some cures effected in the villages, with water on which mantras had been muttered. The patients were really cured, though. How, I don't know to this day."

"I like to hear about your childhood. I have heard very little though. I am a Bengali, yet I have never seen Bengal properly speaking," said Sudarshan.

Suparnâ began to look a bit serious now. "But why?" she asked. "Did you not live in Calcutta for years?"

"But Calcutta is not Bengal", said Sudarshan. "You can find a city like that in any country. Only in its villages could a country be really recognized."

"I don't think so," said Suparnâ.

"Why?" asked Sudarshan.

"Those who have achieved eminence through education, wealth or success in any form, have all left the villages. Only those are left in the villages who have no option. They would die, if they tried to go away. Are these the real representatives of a nation?" asked Suparnâ.

Sudarshan was about to reply, but was interrupted by Amitâ, who cried out, "Su, what are you about? Are you discussing medical science or something else? See that you don't stumble."

They were just then entering a tunnel-like passage, which had scarcely any light. So Amitâ might have really cautioned her against a literal stumble. But Suparnâ evidently thought otherwise and blushed fiery red. She left Sudarshan and caught up with the rest of the party with a few rapid steps. Sudarshan smiled rather crestfallen, but he was himself again within a few minutes. He, too, joined the others and began to talk normally.

Sudarshan was the only son of an old resident of Delhi. He had just appeared for his final M. B. examination and had returned from Calcutta only a few days ago. The 'results' had not yet been published, but neither Sudarshan nor anybody else had any doubts about his success. He had always stood first in all the preliminary examinations.

It took a good few minutes for them to emerge out of the tunnel. "What a passage!" said Amitâ. "One never knows where one is being led to."

Suparnâ tried to smile and said, "Yes, really. If someone gives you a tap on the head here, you would not know who the culprit is, when you get out in the light."

"What if it is not a tap, but something nicer?" whispered Amitâ mischievously in Suparnâ's ear. "Would you be sure about the culprit then?"

Suparnâ pinched her hard and pushed her away. Sudarshan had heard only Suparnâ's words and he guessed that Amitâ was saying something witty. But he did not know at whose expense the young lady was waxing humorous.

As they came out of the tunnel, Amitâ's aunt said, "Thank God, we see the light of day again. I felt as if we were going down to the nether regions. What is this place?"

The guide began to explain. It was the family cemetery of the Moghul princes. Those who were buried here had not left their marks in history like their more glorious kinsmen. For them, huge edifices of marble had not been built. Like members of the same household, they had laid themselves down for their last rest, all close together. The guide went on enumerating, "This is the tomb of the last emperor of Delhi, this, of his brother, prince Jahangir and so on." There were innumerable small court-yards, enclosed by walls of marble and profusely decorated with mosaic. Each tomb stood within one such enclosure. Sometimes one courtyard held the tombs of an entire family. In death, too, they had not been divided. Everything was very neat and clean and time had not been able to tarnish their pristine beauty. The marble shone as white now, as when it was first used.

They came to the tomb of the famous poet Amir Khusru. Its royal magnificence seemed to mock at death. A dazzling white sheet was spread on the tomb and a mass of flowers were arranged on it. The air was heavy with the scent of flowers and of other perfumes. A chandelier of gold hung from the ceiling. The tomb of the holy sage Nizamuddin was decorated in like manner. The keepers here were generally rather troublesome. They pestered visitors for money. A few of these money-grabbers now closed round the party asking them to contribute something in the name of the holy sage. "Is not there any religion which is free from this taint?" asked Suparnâ.

"There are", answered Sudarshan. "But those religions have few followers. What is the good of a religion which does not enable you to make some worldly profit out of it?"

"So a religion is only necessary for the sake of profits?" asked Amitâ.

"What else?" said Sudarshan. "What shall a man do with a religion which does not help him to live? How many people can find strength enough to take to a religion which does not do so?"

"But does money alone help you to live, my dear boy?" asked Amitâ's aunt, smiling. "There come certain trials in a man's life, when money is not of the slightest help."

Before Sudarshan could answer, Suparnâ said, "Here lies one who found no consolation in wealth." They had arrived before the tomb of princess Jahan Ara, the daughter of Shah Jahan. Like the other enclosures, it, too, had walls of white marble round it. The tomb was of the same stone, and had a covering of grass on top. The grass was no longer green, but had dried up with the passage of time. There were no keepers here to tend

this bit of grass, perhaps because no money could be made here.

"Only the few who have enjoyed a superabundance of wealth, know that wealth cannot achieve everything in this world", said Sudarshan, "but these people are very rare. Jahan Ara knew the futility of wealth, because she was the daughter of a mighty emperor. If she had been the daughter of a common man, she would have thought that her life had become so barren on account of poverty."

"But some persons can understand that wealth is not everything, even if they are not princesses." said Suparnâ.

She uttered these words, in so low a voice, that only Amitâ and Sudarshan heard her. Sudarshan looked at her, trying to see through to her heart but made no remarks. The sun was about to go down and they had only finished seeing Nizamuddin's shrine. Everyone was now anxious to return home. "We shall go to see Humayun's tomb tomorrow," said Taran Babu.

"It would have been better, if we could have finished that also today," said Amitâ's aunt. "They ask too much for carriage hire here."

"Tomorrow, you won't have to hire a carriage at all," said Amitâ. "You can take our car. We are a big party today, because it is Sunday, but tomorrow, we two won't have any energy left for sight-seeing, after having attended college for five hours. I am sure I won t have, I cannot tell about Su."

"Have you ever seen me more addicted to pleasure of any sort, than yourself ?" asked Suparnâ.

"Oh, I am a candid sort of a person, and I blurt out loudly anything I ever happen to feel; but you, being the wiser of us two, keep it locked up in your heart. That does not prove that you are less pleasure-loving than I am," said Amitâ.

"Your logic is marvellous, you can prove anything you want to, with its help", said Suparnâ.

They had come out in the open by this time. Sudarshan cried out, "Here is Ramrup, he is a real good fellow. You won't have to get into that marvel of a car again."

The driver of the car, referred to, started a row. But as he received nearly the same amount of money he was expecting and as he saw that none of the audience was prepared to take his part, he drove off at last. Sudarshan did not accompany them this time. "What would be the use ?" he asked. "I shall walk a bit, then take the tram."

"You had better come with us," said Amitâ. "What would be the good of wading through knee-deep dust ?"

"It is good to walk," said Sudarshan. Then turning, to Suparnâ, he asked, "Shall I bring the notes to-morrow evening ?"

Though he asked the question of Suparnâ, it was Amitâ who replied. "You had better come in the morning," she said. "Su returns very late from college. But she has got a few 'Tenchi' friends, who sometimes give her a lift, then she comes much earlier. It is a hard job, qualifying for a doctor."

"What is a 'Tenchi,' if one may ask ?" said Sudharshan.

"Goodness, don't you know even that ?" said Amitâ. "It is short for Feringhee."

Suparnâ now spoke. "Please come when it suits you best," she said. "I come home generally at five, unless something extraordinary happens."

"Amitâ is a happy young person," said Taran Babu. "Going to college is nothing but a recreation to her. She enjoys more leisure periods than she has to attend classes."

"That is very unjust of you, father," said Amitâ, "don't I have to work for my classes ? Whatever the subject you study, you must spend time and energy on it, even if it is not medical science."

"That is true," said Sudarshan ; "but we are given a thorough breaking-in, as we must work hard in after life, and make no distinction of day and night."

"Oh, that's merely a pose," said Amitâ. "The real fact is, doctors eat, drink and make merry like every other person."

"It might seem so to you from a cursory view," said Sudarshan. "But have you ever looked at a doctor's life, from close quarters ? Successful medical men never have any time of their own. They become excessively addicted to money-making on the one hand, and, on the other, their friends and relatives never give them any respite."

"I think, a doctor is a very fortunate man," said Suparnâ.

"In what sense ?" asked Sudarshan.

"He is of the greatest help to his fellow beings," said Suparnâ. "And he does not have to spend anything to be so. In some other professions you can but spend money for others, if you want to help them ; you cannot be of service directly."

Their car started now. So the discussion was cut short. Sudarshan walked back slowly to his own home.

XII

The room in which Suparnâ lived, always struck the eyes of the beholder on account of its scrupulous cleanliness and neatness. The room was middling in size and full of light and air. It had two large windows and two doors, one of which led into Amitâ's room. It contained very little furniture and nothing decorative. There were only an iron bedstead, a dwarf wardrobe, a table and a chair and a clothshorse. The walls had no pictures hanging on them and the curtains were all of spotless white cloth. The

counterpane was white and most of her dresses on the clothshorse were white, though not cheap. Though white, they gave evidence to the wearer's artistic taste and love of dressing well. Everything, beginning from the roof to the floor, was spotlessly clean, and shone like polished marble. Not a speck of dust or dirt anywhere. You would know at once, that the occupant of the room had a distinctive individuality of her own.

After the party reached home everyone retired to his or her room to change and rest. Amitâ's aunt came in to Suparnâ's room and sat down in the chair. "Anybody would know that you are determined to be a doctor, from the sight of this room," she said.

"Of course, anybody would," said Suparnâ. "The number of medical books and medical charts are evidence enough."

"Not only for that," said Amitâ's aunt. "I don't know English, and I would not know whether all these books are fiction or medical books. There is only one medical chart. Still as soon as one enters this room, one feels that such scrupulous cleanliness can only be learnt at hospitals. The room is just what it should be, neither over-crowded nor over-empty, and everything in its place."

"No one ever noticed these things before," said Suparnâ.

"Youthful eyes overlook most things", said Amitâ's aunt. "Only those whose eyes have been looking at the world for years, can see beneath appearances. I don't think, many besides myself would know that this room belonged to a devotee."

"What a thing to say, aunt !" said Suparnâ, with a shy laugh. "If a room is not overcrowded and overdecorated, it does not necessarily mean that the occupant is a devotee. Why do you think, I am anything of that kind ? What is the difference between Amitâ and myself ?"

Just as she finished speaking, Amitâ ran into the room, with the end of her Kashmere silk Sari trailing behind her and her hands busy with the brooch on her shoulder. She had heard only the last words of Suparnâ and now began to comment on them, "Oh, isn't there any difference though ?" she asked, "Ask anyone and he will tell you that there is a good deal of difference."

"Well, I am asking, am I not ?" said Suparnâ.

"Very well", said Amitâ ? "I shall try to enlighten you, as far as I can. I have come to this world merely to enjoy myself, while you have come with a definite mission. Isn't it a great difference ? The world is for me, while you are for the world."

Suparnâ gave her a playful blow on the back and said, "Don't try to be clever for the benefit of aunt. In which way am I enjoying the world less than you are ? I am eating, dressing and going about just as you are. Then where does my likeness to a devotee come in ?"

"You may try to laugh away the whole matter," said Amitâ's aunt, "but there is some truth in it. We shall talk about it on some other day. Today I am extremely tired. All my bones are aching. Come along, my dear niece, and look after your old aunt for a while."

Taran Babu's house was not a big one, every room being occupied. So if guests arrived, they had to be accommodated in the rooms belonging to Taran Babu and the two girls. Amitâ's aunt had been put into Amitâ's room. Her sons spent the day in Taran Babu's bedroom and the night, in the drawing room. As Taran Babu remained out nearly the whole of the day, this arrangement was proving quite satisfactory.

Amitâ's aunt went and laid herself down in her niece's room. Amitâ had given up her own luxurious bed to the honoured guest, and now slept on a makeshift bed on a camp bedstead. "Why aunt ?" she cried out, "you have not changed your dress yet."

"I am too tired, my dear," her aunt replied, "I shall change after dinner. You have dinner quite early, so I won't have to wait long, I suppose ?"

"You won't have to wait at all," said Amitâ. "It is ready, and the servants are eagerly waiting to serve it.

"Your servants are lucky," said her aunt. "I have seen many households where they are never free before three in the afternoon and before eleven at night No amount of scolding would make them expedite matters."

"Our servants are not built of superior stuff," said Amitâ. "But Bhaju is an old servant, he manages the rest. We have our dinner as soon as we get back from college and father also likes it Nobody takes anything at night save a cup of milk or ovaltine. So they have to finish their work by the evening. Because you are here, they serve dinner a bit late."

Suparnâ now came in after changing and announced, "The dinner is served. Let us go."

Everyone proceeded to the dining-room. The family was rather westernized in manners, as is sometimes the case with Bengalis who live outside Bengal. How to remain a Bengali and at the same time modern, is a thing which is known only to Calcutta people. As Amitâ's aunt sat down, she began to push away the knives and forks from before her and said, "Why do you place these things before me, every day ? I can only cut myself with these."

"I, too, used to get very much frightened, when I first saw these," said Suparnâ, "I was so afraid of hurting myself !"

"But Su can learn things so quick, it is really amazing," said Amitâ. "During these few years, she has become a far greater Memsahib than I am. I like very much to eat with my

fingers. I enjoy it quite. But let Su once use her fingers, she will wash and wash her hands and never be satisfied till the skin is off."

"That is not because I like being a Mem-sahib," said Suparnâ. "I think it quite natural not to want to eat with fingers that had recently been dissecting dead bodies.'

"Good gracious!" said Amitâ, "I really fail to understand how people do these sickening things. Father wanted to put me, too, in the medical college. I told him plainly that it would not suit me at all. Amazons like Su alone find these things suitable."

Her aunt laughed and said to her brother, "Whoever else becomes a doctor, brother, your daughter will never become one. She is too fastidious and nervous. You should have seen her face when she accidentally crushed a cockroach to death."

"Her mother, too, was just as nervous," said Taran Babu. "I wanted to put her in the medical college, with Suparnâ, because I wanted to cure her of it. But she refused."

"Did you not feel any objection to becoming a doctor?" Amitâ's aunt asked Suparnâ.

"No," said Suparnâ, "it was settled from the first that I was to study medicine. Don't you remember, it was settled in your house in Calcutta?"

"So it was, said the lady. "Now I remember, your father first suggested it. Lord! who would guess that you are the same Suparnâ? Even your appearance has changed. We believe you to be the same girl, because we know. No one else would believe it".

Suparnâ became a bit grave. Amitâ laughed and asked, "Why was your name too changed, Su?"

"My father did not like my old name," said Suparnâ. Amitâ's aunt was about to say something, but she stopped, on hearing Suparnâ's reply. Perhaps the girl did not want to discuss her past.

As soon as the dinner was finished, all retired to their rooms. The sound of conversation was heard from Amitâ's room for a while, but the light in Suparnâ's room was put out almost at once. She was feeling very tired, both in body and mind and was in no mood for further conversation.

So she put out the light and laid herself down on her bed. The stars looked down upon her, through the open window, like so many bright eyes. What was she thinking? Why were her eyes filling with tears? Some pain, which she never felt in the daytime, had perhaps come out of the hidden depths of her being and was now standing face to face with her. Nobody would think that there was any sorrow or disappointment in her life. She lived like the daughter of a rich man and enjoyed life in every way. She was fully immersed in her studies and seemed to like it too. But why these tears, during the dark hours of the night? Whence came this sorrow and pain in her life?

After a while she wiped her eyes and turned round. She wanted to thrust away all these painful thoughts from her and to sleep. She fell asleep soon afterwards.

Except on holidays, the girls were busy from morning till evening. Suparnâ specially had not a moment to spare, as her studies took up far more of her time, than Amitâ's did. She rose nearly an hour earlier than Amitâ and finished her toilette and cleaned up her room, before the other members of the family were awake. Then either she sat down to her studies or gave orders for the day to the servants. As Taran Babu's wife was dead, the two girls took turns in managing the household. Amitâ supervised everything for one week, next week it was Suparnâ who took charge.

The whole family assembled together for tea. Then they went their respective ways and met one another next, at dinner time. They lunched separately, as each had his or her own hour. Suparnâ and Amitâ went out together, but returned separately.

Suparnâ was free this week. So she sat down to her studies. But she could not concentrate on it, she did not know why. She stared fixedly at the eastern sky, which had begun to glow in anticipation of sunrise. She tried again and again to fix her attention on the book before her, but her mind wandered constantly. She was eagerly expecting something or someone, perhaps unconsciously. One of the servants came up and announced, "The young doctor Babu has come."

Sudarshan was called the young doctor Babu here, in order to distinguish him from old Ramkamal Babu, the family physician.

Suparnâ hesitated for a moment, then she said, "Show him to the drawing-room, downstairs."

The drawing-room, the dining-room and Taran Babu's office room stood on the ground-floor. But the girls did not like to go down so many times for their meals, so they had converted the landing upstairs into a small dining-room, with the help of four chairs and a small table. Unless guests were present, they took all their meals up here.

As soon as the servant had gone down, Suparnâ pushed away her books and got up. She started to go down, but came back again. She went up to Amitâ's door and knocked loudly, crying, "Are you never going to get up today?"

"Why this unwarranted intrusion?" said Amitâ from inside, in a drowsy voice. "I have given out the stores last night."

"But there might be other duties", said Suparnâ. "There is a caller, you must get up at once."

The sound of suppressed laughter was heard from within. Next moment the door was opened an inch and Amitâ peeped out. "You see the state I am in," she said. "You go down and

receive the guest. I shall be down within ten or fifteen minutes."

"But don't be later" said Suparnâ.

"Don't pretend to be so innocent," said Amitâ, "as if I don't know that you want me to be as late as possible."

Suparnâ had actually advanced a few steps towards the stairs. She stopped dead on hearing Amitâ's remark. Her face became flushed with excitement and her eyes had a glint of anger. "Do you really think so ?" she said. "All right, I shall sit tight here, till you come out of your room."

Amitâ put out her face again. "Don't be silly", she said. "He will think we have all gone mad. We asked him to call, and we cannot all pretend to be asleep. Go down, I shall join you as soon as possible."

Suparnâ showed no sign of moving. Amitâ looked a bit alarmed now and cried out, "Please go, there's a dear. I won't jest with you again, I promise you that. But all the same, you are overdoing the thing."

"Oh indeed," said Suparnâ. "You might say whatever you like, but one must not object." Saying this, she went down.

Sudarshan was pacing to and fro in the drawing-room. "I have come too early, I am afraid," he said on seeing Suparnâ. "I get up so very early myself, that I can never remember that other peoples' day begins much later."

"I, too, get up very early," said Suparnâ. "So however early you may arrive, you can never take me unawares. But Amitâ is not fully awake yet. I have called her. Please take a seat."

Sudarshan sat down and pushed a few books towards her. "These are the notes, we talked about."

Suparnâ drew them towards her and began to turn over the pages. "You write a very neat hand," she said after a while. "Most doctors write so clumsily that none but the compounder at the dispensary can decipher it."

Sudarshan smiled. "Let's wait and see," he said. "Perhaps when I am a full-fledged doctor, my handwriting also may change."

Amitâ came in with his last words. "That can never happen," she said. "A man can change everything, but not his handwriting."

"Don't talk nonsense," said Suparnâ. "I have kept a specimen of your handwriting of the period when I first met you. Do you mean to say, you write the same hand now ? Don't libel yourself, to that extent."

"You know very well that I did not mean that," said Amitâ. "A grown-up person cannot have the same handwriting as a child. But you will see that my handwriting will not change during the coming twenty years."

"I may not have the good fortune to see your handwriting fifteen years hence," said Suparnâ.

"You are very witty today," said Amitâ. "It remains to be seen who is fortunate and who is not."

"You are too busy discussing your future luck to listen to a bit of luck that has befallen me at present," said Sudarshan.

"Have you got the wire from Calcutta ?" cried out Amitâ.

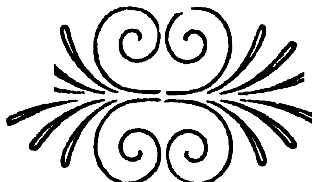
"Yes," said Sudarshan, "I found it awaiting me last night, when I went home."

(To be continued)

CORRECTIONS

In the last July number, page 28, column two, lines 17 and 18 from the bottom, *for* "non-concentration" *read* "concentration."

In the last August number page 228, column one, lines 5 and 14, *for* "milk and butter," *read* "milk and water."



BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

CAPITALISM, COMMUNISM, AND THE TRANSITION—*Emile Burns Pub. Gollancz. Pp. 287. Price 5s.*

Book-publishers are not philanthropists, and if publishers think that it is worth while publishing such a book it suggests clearly enough that though the Communist Party in Great Britain may be numerically small, yet there are a number of people who want to know what exactly Communism would mean. Mr. Burns is himself a Communist, and in this book he writes of the practical difficulties which would be experienced in transforming a Capitalist State into a Communist State. In this connection the words of Marx, written in 1848, are of interest.

"Finally in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact, within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole".

Today in Europe the inability of Parliamentary Democracy to deal with the depression is becoming increasingly obvious, as is also the fact that Reformism is apt to fail at the decisive moment. On the one hand, there is growth of Fascism, first in Italy, and then as the depression has increased, and the weakness of the Social Democratic parties advocating Parliamentary Democracy in the face of ever increasing unemployment, becomes more obvious, in Germany, and also in other countries, people therefore are being forced to think out for themselves what solution is possible, and therefore books such as the above are to be welcomed even though one may not agree with the writer, since it is calm thinking, not sentimental emotionalism that is needed.

The book is intended primarily for that section of the British bourgeoisie who are inclined to study the theories of Communism seriously, and is divided into three parts. In the first part the present position of Capitalism is examined, and it is pointed out that the money power of the Capitalist class, especially the big industrialists and the bankers, enables them to become increasingly richer, and more powerful, and also to exercise greater and greater control over the State. There is a distinct tendency for such people to think that their prosperity is essential to society, and therefore they use the power of the State for their own advantage. In this connection one might mention in support of this contention such books as "*Upton Sinclair presents William Fox*", or "*They told Barron*", two books of fact, not fiction, which tell way in which such power is used. The recent revelations of the ways of bankers before the American Senate have led the Americans to coin a new word "bankster" or one who controls a bank. The second section of the book deals with the Communist ideal in which the prosperity of the individual will depend on his efforts to make society prosperous, and in which economic power will be vested in the society not as at present in the hands of individuals. The third section, which deals more especially with the peculiar problems of establishing Communism in Great Britain, discusses the Transitional Period when the Communists will try to take power from the Capitalists.

The Times Literary Supplement in reviewing this book remarked that it is easy to dogmatize about the benefits that will be enjoyed in a Communist Society, but it is also easy to doubt whether such benefits will materialize. It cannot be too often emphasized that Communism does not promise that the overthrow of Capitalism will establish a new heaven and a new earth. Before that can come about society must pass "through a long and painful process of transition" in the course of which "human nature has to be transformed". Some people therefore suggest that this "long and painful process" might be avoided by various reforms by which wealth might be better distributed, and until recently such people used to point to Vienna as an example of what can be done

on these lines. Unfortunately, recent events suggest that such reforms cannot be permanent, and will disappear in the event of a severe economic crisis like the present depression.

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

RUSSIA TO-DAY : *By Nityanarayan Banerjee : with a Foreword by Dr. Kalidas Nag ; Published by K. N. Chatteriee, 120-2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. 1933. Pp. 173, illustrated, price Three Rupees.*

This is a pleasantly written book on Russia by a young Indian, a scion of one of the best known families in Bengal, who while touring on the continent as a student of science of technology undertook a short journey to Russia last year. His trip in Russia, rather a short one, was made under the auspices of the Russian State Tourist Bureau, and it was a "personally conducted" tour, Russian lady officials of the Bureau, ardent and enthusiastic supporters of the prevailing political situation, acting as his guides. Russia because of big social experiment that is going on there has become almost a land of the heart's desire for a good many of our young men, and as in all other countries there is a great deal of curiosity about the mysterious land of the Reds. How Russia with her officially directed tours reacted upon two prominent Indians we know from the books by Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru. Here in Mr. Banerji's book we have a plain, matter-of-fact narration. Mr. Benerji is a clever enough observer, and although we note in him plenty of admiration, there is no absolute surrender. His circumspection, his knowledge of human frailities and limitations, and his acquaintance with some aspects of the life of his own country, enables him to see many a flaw in pictures held before him to admire and does not make him give himself away entirely at the shrine of Sovietdom. Yet he is receptive enough to all the redeeming features of the Russian experiment. The book should be widely read in our country, as it gives an idea of how Russia with her Five-Year Plans and her Socialism in practice strikes a commonsense observer from India who has the freshness of youth and at the same time is keenly alive to the special problems of his own country.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

DEVELOPMENT OF JOHN STUART MILL'S SYSTEM OF LOGIC: *By Oscar Alfred Kubitz. The University of Illinois. Price $ 2.*

The present work forms Nos. 1-2 of Vol. XVIII of the series *Illinois Studies in Social Sciences* and is written not for the lay reader so much as for the specialist. The writer is to be congratulated on an excellent piece of research work and those teachers who have to teach Mill's famous book will have to refer to this work in future for understanding the genesis of Mill's position in his famous Logic. He has with commendable zeal collected materials for his present work from sources some of which are inaccessible to the ordinary reader. Mill may be said in one sense to have summed up all previous thought on the subject and to have started a new train of logical thinking in his *System of Logic*. But the ordinary teacher of Logic has very imperfect knowledge of the forces at work at the time when Mill wrote his book. He has more often looked at the book with the eye of a critic than with that of an historian. The present book will serve as a helpful corrective to that attitude, for while it does not ignore the weak points in the synthesis which Mill sought to achieve it points out at the same time the circumstances under which Mill developed this or that aspect of his theory or modified his statements in the light of fuller knowledge.

The genius of Mill consisted in absorbing the current culture of the time not only in philosophical and logical matters but also in scientific and politico-economic thought. His father was a psychologist of no mean repute and some of the most famous Scottish philosophers who are now considered back-numbers in philosophical and psychological literature were either the immediate predecessors or the contemporaries of Mill, and were forces to be reckoned with at the time. Scientific discoveries on a scale unknown before were being made in the realm of both inorganic and organic things and theories propounded to assimilate them in a logical fashion. A careful study of Mill's book shows that he stood at the parting of the ways—it is enough to refer to his doctrine of natural kinds in this connection. The writer has very skilfully marshalled his materials and drawn out the significance of Mill's position in relation to the various scientific and philosophical theories of the time. In an investigation of this kind a certain amount of conjecture is unavoidable but the author has shown a commendable restraint in forming hypotheses.

The reviewer has no hesitation in recommending the book warmly to the teachers of Mill's difficult book as a specimen of sober thinking and wide reading in relevant literature. They will enjoy the light thrown by the author upon many obscure points in Mill's Logic from contemporary documents.

H. D. BHATTACHARYYA

SELECTIONS FROM INGERSOLL : *Vols. 1 and 2 : By Ramgopal.*

These selections from the speeches and writings of Ingersoll reveal a keen mind equally at home in the provinces of literature, sociology and politics. The observations are almost invariably striking and original and have been couched in terse and epigrammatic forms which tend to cling to the memory. The writings show the author as one of the keenest and most energetic minds of the age, fired as much by humanitarian zeal as by the ardour for scientific progress. The editor, Mr. Ramgopal, is to be congratulated on the taste and judgment with which the extracts have been selected and the fulness of light which he has managed to shed upon the character and personality of the author.

FLUTE TUNES : *By B. N. Bhushan.*

This is a book of short lyrics which have been managed with a pretty turn and a creditable command over language and metre. The writer shows a happy knack of versification and seems possessed of a genuine, if somewhat thin, lyrical vein.

SRIKUMAR BANERJEE

EUGENICS AND BIRTH-CONTROL: *By Mercia Heynes-Wood, Assisted by Cedric Dover. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 119.*

Miss Mercia Heynes-Wood who is now Mrs. Cedric Dover is a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta University. In writing the present volume the author has shown remarkable clearness of thought and a perfect grasp of facts. The book is an excellent guide to those who are interested in the problems of birth-control and eugenics. The author writes with practical

knowledge and has given illustrations of the different preventive appliances. She is all along conscious of the difficulties to be encountered in introducing contraception amongst the poorer classes in India. She has considered the different indigenous methods and has given useful formulæ for contraceptive ointments She has done a service to the public in warning them against quacks and charlatans. The book is an excellent one.

BEACON LIGHTS OF NEW INDIA—*Vol. I The "Sunday Times" Bookshop, Madras. Price As.* 8.

This little book belongs to "My Motherland" series, and it deals with biographies of eight eminent men, namely, Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Ramana Maharshi, Sri Arabindo Ghose, Ramdas and Shivaji, Ramkrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekanda, Dayananda Saraswati and Swami Tirath. The main principles of teachings of these reformers have been included in this book. There are interesting anecdotes and quotations from newspapers.

THE EVOLUTION OF SEX AND INTER-SEXUAL CONDITIONS: *By Dr. Gregorio Maranon. Translated by Warre B. Wells—George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 311.*

Dr. Maranon is a professor at the University of Madrid. The original book is in Spanish and the present volume is a translation of the original by Mr. Warre B. Wells. The author is a distinguished worker in the domain of sexology and his views on sex and inter-sexual conditions have now been made available to English readers. They will no doubt be read with great interest by sexologists all over the world. The book is of a technical nature and is not meant for the lay person. The author has laid stress on the concept that the sex functions develop in every human being in the same direction "from the feminine towards the masculine—naturally with a rhythm, a duration, and an intensity which vary in the different phases of evolution in the case of the man and in the case of the woman." The author is quite right in believing that there is no sharp line of demarcation in nature between the faminine and the masculine. The different types of inter-sexual conditions have been very ably discussed by the author, who has confined himself mainly to morphology. Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld who is the greatest authority on inter-sexuality holds views similar to those of the author. The modern school of Psycho-analysis has proved that in the psychological sphere also there is an inter-mixture of male and female sexuality in every individual. One must, however, distinguish between functional homosexuality and morphological inter-sexuality. It is interesting to note that inter-sexuality, which has only recently been recognized as a distinct sexual state in Europe, was known to Indian sexologists as early as the third century B. C. It has been called the *Tritiya Prakriti* or the '3rd sex'. The book is bound to be appreciated by all serious students of sexology. There is a fairly complete bibliography.

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN MARRIAGE: *By F. Muller-Lyer. Translated by Isabella C. Wigglesworth, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, price 12s 6d net. Pp. 248.*

At the present time when the whole question of marriage has gone into the melting pot, and when the general impression seems to be that modern marriage has been a failure it is refreshing to find the distinguished author, who is now unfortunately dead, discussing the evolution of modern marriage from sociological and sexual standpoints and coming to the conclusion that the "new marriage in process of being evolved today is the ordered outcome of past and present conditions, and that in the future it may become a fuller and more beautiful relationship than it has ever been before." The author has laid down for himself a systematic plan of investigation which includes the questions of sexual relationship between man and woman, the relations between the old and younger generation and the relations prevailing in a particular clan. The author has indicated three phases in the evolutionary history of these relationships. The present volume is closely connected with two other books of the author published previously in which the three phases, namely, the clan epoch, the family epoch, and the individual epoch have been reviewed. The different sub-divisions of the three phases have been taken up for discussion in this book. There is a wealth of detail rarely to be found in other books of a similar type. The author has throughout discussed the problems of sex and marriage as well as the position of women in society in an unbiased manner. The author believes that militant feminism is a passing phase in the evolution of women's life and is soon to be replaced by a healthier and a saner view when the woman achieves complete economic independence and "feels the responsibility of contributing to the marriage real wages in the best economic sense." The work is a fascinating study and will appeal both to lay and to technical readers.

LIGHT ON THE ANAND-YOG: *By Maharishi Shew Bhart Lal Ji, M. A., The Malhotra Printing Press, Lahore. Price Rs. 2. Pp. 233.*

The book is an exposition of the Radhaswami faith which aims at the attainment of the Kingdom of God in this very life. The Radhaswami teacher believes in "yoga" but not of the usual type. Pranayama according to his view is unnatural. "Mental recollection, mental meditation, mental audition of the holy name, form and sound" are the different parts of the 'yoga' recommended by the author. The Radhaswami sect holds peculiar views on the doctrine of sound. The book will be useful to believers.

THE ANAND GITA: *By Gagandus H. Jaisinghani, 1933. Pp. 333.*

This is a collection of poetical thoughts on the eternal problems of life. Arthur Young in his preface says, "The Anand Gita or, as we would call it "The Song of Joy" is really the music of understanding soaring with Omar Khayyam, Tagore and the Indian nightingale, Sarojini Naidu, all rolled in one". There is genuine poetry and philosophy in some of the pieces although the book is a little bit heavy reading.

GITA SANDESH: *By Ramdas, First Edition, 1933. Price As. 12. Pp. 222.*

This little book is an excellent running commentary on the Gita. The style is lucid and clear and the author except for his great faith in "yogic action" does not hold any sectarian view on the Gita.

THE KATHOPANISHAD AND THE GITA: *By D. S. Sarma, M. A. Publisher: M. R. Seshan. Triplicane, Madras. Pp. 99. Price Re. 1.*

Prof. Sarma as usual has done his task very creditably and he has given us a comparative study of the Kathopanishad and the Gita The translation of the Kathopanishad is excellent. The notes at the end of the book will be found useful to the reader. Prof. Sarma has the rare gift of clear expression.

THE MYSTERY OF THE MAHABHARATA: *Vol. II: By N. V. Thadani. Bharat Publishing House, Karachi. Price Rs. 8. Pp. 371.*

I had an occasion to review the first volume of this book in this journal. To quote the Bengali comic poet D. L. Roy, the book is a curious hotchpotch of "Sasadhar, Huxley and the goose." There is plenty of pseudo-science to be found in this book. The philosophical interpretation of the Mahabharata is throughout fanciful. I wonder which class of readers this book appeals to.

G. Bose

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM HANDBOOK, 1934. *Compiled and edited by W. S. Body, Chief Clerk, Town Clerk's office, Birmingham. Published for the Corporation by the City of the Birmingham Information Bureau by direction of the General Purposes Committee. Royal 8vo., pp. 304. Ninety-eight illustrations. Price not mentioned.*

This review of the civic administration of England's second and most prosperous city is interesting reading and has an educative value for all municipal authorities and dwellers within municipal areas. It is divided into 19 sections: History and Civic Administration; The Amenities of Life, such as Museum and Art Gallery, Public Libraries, Parks and Recreation Grounds, The Town Hall and City of Birmingham Orchestra; The Social Services, such as Public Works and Sewage Disposal; Town Planning; Public Health Service, Public Assistance, Mental Hospitals, Mental Deficiency; The Education Service (Nursery Schools and Elementary Education, The Critical School-leaving Age, Physical Training, Organized Games, Playing Fields, School Medical Service and Parental Responsibility, Provision of Meals, Provision for Blind, Deaf and Physically Defective, Open-air Schools for Weakly Children and Special Schools, Cottage Homes, The Shawbury Approved School, Facilities for Higher Education, A Comprehensive Sifting Process, Secondary School Accommodation, Junior Technical, Art, and Commercial Schools, Senior Elementary Schools, Continued Education, Technical and Commercial Colleges and Schools of Art, School-leaving Conference on Future Employment, Vocational Guidance Tests, Voluntary Care Committees, Camp Schools, Evening Play Centres and other Social Activities, Secondary Schools, University Education, Junior Commercial Schools, Birmingham Central Technical College, Aston Technical College, Handsworth Technical College, City of Birmingham Commercial College, Evening Institutes, Central School of Arts and Crafts, and other educational Facilities like those offered by the university of Birmingham); The City Estates, Small Holdings and Allotments; Police, Fire Protection; The Salvage Service; Weights and Measures, Motor Car Parking Places; Public Baths; Finance; Gas Light, Heating and Power; Water supply; Electricity—Light, Heating and Power. The Transport Service; The City Markets; The Municipal Bank; Other Points of Interest, The British Industries Fair, Hotel Accommodation.

The above list will give an idea of the range of activities of the Birmingham Corporation. There is no space to give details. Considering that neither Calcutta nor Bombay, the two biggest cities in India which rival, if not surpass, Birmingham in population, has made only slight, if any, satisfactory efforts to house the poorer section of the public, I note with pleasure that "Seven years ago Birmingham had broken all records with the erection of 18,433 houses for its artisan population. By 1934 the number has increased to no less than 40,000."

GOD—OR NO GOD? (*A Rationalist Looks at Life*). *By Herbert Devas Everington, M. B. (Lond.), M. R. C. S. (Eng.), L. R. C. P. (Lond.), with a foreword by Sir Oliver Lodge. Williams & Norgate Ltd., 28-30 Little Russell Street, London, W. C. 1. 2s. 6d. Net.*

The publishers say that this book is not meant for those who have what is called the "Religious experience". "They have already made up their minds upon this subject. Mainly it concerns those who frankly say they do not know but are perplexed by the problem. The Religionist has his own sufficient reasons for being convinced of the Reality of a God. The reasons here given for the belief in a God are for the Rationalist."

Sir Oliver Lodge writes in his Foreword: "It is sometimes said that to prove the existence of a God is logically impossible. I know that it is difficult; but contemplating all the beauty and adaptation by which we are surrounded, especially in organic nature, we feel impressed with the idea of some controlling power, some mind, at the back of it all; while at the same time we feel that any mind of which we have knowledge, any human mind, is pitifully incompetent even to understand, and entirely impotent to manage and arrange, the details of the growth of a flower or an insect. So let the attempt be made." And the author has made an attempt on rationalistic lines—quite a laudable attempt.

He is convinced that the more the Rationalist studies what Science is able to reveal in the superlative Beauty and Excellence of Nature and the Exquisite Harmony of the Universe as a whole; and the more he thinks upon that intuitive urge which Man ever has, impelling him towards the attainment of Ultimate Truth, and upon those other Wonders which the author has inadequately attempted to describe—the more acutely will he (the Rationalist) feel that by no other means can all this be explained than by postulating a Controlling Mind.

THE ENGLISH WORKS OF RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY (*Social and Educational*). *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. For subscribers, Re. 1 and 1-4; for others, Re. 1-8. Pp. civ+186+30.*

This volume of the Raja's works contains all his writings on "Suttee," and on matters educational, and his "Bengali Grammar in the English Language". It is prefaced by a critical study and estimate of his works by Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal, M. A., Ph. D. The "Notes" at the end consist of four papers: (1) "Rajah Rammohun Roy's Tracts on Sati, I," by Rai Ramaprasad Chanda Bahadur, B. A.; (2) "Rajah Rammohun Roy's Tracts on Sati, II," by Mr. A. K. Sen, M. A. and Dr. J. T. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D.; (3) "Rammohun Roy's Letter on English Education," by Mr. A. K. Sen, M. A.; and (4) "Rammohun Roy as a Grammarian," by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M. A., D. Litt.

It is not necessary to commend these writings of the Raja to the reader. Apart from their historical value, they have their own intrinsic worth. Dr. Seal's introductory "study and estimate" is a scholarly and thoughtful piece of work worthy of its writer. The four papers appended to the volume have been carefully written. The get-up of the volume is neat and the price moderate.

C.

INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE: *By S. B. Sen Gupta, Esqr., M. A., B. L., Principal, Khalsa College, Lyallpur. Pp. 306. Price Rs. 3.*

This book like a few others of its kind affords a historical and partially critical study of Indian currency and exchange, principally as a guide to university students. Although in the preface the author claims to have traced the history "chronologically from 1835" to the year 1932, the book deals with the period 1893 to 1931 when Great Britain went off the gold standard and the rupee was linked to sterling. The author has faithfully recorded the various stages in the development of Indian Currency and Exchange policy and has noted the controversies on the subject from time to time. In this respect, it must be admitted to his credit, the author has maintained an impartial and non-partisan attitude.

It is a happy sign that scholars in different parts of India have begun to take active interest in our currency and exchange questions. Although Mr. Sen Gupta's book does not provide all that an advanced student requires, it may well serve as a compendium of events in connection with India's Currency and Exchange.

INLAND TRANSPORT COSTS: *By Dr. F. P. Antia, M. Com. (Bombay), Ph. D. Econ. (Lond.), pp. 304. Price Rs. 3. only.*

This is a very useful publication demonstrating with the help of carefully collected figures of costs of transport in different parts of India at different periods the close relation between them and economic development. The remarkable expansion in India's foreign as well as home trade during the last three quarters of a century has to no small degree been due to the reduction in transport costs, the index number of which in 1930-31 was as low as 6 only, taking that in 1830 at 100, within the railway era itself, *i.e.*, from 1871, when railways were sufficiently extended as to get closely identified with the trade of the country and 1930-31, the average ton-mile receipt on the E. I. Rly. was brought down from about 1·24d to ·50d, a reduction in proportion of 100 to 40. The increase in the total traffic originating only over class I Railways during the same period was by about 2,500 per cent, and the progress achieved in the economic life of the masses was reflected in larger production of exportable crops and in rising prices, these facts are very suggestive and the railway administrations today have much to learn therefrom. Dr. Antia's thesis unmistakably goes to prove that at the present moment of general economic depression it is a wrong policy of the railways to try to balance their budget by enhancement of rates and fares. The short-sightedness of such a policy is self-evident and it is bound sooner or later to have adverse effects not only on the finances of the railways but also on the entire economic life of the country. "The cost of transport being a certain proportion of the price," says the author, "it is obvious that a change in the price-level would disturb that proportion." "Broadly speaking—other things being equal, and the prevalent cost of transport having been found eminently suitable to the traffic the railway manager would feel justified in increasing his rate when the price rose and decreasing it when the price fell, so as to maintain the ratio at an even level." Nay, "each fall in prices," that the railway manager "omits to adjust his rates to, by means of a decrease, contracts the margin for the businessman," to that extent curtailing the inducement towards production or exchange of commodities."

With reference to the influence of transport costs on industrial development, Dr. Antia controverts the belief that reduced transport costs were responsible for the decay of many of the country's industries. "It is obvious," says the author, "that such decay must necessarily occur before development in the modern sense can take place." But, in the making of railway rates in the past, greater attention had been paid to the movement of agricultural and mineral produce to the ports, and "this seems principally accountable for the tardy industrial growth of the interior, which was not only neglected but even hampered." With recent developments after the report of the Acworth Committee, however, the author confidently looks forward to a better policy towards industry."

The book is replete with a number of graphs and statistical tables, many of whom may provide good material for further study of the subject. In fact, among the literature on Indian transport problems Dr. Antia's book will occupy a place of abounding interest for all time to come.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

BUSINESS ORGANISATION AND PRACTICE OF COMMERCE: *By Messrs. Sourindra Mohan Sen and Ananta Kamar Banerji. Publishers The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.*

Of late our students have become attracted to various examinations on commercial subjects, and the absence of a suitable book from the point of view of Indian conditions was a great handicap. This new publication will, we believe, remove the difficulty in the way of such examinees. The authors have comprehensively dealt with all important subjects that may come under the syllabus of a commercial examination. We would suggest to the authors to make the book more useful by recasting it to suit the requirements of the General Commercial Knowledge Paper of the B. A. Examination.

S. C. RAY

WORLD - CRISIS - UNDER ORIENTAL SEARCHLIGHT: *By M. J. Kanetkar, B.A., Nagpur, Pp. 90.*

If anyone thinks that it is a scientific study of the present crisis he will be sadly disappointed. The author no doubt trots out Malthus and other doctrines here and there, but all the same it is only a commonsense criticism of the modern civilization. Multiplication of wants is the root cause of all our troubles and in renunciation as preached by the Rishis of old, lies our salvation—is the sumtotal of his philosophy revealed by his oriental searchlight. The author and those of his way of thinking should not forget that the wonderful achievements of the West cannot be poohpoohed so cheaply and that the remedy for the present serious maladjustment does not lie simply in a dream of the golden age.

The author, however, has an easy good style and though his views are highly amusing at places and his advice of little or no value to the Modern Engineers of Economics who are trying to pull the machine out of the quagmire, his chastisement of the extreme selfishness and individualistic tendency of the present-day civilization is well-deserved and we can endorse much of what he says in this connection.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

THE METAPHYSICS OF BERKELEY: *by G. W. Kaveeshwar, M.A.. Published by Mrs. Ashavati Kaveeshwar, C-o. Mr. M. K. Bakshi, B. A., Headmaster, Govt. High School, Khandwa. C. P. Pp. 360 (with Appendices & Index.)*

The author is not always careful in his statements. For instance, on page 27, we have: "As Spinoza's extreme Monism resulted in an equally onesided Pluralism of Leibniz, the extreme Rationalism of the latter was followed by a strong revival of Empiricism in the pages of the famous Essay on Human Understanding by John Locke." Is it quite correct to say that Locke *revived* Empiricism as a *reaction* against the extreme Rationalism of Leibniz?

The arrangement of chapters and topics in the book is also somewhat cumbrous. And in a book of 360 pages, three Appendices alone take up nearly 30 pages, *i.e.*, just one-twelfth of the whole book.

But for these defects, the book would have been a good introduction for College students to the study of Berkeley.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE A. B. C. OF CIVICS: *By Prof. Beni Prasad, The Indian Press, Allahabad. Pp 157. Price Re. 1-8.*

Professor Prasad should be congratulated on a readable and helpful treatise he has brought out on this important subject. It is evidently intended to be a text book for the beginners. The style is easy and the exposition clear and lucid. Boys of the Intermediate classes will profit by going through the book. The printing and get-up are most attractive. The bibliography attached to the work will be of great use to those who would like to go into details in respect of the subjects which have been tackled in this book.

TEXT BOOK OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY: *Vols. I, Part III and II, Part I. By Prof. S. C. Sarkar and K. K. Dutt. Bihar Publishing House, Patna. Price Rs. 1-8.*

Some time ago we reviewed in these columns the first volume of this Text book which has been written jointly by the two professors named above of the Patna College. The quality which was evinced in the first Volume has been maintained in these subsequent parts as well. The book is sufficiently elaborate to be helpful to the advanced students but at the same time it is not infested with those technical details which make a work uninteresting and dull to the general reader. The distinguished authors have taken advantage of all the recent researches on the subjects they have dealt with but have steered clear of those unnecessary controversies that make a book heavy and unreadable except by specialists. Vol. I, Part III is concerned with the system of administration during the Moghul times and the social life and the art and literature of India during this period. Within a compass of 112 pages the authors have done ample justice to these important topics. Vol. II, Part I gives us a survey of the political history of India from the beginning of the Governor-Generalship of Cornwallis to the present day. The treatment is the same as in the Volume which dealt with the Moghul period. This volume should be read not only by all aspiring students of history but it should be read and digested by all our public men as well. The historical back-ground of many of the important problems of the country has been carefully and exhaustively delineated. We congratulate the authors upon the production of this painstaking as well as truly helpful book.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

THE INDIAN FOLK-DANCE AND FOLK-SONG MOVEMENT: *By G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., Founder-President: Rural Heritage Preservation Society of Bengal, Indian Folk Dance Society, Delhi. Double Crown, pp. i-vi + 1-18. Chukerverty. Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta. Price Four Annas.*

The folk-dances and folk-songs which even in their present moribund condition are found to enjoy not little popularity among people still not so familiar with modern culture and civilization have been carefully studied and minutely observed by Mr. G. S. Dutt for a pretty long time. It is not only their scholarly anthropological interest that has attracted his attention but he has been struck by their immense aesthetic value and educational importance. This latter aspect of the thing has led Mr. Dutt to set on foot a movement for the revival of these songs and dances among the student community of the country. The booklet under review traces the history of the movement and refers to the hearty appreciation it has met with from different and important quarters. The short descriptive notes on some of these songs and dances of Bengal given at the end of the book are expected to rouse the interest of the public. Besides the dances described here there are many more which are well known and interesting. I should draw the attention of Mr. Dutt to at least one *e.g.* the vivid war-dance of Faridpur—the *paik dance* which is still displayed and highly appreciated on festive occasions like marriage ceremonies.

We hope Mr. Dutt will soon come out with a bigger and a comprehensive book giving detailed description of all known dances with illustration and satisfy the curiosity of the people roused by a perusal of this booklet.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HAND-BOOK ON INDIAN COMPANY LAW: *By Indrasen Verma, M.A., LL.B. Kotah Rajputana. Pp. CXXVII + 272. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a small book on a great subject, which may be useful to students and lay-readers, but whether it will be of any great help to the "promoters under-writers, commission agents, share-holders, secretaries, managers and directors and debenture holders etc." for whom the author has intended it, is doubtful.

J. M. DATTA.

THE GHOST CITY: *G. K. Chettur. Basel Mission Bookshop. Mangalore. S. K.*

A Collection of ten short stories previously published in some Annuals. The reprint has been amply justified by the delightful way in which the stories have been told, containing good humour with a certain graceful manner which never fails to please.

THE CURSE OF SOCIETY: *Umrao Bahadur. Printing and Stationery Department, 375, Jama Masjid, Delhi.*

This is a novel of widow re-marriage. Saraswati, a girl of exquisite beauty, is married to a dissolute young man who neglects her, but she goes on loving

him according to Hindu custom. Her love and loyalty meet with no response and she suffers shipwreck in the sudden death of her husband brought on by a reckless course of debauchery. Hari, a distant relative, loves her and, what is more, wins her love, but she does not like to break away from her people. The intense suffering during indefinite waiting results in a sudden illness for Hari and his parents, learning the secret by chance, manage to bring her to the sick bed. Her nursing soothes and cures Hari, but Saraswati is not taken back by her father whose mind has been poisoned meanwhile by interested gossip. She feels herself to be "the curse of society" but Hari marries her. More stress has been laid on events than on ideas, but in a psychological novel, as this pretends to be, in this the author has not been well advised.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

GERMAN

GOETHE UND SEINE AUSLAENDISCHEN BESUCHER: *By Hugo Landgraf. Publication of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, 1932.*

On the occasion of the hundredth death anniversary of Goethe the Deutsche Akademie of Munich, which needs no introduction to the Indian public today, published this beautiful volume and carried the gratitude of all lovers of Goethe. At the side of Eckermann's immortal work the present volume will certainly prove to be indispensable to those who want to understand the great personality of Goethe.

Goethe spent all his life at Weimar. Although an ardent admirer of French civilization and culture he had never visited Paris. Neither had he seen Vienna. Goethe crossed the frontier of Germany only once in his life for his "Italienische Reise" which he has immortalized. And yet Goethe in his days was undoubtedly the centre of cultural activities all over the world: if a true history of mankind is ever written, the first three decades of the nineteenth century will be called in it "the age of Goethe". The greatest creative artist of the modern world, Goethe was an internationalist in the truest sense of the word. To him internationalism was a sublimated form of nationalism, and the real problem for him was to achieve a higher synthesis of the two. That is why Goethe refused to condemn French culture even when his fatherland was devastated by the French and that is why Goethe at the same time encouraged national culture in every country.

This aspect of Goethe's personality is however not so well known as it should be and Herr Landgraf in the volume under review has undertaken the arduous task of setting forth in details particularly this side of the character of the sage of Weimar. After a thorough sifting and detailed study of the whole Goethe literature our author gives here an estimate of the number of foreigners who came to visit Goethe in his old age and brought to this ever inquisitive child of the Muses information about various subj cts from every part of the world. We find here that an Italian professor brought to him rare specimen of small reptiles all the way from Padua: the professor put his specimen in a glass of water and held the glass in his hands all the way to Weimar so that the reptile might not die on account of the jerking of the road! All his visitors were equally devout in their homage to Goethe, and Goethe too, was equally gracious and kind to his visitors. Rude Australian settlers who had something to say on the primitive conditions of life on a distant continent were as much welcome to his table as the most brilliant scholars of Europe. Characteristically enough, Goethe, as a rule, does not mention the names of his visitors in his diary but regularly notes down what he heard from them. Thus when the Governor of Dutch East Indies, aged with experience, entertained him with interesting conversations on those distant regions, Goethe did not consider it necessary even to note in his diary that a high official had been at his table that day. On the other hand, Goethe cannot repress his childlike joy when the widow of General Rapp brought to him the autograph of Napoleon from Paris.

Goethe had to sacrifice much valuable time to his visitors, and yet, in drawing up the balance, Goethe declared that not his visitors but he himself had been the gainer. In a letter to the Baroness of Chassepot Goethe writes, in spite of the evident danger of being misunderstood and misrepresented, there is always a positive gain on his side, so that unless it is physically impossible for him to receive, he cannot deny an interview to his callers. And towards the end of his life he wrote to Soret: "I collected and turned to account all that I perceived through my eyes and ears and intelligence. Thousands of individuals have contributed their shares to my works,—fools and sages, intellectuals and block-heads, children and grown-up people: they all came to me and brought me their thoughts, their powers and their experience, their life and their being."

Dr. Franz Thierfelder has appended to the volume a short account of the Goethe celebration all over the world on the occasion of the hundredth death anniversary of the poet.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

SANSKRIT

SAMSKRITABHASAPARICCHEDA, OR NAYAYASAHASRI: *By Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh. Published by Babu Kshetrapal Ghosh, 6, Parsibagan Lane, Calcutta.*

It is a new venture in the field of Nyaya-Vaisesika philosophy. It is an enlarged edition of the well-known manual of Logic, Bhasapariccheda by Visvanatha. Mr. Ghosh has incorporated a large amount of information into the body of the text, placed within crockets, which he has collected from various works. The original Bhasapariccheda consists of 168 verses, whereas the present work comprises 1066 verses. This will give an idea of Mr. Ghosh's achievement and it is a matter of felicitation that not a single line has been added which can be deemed unessential. The Bhasapariccheda is a book of universal interest and has attracted commentaries from all parts of India; and though an excellent introduction to the study of Navya-Nyaya, it can be hardly regarded as a comprehensive survey as it leaves out much that is essential and useful. The result has been that students of Navya-Nyaya, who have neither time nor facilities to carry their studies further into the old classics remain ignorant of a large portion of Nyaya-Vaisesika philosophy. The present venture of Mr. Ghosh is calculated to remove this desideratum. We only request the author to bring out a fresh edition in Devanagari Script with a commentary, which will make it accessible to students of Nyaya all over the world. The Bengali Script of the present edition would, we

are afraid, tend to shut it out from the wide world, which will be regrettable for its universal interest.

SATKARI MUKERJEE

INDEX TO SRIMAD BHAGAVATAM: *By Pandit T. R. Krishnacharya. Published by T. K. Venkobacharya, Madhva Vilas Book Depot. Kumbakonam. Pp. 187.*

The author has laid all serious students of the Puranas under a great obligation by the publication of this very useful volume. In the first part of the index the author deals with the different stories in the Bhagavata. This will enable readers to locate and identify any tale in reference to "skandha" and "adhyaya". that is, cantos and chapters. The second part is an alphabetical index. It will be of the greatest use to scholars. The work has been very ably executed and the printing is in bold and clear Devanagri type. I wish the author would attempt a similar indexing of the other Puranas.

G. BOSE

SANSKRIT--ENGLISH

RĀMĀMĀTYA'S SVARAMÊLAKALĀNIDHI: *(a work on Music) edited with an introduction and translation by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyar, B. A., B. L., L. T. Published by the Annamalai University. Pp. lxxiii—66.*

The classical forms of music in every country have definite technique behind it. This is established after a fair amount of development and stability of the various forms. The technique is to maintain the beauty and dignity of the style. The musicians have to refer to the standard forms. This does not mean that the books of reference hamper in any way the beauty and retard the progress and culture but on the other hand, they help to retain the previous acquisitions. The controversies and various styles supported by different teachers show the tendency towards progress.

A full appreciation depends upon a certain amount of technical knowledge on the part of the audience. Music has at least twofold aspects, the technical side—the grammar, as well as the artistic side—the development of emotion in the individual. A harmonious combination of both the aspects seems to be the proper aim of the artist. An extra tendency to show the technique prominently seems to depreciate the effect of the *raga* while one-sided tendency to show the variations in the intonations does not seem to please trained audiences.

In South India the connoisseurs of Indian music are keen in their enquiries into the history of classical music, and this publication bears a testimony to that.

Rāmāmātya lived in the middle of the 16th century in Vijaynagar and was associated with Rāma Raja who belonged to the royal family of Vijayanagar and as is apparent from the text itself Rāmāmātya composed this treatise on music at the latter's request. Rāmāmātya was eminently fitted for the task for the following reasons: (*i*) He had studied the secret of music, (*ii*) he alone of all others knew both the theory and art of music, (*iii*) the traditional lore of music inherited from his grandfather, Kallapadesika, evidently Kallinatha—the commentator of *Sangitaratnakara*, palpitated in his pulse.

The treatise is a short one and contains besides the Introduction, a chapter on *svara*, a chapter on *vinā* a chapter on *mela* and a chapter on *rāga*. The learned editor has fully discussed the theories of Rāmāmātya in the Introduction and has noted their differences with the ancient theories as expounded in the *Sangitaratnakara*.

The editor in his Introduction gives a clear exposition of the definition of 'Mārga and Gandharba sangita' as distinct from the 'Desi' *i. e.*, the modern forms of music. There is the recognition of the different methods and systems of expansion or elaboration prevalent in different part of the country. The South Indian music (carnatic music) has its peculiar charm and is appreciated by the followers of Hindustani music. He naturally puts a stress to the methods of classification of the melodies (*rāgas* or *melas*) prevalent in South India and does not state the corresponding music intervals with their nomenclatures that are current in North India.

The fore-part of the Introduction is not very clear with respect to the proper position of the different tones although there has been used certain terms to indicate their position. The conception of the '*srutis*' is really useful in the theoretic understanding of the *ragas* but there seems to be no gurantee of the perfect exposition of the specified forms of the '*srutis*' during the actual performance of the music. So it is not out of place to draw attention to the fact that a simpler conception of '*srutis*' and tonal intervals helps a great deal to understand the *rāgas* properly.

The musical public ought to be thankful to the editor for his bringing into light views of old and famous musicians and writers that are apt to be ignored or forgotten by the rising set of youthful musicians and lovers of music in general.

It is doubtful whether the book can be safely recommended to all those concerned in music because it contains the exposition of the classical problems and the difficult technique of music but it may be pointed out that the book will be of immense help to those who want to use it as a book of reference.

M. GANGULY

UNIVERSAL PRAYERS: *Selected and Translated from Sanskrit Religious literature. Published by Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Price One rupee and four annas only.*

This is a collection of Hindu hymns and prayers of non-sectarian character gleaned from various Sanskrit Scriptures and their English translation. In addition, there is a valuable introduction dealing briefly with the Hindu philosophy of *bhakti* and love and of prayer and meditation. The anthology is well prepared, the texts are well chosen and the translation carefully done. It will be of help to the lay reader as well as the devotee who wants to understand some of the deeper and universal aspects of Hinduism. We congratulate the editor and the publisher for bringing out this beautiful collection. The printing and the get-up leave nothing to be desired.

ANATH NATH BASU

SRI GITAHRIDAYAM

The book is a selection from the Gita consisting of 78 verses. There is an English translation of these slokas at the end of the book. The author says that Miss Lilian Edgar, M. A, has looked over the translation but I am sorry to say that the English rendering has not always been faithful. The word "adhikara," for instance, has been translated as "concern". The meaning of certain slokas has been considerably altered by taking them out of their context, for instance, the first sloka which is the 32nd sloka of the

first chapter of the Gita contains a passage "what need have we, Oh, Govinda, of kingdom, of enjoyment, nay, even of life itself". The next line in the original which has been omitted from the selection says "when those for whose sake we desire all these are arrayed in battle here wanting to sacrifice their lives". Without this missing portion there is a chance of misinterpretation of the text. There is the usual picture of the serpent "Om".

BENGALI

KALIDASER PAKHI: (*"The Birds of Kalidasa"*) *By Satyacharan Laha, M. A., Ph. D., F. Z. S., M. B. O. U. Gurudas Chattopadhyay and Sons, Calcutta. Pp. X+291. Foolscap Quarto. Cloth-bound, with pictures of birds, printed in black and silver, on the front cover. Thirteen illustrations, two of them in colours.*

This is a book in which the author has given an account of the passages, in which various kinds of birds have been mentioned, in the poetical and dramatic works of the poet Kalidasa. Dr. Laha is the greatest authority on birds and bird-life on our side and has an excellent aviary of his own. The subject treated of in this book he has made his own. More than fifteen years ago he contributed four articles to the Bengali monthly *Prabasi* on the birds of Meghaduta and Ritusamhara. The work under notice is a more extensive survey. Dr. Laha has shown therein from his own knowledge and by quoting from European scientific writers, how accurate was the observation of Kalidasa of the appearance and habits of the birds referred to in his works. The book is written in elegant Bengali in an interesting manner. The paper, printing, illustrations and binding are excellent. The detailed index has added to the usefulness of the volume.

VIDYASAGAR-CHARIT: *a biography of Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar. By Sarat Chandra Roy. Ray and Co. 220 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 131. Six Illustrations. Price Re. 1. Cloth-bound.*

The author has written several handy lives of other celebrities. This, like his other books, is on the whole written in chaste literary Bengali. It gives an account of the great Pandit's life and his achievements as an educationist, author, social reformer and philanthropist. The manhood of the hero stands out in clear outline. The get-up of the book is commendable.

C.

HINDI

RUBAIYAT UMAR KHAYYAM: *Translated by Maithili Sharan Gupta. Published by the Prakas Pustakalay, Cawnpore. Pp. XXVI+56. Price Rs. 3.*

The old poet of Persia stirred up the heart of Europe in the last century and he has come to do the same in India in the present one. There have already appeared Bengali, Gujrati and Hindi versions of his poems. Mr. Gupta, the celebrated Hindi poet, has now translated 75 pieces and the publishers have produced them in a sumptuous edition with 12 illustrations in colour. The translator has followed the English version of Fitz-Gerald and his rendering is generally happy. We hope his attempt will be valued by the Hindi-knowing public. The introduction discusses about the original and translations. The illustrations are by the well-known artist of Benares, Mr. Ramprasad, who comes of an old family of painters of the Mughal School, and the appreciation by Rai Krishnadas is quite justified in most of the cases.

RAMES BASU

MANGAL-MOD: *By Sjt. Annapurnanand. Published by 'Rachana-Niket', Benares. Price Re. 1-4. Pages 128.*

It is gratifying to learn that after a spell of silence Sjt. Annapurnanand has again started his literary activities. By his three previous books Mr. Annapurnanand has already secured a very high position among the humour-writers of Hindi. 'Mangal-Mod' is his latest contribution to our light literature.

The present volume is a collection of ten short stories and sketches, written in a witty and charming style. The most praiseworthy thing in Mr. Annapurnanand's humour is this that it is absolutely free from any kind of vulgarity. He can make the reader laugh without appealing to his lower tastes. The illustrations given in the book add more to the charm of the stories. A perusal of the book will give the reader perfect enjoyment for an hour or two.

B. M. VARMA

GUJRATI

(1) VANTHELĀNANE BIJI NĀTIKĀO, (2) JAIL OFFICE NI BĀRI: *By Jhaverchand Meghani,* (3) JALIANVALA, *by "Darshak:" All three published by Amratlal D. Sheth of the Saurashtra Karyalay, Ranpur, Kathiawad, pp. 172: 166: 110. Cloth bound. Price Re. 1-0-0, Re. 1-0-0, As. 8 (1934).*

The first book contains the first attempts from Mr. Meghani's pen in the writing of plays. The title means, Villains and other plays. One of these "other plays" portrays the miseries of the wife of a pseudo-social reformer, who, though at heart is a tyrant, wants to show to his friends that he believes in the freedom of women. This particular one as well as the others are written with an eye to their being put on the stage. The language used is homely and the setting is familiar to Gujaratis. The plays therefore are likely to succeed. The second book, which means "the window of the prison office" tells in the most effective and therefore pathetic way the experiences of those who come to interview their relations interned behind the prison-bars, the tribulations of the interviewer and the interviewed, the oppression practised by the prison martinets and similar other distressful items. The author has had personal experience of everything he writes and therefore the exposures are not imaginary. As usual Mr. Meghani has succeeded in making his characters living and vivid, the third book dramatizes the sad Jallianvala Bag incident of 1919 at Amritsar in a series of twenty "scenes." They are so arranged as to cover all the different phases of the event, and make it live over again. The pictures on the jackets of this as well as the Prison-window Book are very suggestive.

K. M. J.

TWENTY YEARS AFTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

THE Divinity that shapes our ends seems to be determined that 1934—the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Great War—shall not pass without its lesson. History is repeating itself or stirring up echoes in the most uncanny and unmistakable fashion.

The war began in Austria with Germany as the attendant evil genius and Russia watching Germany. This year war has very nearly begun again in Austria and again Germany is lurking in the slips. The only change in the scene is that Austria is no longer the great unconsolidated Austro-Hungarian Empire. Some of her territories and peoples have been lopped off to form the countries of Jugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia or have been added to Italy and Roumania. And from this it arises that Russia is no longer interested in the scene—and the "mighty opposite" to Germany is not Russia but Italy.

As if this were not enough to remind us, this twentieth year since the War is also the year in which its two outstanding figures have died. Early in the year died King Albert of the Belgians, a moral victor for all time. Now, on the very anniversary of his country's declaration of War (August 3rd) has died Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, the greatest general the War produced.

The Great War was a war of waiting and wearing down and attrition. There was but one sensational victory in the old style and that was won by von Hindenburg. In 1914, he was a sixty-seven year old nonentity who had made a hobby of the strategical problems of East Prussia. In 1914 the Russian Armies began to roll over East Prussia and he was sent for and given his chance. For years he had studied the marshes in that district and planned the doom they could be to men and guns. Now that study bore its terrible fruit. The result was the slaughter of 100,000 Russians—the "famous victory" of Tannenberg.

The victor of Tannenberg became the hero of Germany and, unlike our own Duke of Wellington, showed himself as good and better a man in peace as ever he was in war. Although he was a monarchist he put his duty to his country above his personal predilections, and for years he did stand for something stable and good in German life. Unfortunately, in his old age, there was a falling off in his grasp of public affairs. Dr. Bruning, the last German Chancellor before the Nazi deluge, had a scheme which would have shown up a public scandal in which the Prussian landlords were involved. These landlords got at their old chief, played on his fears and loyalties, and persuaded him to get rid of Dr. Bruning. Accordingly the president appointed instead his friend von Papen. But von Papen could not stand up to the Nazis and became their prisoner—which he was never more so than at the present day.

Well, Hindenburg is dead and Herr Hitler rules, in his place. While the President lay dying it was bad taste to discuss the succession and one Nazi newspaper that did so was suspended for a week. The same considerations of taste, however, did not obtain amongst the more exalted. Twelve hours before the President died the Hitler Cabinet passed a law, to "enter into force from the moment of the death of President von Hindenburg", combining the offices of President and Chancellor and conferring them upon Herr Hitler. The old title of *Reich President* is to go and he will be known as *Leader* (Fuhrer) *and Chancellor* or more probably, by the short title *People's Leader*. Thus he becomes both head of the Executive and head of the State. And perhaps it is worth noting in passing that there is only one other European Dictator who has done this: Mustapha Kemal.

Of course, if the ordinary procedure had been followed, the President of the Supreme Court would have become President until a new election should have been held. But in March of last year the Reichstag passed an enactment giving the Hitler government "full power" to do anything on earth it liked. Accordingly true to type, and regardless of wider considerations, the Nazi regime decided to use the death of the President as an opportunity for a Hitler holiday. The Fuhrer became the Head of the State all right without waiting for an election—without waiting, indeed, until after the dead President's funeral. Germany was told to go into a fortnight's mourning and the poor musicians were told not to play during that time in the cafés. But again there was one law for them and another for the Nazi leaders. For on August 19th the German people are to be asked to endorse what has been done: to say "yes" all together and give yet another demonstration of their solidarity. And to work them up to the required pitch they are to suffer eleven days of intensive propaganda from 200,000 loud-speakers!

The reason for all this is that the Nazi regime never stood in greater need of boosting. Though the German people cannot read in their censored Press what is happening at home or thought of them abroad, they must be aware that Hitlerism has a lot to explain away. In the first place there are the political murders of the

week-end of June 30th. They must have disillusioned many and especially the young people who thought of the Nazi movement as one of national regeneration. With them it is probably a case of "Never glad confident morning again."

Then there is the plight of Germany's trade with its background of unemployment and misery. There is a general shortage of foreign currencies and raw materials. Only today it is reported in the Press here that German importers are at a loss to know how to pay for their orders of Lancashire yarns. It is said that Germany cannot get through the winter without the aid of foreign loans.

Some idea of the shrinkage in Germany's exports can be gleaned from the figures published in respect of her trade with the Baltic countries. With this, incidentally, our going off the gold standard has had much to do. In 1929, Germany's exports to the seven Baltic countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania) totalled 1,563 million marks. In 1933 they had dropped to 507 million marks !

But the worst blow to the Nazi regime is, of course, the miserable failure with Austria. It set out with the declared intention of uniting the two German-speaking peoples. All it has achieved is the murder of Dr. Dollfuss—a murder the full story of which, to quote the *Times*, "is making the name of Nazi to stink in the nostrils of the world."

It is indeed a well-nigh incredible story ! Nothing more reveals the weak and clumsiness of Herr Hitler as a Dictator. And when one reflects that this bungler in Austrian affairs is himself an Austrian by birth it passes all understanding. No wonder he has been called a Mussolini out of the bargain basement.

The story of the Austrian plot is being unravelled and when it is completed there will be an indictment of Germany. Already the Austrian Government claim that they have proof that, in its main outlines, it was known in Germany.

The plot was a simple one. One band of Austrian Nazis was to seize the Chancellery and the members of the Dollfuss Government. Another to seize the Vienna Broadcasting Station and announce that the Dollfuss Government had fallen and Dr. Rintelen taken over. The broadcast was to be the pre-arranged signal for a rising of the Austrian Nazis all over the country. Following the lead in Vienna, they also were to rise and take over the local government buildings. It failed, of course, because although there was a serious situation in some of the outlying provinces, and especially in Styria and Carinthia, there was no general rising—and above all not in Vienna.

At this point it is necessary to say a word about the moment chosen for the Nazi putsch. For some reason which it is hard to understand all the apologists for Dr. Dollfuss speak of his being *forced* to adopt harsh methods of repression. He first adopted these harsh methods in February when he suddenly swooped on the Social Democrats, forced them to give up their arms, battered down their homes with machine guns, and put all their leaders in prison and concentration camps.

The excuse given was that the Social Democrats were armed. But the answer to that was that all Parties in Austria were armed: the Social Democrats, the Fascists and the Nazis. And the Social Democrats, in any event, had agreed to support Dr. Dollfuss against the Nazis. Moreover, Dr. Dollfuss put himself out of court so far as that argument was concerned, because he himself employed a private army, that of the Fascists, to destroy the Socialists.

Why did he do that ? Who "forced" him to employ harsh methods against the Socialists ? It was noticed at the time that the Fascist forces were wearing Italian steel helmets. Ever since February Dr. Dollfuss has been acting in close association with Signor Mussolini. At the time of his murder, his wife was the guest of Signora Mussolini. It thus became ever increasingly clear that the price of Italian support against Nazi-ism was the repression of the Austrian Social Democrats.

Austria might have struggled on against the Nazis without playing Italy's game. Perhaps, if the League of Nations had given her more support she would have. But unfortunately it has to be remembered that last winter, when Austria wished to make an appeal to the League, we and Italy refused to support it.

Our "National" Government never will move a finger to assist the League of Nations, except to use our "commitments" thereunder as an excuse for increasing armaments ! And, as usual, such timidity only resulted in a worsening of the situation. Not until February of this year, not until Austria had thrown herself into the arms of Italy, would we make a statement of policy. And then we made it not through the League but as a Great Power acting in conjunction with other Great Powers—with France and Italy.

"The Three Powers," it was stated, "take a common view as to the necessity of maintaining Austria's independence and integrity in accordance with the relevant treaties." No wonder, Germany, however much she deserved the reproof, felt she was returning to the old pre-War isolation.

The inevitable result, of course, of Dr. Dollfuss's calling in Italy to aid her against the Nazis was that the Nazis grew desperate. Gun-running from Germany and acts of terrorism were intensified until, in the middle of July of this year, Dr. Dollfuss decided that the time had come to to try conclusions with them once and for all. A Commission for Security was set up and thenceforward "political acts of violence were to be

punishable *exclusively by death.*" And it was arising out of this, because several of their fellows were awaiting trial and probably death, that the Nazis retaliated with their putsch.

The impending trial of Nazis, the plan to seize the Dollfuss Government, the pre-arranged signal of the broadcast—all these were essential features of the Austrian rebellion and all were known beforehand in Germany. But the amazing part of it all is the total lack of discretion, the utter incompetent bungling, with which Germany confronted the situation she had helped and hoped to bring about. It reads more like a Russian novel than a chronicle of contemporary happenings.

First of all the German Ambassador in Vienna, Herr Rieth, actually tried to negotiate a safe conduct for the rebels. For this he has been dismissed by the German Government. But it can only be said that, unlike the German Government, he did not desert his confederates merely because they had failed—and, in any event, his indiscretion has been totally eclipsed by German officials across the border.

The principal indiscretion was on the part of the official German news agency in Berlin. On the very evening of the murder of Dr Dollfuss, on Wednesday 25th July, it published a "report" of the rebellion. But it was not a report of events as they had really happened. It was a report of what would have happened had the plot succeeded. So they revealed to everyone that Germany was in the know . . . What a clumsy indiscretion.

It is even stated by Strasbourg newspaper, the *Elsaesser*, that on July 22nd, three days before the rising, they received from a Berlin Press photo agency five pictures which could be published after the impending revolt. And all these five pictures were wish-fulfilments of the hopes of the rebels! They were of the Vienna Broadcasting Station "which has been blown up." The Chancellery "which has been occupied by the revolutionaries." Major Fey "who has been placed under arrest." Dr. Rintelen (the hope of the Nazi cause who is now under arrest and who attempted suicide) "forming a new Government." And Chancellor Dollfuss "who received fatal injuries." So even that murder was a foregone conclusion.

How thorough and how German to try to have the pictures all ready. How clumsy not to realize the shock of such prevision to the world outside which has no part in the Nazi murder club. No wonder Herr Hitler dare not let the German public read the foreign press comments. No wonder he is trying to give them a new distraction.

But Germany cannot escape indictment. The Home Front in Austria (the party created by Dr Dollfuss to combat the Nazis) has plackarded Vienna with the poster: "We indict the real murderers across the frontier." And the Vienna Government is busy collecting all the evidence. It is said that Dr. Rintelen, the Nazi rebels Chancellor-designate, has threatened "to tell all he knows." But already the Government has enough to establish Germany's guilt. On July 28th, they arrested a Nazi courier trying to cross the Bavarian frontier. On him they found documents, partly in cipher, in which the whole course of the rebellion was mapped out. Everything was provided for leading up to the formation of a new Government under Dr. Rintelen. And these documents, it is said, "remove any doubts as to the putsch in Austria being directed and prepared by the Nazi leaders in Germany, and particularly in Munich.

It is useless for Germany, now, to try to wash her hands of the Austrian murder and rebellion. It is too late now for such measures as the dismissal of the head of the Munich broadcasting station or punitive action against indiscreet Ambassadors and Press Agencies. These do not convince anyone. They only inspire contempt for a regime that tries to save itself by throwing its servants to the wolves. Why did Herr Hitler allow the long months of provocative broadcasting from the Munich station? Why did he ever appoint an "Inspector for Austria"? Why did he allow an Austrian Nazi Legion to grow up on the German side of the frontier? As the Austrian Home Front says in its poster: Germany threw oil on the flames. Germany put arms in the hands of youths who did not know any better. (In this last connection, of course, Switzerland has recently sent a Note to Germany protesting against the smuggling of German arms to Austria *via* Lake Constance.)

But what emerges from all this? Surely the conclusion that Austria must look neither to Italy nor to Germany for her independence—nor to a Hapsburg restoration—but to the League of Nations. Critics in this country may scoff at the League, but the fact remains that if the League won't support Austria, Italy will. And Italian intervention means uneasiness in Jugoslavia and a return to the old Balkan tension. In the recent rebellion, for instance, it is believed in Germany, and probably with truth, that if the Austrian Legion had marched across the frontier into Austria, the Italian troops would have done so also. And if Italy had taken this action, Jugo-Slavia would have followed suit. In other words War.

Jugo-Slavia was profoundly agitated by Italy massing her troops on the Austrian border. A dispatch from Zagreb in Croatia, dated 29th July, reported: "There is considerable excitement throughout Jugo-Slavia and much military activity near the frontier. The Italian troop movements have caused irritation in Croatia, where the newspapers accuse Italy of arrogance in interfering in Austrian affairs, and claim there was no need for it. The Italian actions are described as 'provocative'."

As to the possibilities of a Hapsburg Restoration, it can only be said that Austria

which cannot support itself can hardly support a Restoration. And as to the suggestion that Austria and Hungary should unite and make it feasible, the Little Entente—Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugo-Slavia—will go in fear for their territories should that come about.

In the words of an official communiqué issued by the Jugo-Slav Legation in Berlin, ". . . the Jugo-Slav Government is of the view that the League of Nations solely and exclusively has the right in case of special complications to make decisions upon the Austrian question as an international problem. Every other unilateral measure, such as intervention, would be an infringement of the peace treaties and *could bring about other consequences*."

But let those nations who imposed the Peace Treaties remember that they condemned Austria to an impossible existence, to an existence in which she can never be self-supporting—and the outward and visible signs of which are beggars at every street corner and, indeed, these terrible political conflagrations. Same day perhaps, when the present tyranny in Germany is overpast, and Europe has lost its fears of Germany, Austria may unite with the rest of the German-speaking peoples. But the insane tactics of the Nazis have put that clock back for generations and meanwhile Austria cannot wait. If and when the Austrian question comes before the League of Nations, efforts must be made to break down economic barriers amongst the Danube countries—to free her trade and find her markets.

It is something to be thankful for that the new Austrian Chancellor, Herr Schuschnigg, shows some signs of seeking to return to the situation before February, before Dr. Dollfuss attacked the Socialists and threw Austria on the protection of Italy. Nothing can be said in condonation of the treatment which the Austrian Government meted out to the rebels. There is no getting away from the fact that safe-conducts were promised and the promise was broken. At the trial both Dr. Fey and Herr Neustaedter-Stuermer admitted that the safe-conducts were promised irrespective of the fact Dr. Dollfuss had been killed. "It was only on receiving this promise on behalf of the German Government that we surrendered, and Fey twice gave me his word of honour as an officer in spite of the fact that Dollfuss was dead"—said one of the rebels at the trial. But since that trial, there are signs that the Austrian Government may be more anxious to conciliate than to punish. After all, as history teaches us, there is no such thing as treason really. Treason is only treason when it is unsuccessful! When it succeeds, it is the new government—and the supporters of the old one are the traitors. Personal loyalties there certainly are but they belong to a different plane. At all events, to return to the new Austrian regime, they have, since Thursday, released Herr Seitz, the former and much-loved Socialist Burgo-master of Vienna, and also other Social Democrat leaders. They had been in prison since the events in February—and, as a report from Vienna states, "this is regarded as a clear attempt to end the fight with the Socialists and conciliate the working classes."

Will the new Austrian Government, can the new Austrian Government, make any similar attempt to end the fight with Germany? It seems impossible, since, if they are going to forgive their own hotheads, it can only be because they realize that Germany was more than half the instigator. And the tactless Germans, if they continue in their present mood, will doubtless only interpret any attempt at a new understanding as signs of weakness.

But something must be done about Germany! Her enemies may rejoice that she has so utterly put herself in the wrong, may take comfort from the reflection that she has scarcely a friend in Europe or the world. But, if they don't do something about it, they may soon find themselves trying to derive comfort from a Germany in a state of revolution.

Decent people, everywhere, cannot rejoice at that prospect. What, for instance, will be the plight of the workers? The International Labour Office last month published an article on the effects of the Depression in Germany. It analysed the German "dole" and its purchasing power. Since the investigations were made in Germany that dole has been reduced. Yet even on the former figure the conclusion reached was that "there is therefore every justification for asserting that a great number of the unemployed in Germany are exposed to the danger of underfeeding."

What can the winter hold in store for Austria and Germany and all of us?

Parliament has just adjourned for the summer holidays and the only thing for which the past session will be remembered is the National Government's re-armament programme and Mr. Baldwin's extraordinary speech in support of it. In it he went back on all his peace on earth sentiments and warnings to the younger generation.

The outstanding passage in that speech was that in which he said:

> "When you think of the defence of England you no longer think of the chalk cliffs of Dover but of the Rhine."

Such a remark can only be a calculated indiscretion. It has been described as the most sensational statement on British foreign policy made by any British statesman since Mr. Asquith twenty years ago made his historic announcement of our entry into the War. What does it mean?

Germany, naturally, takes it to mean that England is expecting another war and that in that war she will be fighting against Germany. Not for a moment does she imagine that Mr Baldwin was thinking of Locarno—and the

possibility of England fighting either on the side of France or on the side of Germany, according to which of the parties was the aggressor.

"Mr. Baldwin's remark", says the *Berliner Tageblatt*, "lets the cat out of the bag . . . The entire Commons debate was aimed at Germany as Britain's potential enemy." And another Berlin paper, the *Boersen Zeitung*, pointedly adds that the speech shows "to what extent Britain is subjected to the influence of the French General Staff."

There is, indeed, more in that remark than at first meets the eye. Let us turn, for instance, to the current issue of *The Fighting Forces*. There the point of view is adumbrated, and there can be little doubt that it is the War Office view, that our new air defence policy must begin on the Continent. There an understanding is advocated with France and the Low Countries with the object of securing facilities for British aeroplanes in aerodromes in those regions ! (We went into the last War, officially, to preserve the neutrality of Belgium . .)

In this article Germany, as in Mr Baldwin's speech, is envisaged as the enemy. And "To fly from Germany to London," writes the Editor, Lt.-Col. R M. Raynsford, D. S. O., "if one takes anything in the nature of a direct course, it is necessary to cross Dutch, French or Belgian territory . Our real air defence must inevitably be situated in France and the Low Countries" !

Sinister support to this outrageous proposal is to be found in a *Reuter* message published on 1st August That message states "It is revealed that at the London Economic Conference a British plan for establishing neutral (!) zones in Belgium and the Netherlands to prevent an attack on the British Isles was explained to Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State."

The truth of that *Reuter* cable is denied in British official circles, but it all hangs together with Mr. Baldwin's remark about the Rhine frontier and with the article in *The Fighting Forces*

In any event, it is deplorable that a British statesman should have in peace-time named an enemy. Deplorable that he should in that irresponsible fashion give colour and support to all the jingoists and alarmists who delight in dancing to the tunes piped by the armament manufacturers. It is incredible, for instance, that the Air Defence League should be allowed to issue, as they are at the present time, leaflets urging the creation of *A New Winged Army Of Long-Range British Bombers to Smash the Foreign Hornets in their Nests*, and that on the back of this leaflet they state who the "hornets" are in the following screamer

> "Why wait for a bomber to leave Berlin at 4 o' clock and wipe out London at 8 ?"

But beneath all this scaremongering the National Government may be hatching some scheme and all lovers of peace should keep their eyes open. There has been general surprise, for instance, that Mr. Baldwin has never said anything more about his famous promise, should disarmament have to be abandoned, to get to work next morning to secure some kind of an Air Convention.

Is the truth of the matter — the explanation —that the National Government's idea of an Air "convention" is an Air alliance directed against Germany ? Are we in for a military alliance with France and the Low Countries, an alliance masquerading as a Convention ?

The strangest feature about our new re-armament programme is that the National Government has no mandate for it whatever. The only mandate they have received is from the Conservative Party Conference. The so-called National Government is being driven by the Tories and the Service Members. No one, says the *Manchester Guardian*, can read Mr. Baldwin's speeches on armaments since the Conservative Conference at Birmingham last October without feeling convinced that if left to himself he would have deferred re-arming until the Disarmament Conference was a proved failure or there was demonstrable external justification for it.

The least ingenuous part of Mr. Baldwin's speech was the attempt which he made to justify re-armament on the grounds that our stronger arms would assist in the cause of "collective security" As one critic observed, if his Tory colleagues had taken him seriously they would have called for an immediate Cabinet meeting !

It is not too much to say that the British Government's determination to have nothing to do with collective security has been the principal cause of the failure to date of the Disarmament Conference. They would not give any definition, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, of even the mildest guarantees of a Disarmament Convention. And it adds . "If there is one thing that can be confidently asserted about the foreign policy of this Government from China to the Rhine, it is that it has been resolutely determined to avoid any and every situation in which the idea of 'collective' security' could be put to any sort of test."

The one thing that is certain about that famous re-armament speech is that Germany thinks we are in France's pocket and America is going to follow our bad example and join in the Air Race also A report from the United States, following on Mr. Baldwin's speech, stated : Britain's expanded air plans, it is believed, will stimulate the United States Government's determination to have Congress approve the Baker report recommending that "2,320 aeroplanes is the minimum considered necessary to meet peace-time army requirements."

Peace-time ?

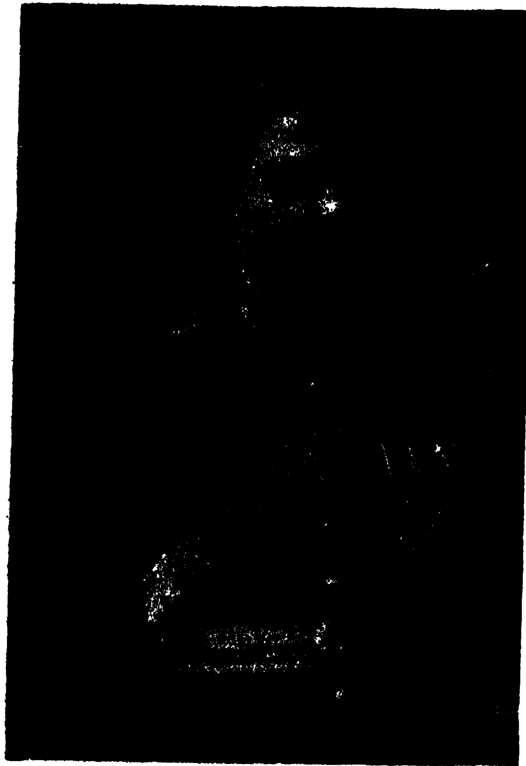
10th August, 1934

AN INDIAN COLONEL IN ROUMANIA

By SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

DURING my recent visit to Roumania I came across in Bucharest a very interesting personality. He is Dr. Narsing Mulgund, a Lt.-Col. in the medical department of the Roumanian army. I became so interested in him that I obtained from him the particulars of his early life which I am now writing for the information of my countrymen.

A Maharashtrian by birth, his home was in Taluka Bhuvanagir, sixty miles from Hyderabad city in Deccan. He had his early education in Bombay and after matriculating, he went over to Calcutta.

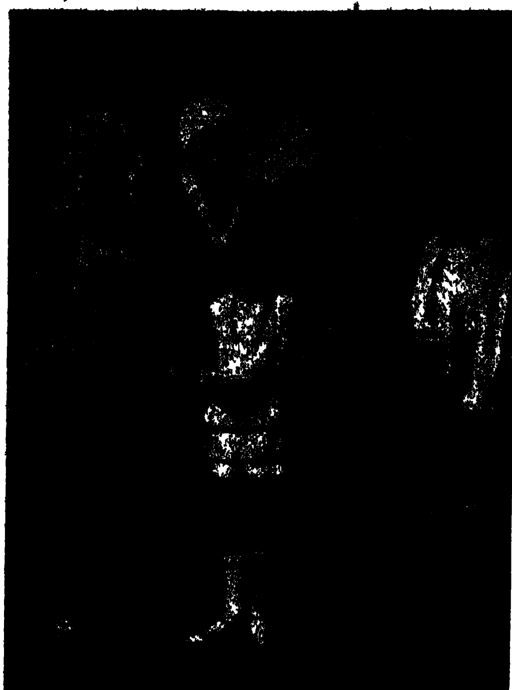


Lt.-Col. Narsing Mulgund

In Calcutta he joined the Scottish Churches College and studied for the F. A. Examination. Simultaneously, he studied at the National Medical College of Dr. S. K. Mullick. Among his teachers at the latter College were Dr. S. K. Mullick, Dr. Y. M. Bose, Dr. B. C. Ghosh and Dr. M. D. Das. He duly passed the F. A. Examination from the Scottish Churches College and the M. C. P. S. Examination from the National Medical College. In 1912, he went over to London and took the M. R. C. S. Diploma. About this time the Turko-Balkan War broke out and Dr. Mulgund volunteered for service in the Red Crescent Mission in Turkey. There were two medical missions, one led by Dr. Ansari and the other by Dr. Abdul Hossain and Dr. Mulgund joined the latter. He worked for six months as a surgeon with the Turkish army at Shatalja. There he got the Order of Commander of Majidia from the Turkish Government. In the Turko-Balkan War Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria fought against Turkey. This war came to an end soon, but a fresh war broke out in which Serbia and Greece attacked Bulgaria. Roumania also joined in the fray. Since Bulgaria had grabbed a lot of territory from Turkey during the Turko-Balkan War, Turkey took this opportunity of regaining some of her lost territories. When Roumania declared war against Bulgaria, the mission went over to Roumania. In Roumania Dr. Mulgund worked in Zimnica, where there was a field-hospital. Cholera then broke out in the Roumanian army and the medical mission proved to be of great assistance. As a reward for his services, Dr. Mulgund got the Order of Military Virtue from the Roumanian Government. This was in August 1913. At the end of the second Balkan War, the other members of the medical mission returned to India, but Dr. Mulgund stayed on. He felt a strong impulse to carve out for himself a career in Roumania.

But who would help him was the problem. Fortunately, about this time Dr. Lupu, a well-known politician, and Professor Stanculeanu took a fancy for him. His future career depended on his becoming a naturalized subject. With the help of his two friends and through the strength of his war-services, he was able to become a naturalized subject long before the usual term. Soon after this he obtained a job as an assistant in the Eye-clinic, attached to the University Hospital. He then passed the State Examination in Roumania. After passing his examination he was able to obtain an appointment as a Sub-lieutenant in the medical department of the Roumanian army.

This was in April 1915. On August 15, 1916 Roumania declared war against Germany. In 1917 Dr. Mulgund became a Lieutenant and in 1918 a Captain. In 1926 he became a Major and in May 1934 a few days before I came to Bucharest, he became a Lt.-Colonel.



From the left Elder daughter Mrs Mulgund younger daughter, Lt Col Mulgund a girl friend of the daughter

Dr. Mulgund, or rather Lt.-Col. [illegible] is one of the best Eye-specialists in [illegible] From 1919 to 1922 he was chief of the [illegible] Hospital in Oradia and from 1922 to 1928, he was an Eye-specialist, attached to the military hospital in Bucharest. During my stay in Bucharest he was asked by the War Minister to open a new Eye Hospital for the benefit of the army.

Lt.-Col. Mulgund married a Roumanian lady and they have two children, both of them girls. They are a happy family. He is quite well known in Bucharest and even before I met him I came to hear of him from several Roumanian friends During my stay in Bucharest I had the pleasure of spending much of my time with him. From the way he used to be accosted by the Roumanian gentry and by military officers whenever we went out together, one could see, that he was not only well-known there, but much esteemed also

Though he has been away from India and though he is now a Roumanian subject, he has not forgotton his own language. Besides Marathi, he can speak Hindi fairly well and still retains a fair knowledge of Sanskrit. He is very fond of quoting Sanskrit maxims and verses from the Gita It was a very great pleasure and honour to meet Lt.-Col. Mulgund in Bucharest. And I have no doubt that those of my countrymen who read this, will be equally pleased and interested. Lt.-Col. Mulgund lives at Strada Cansasi 14, Bucharest

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs Jayashri Naishad Raiji has been elected a member of the Senate of the Bombay University to represent the registered graduates constituency.

Mrs Amrit Kaur of Bombay resolved and actually began to fast unto death if her compatriots in Bombay failed to come to the relief of the Assamese in their distress caused by devastating floods She, however, abandoned her fast on the persuasion of leaders. The *United Press* reported from Bombay on August 21 last

"Tears rolled down the eyes of Srimati Amrit Kaur this evening when she was informed that Bombay contributed Rs. 20,000 in cash and kind for Assam flood relief, thus fulfilling her vow of providing clothing for 20,000 women

Ten thousand *saris*, each costing Re. 1 and 4,000 clothing, each costing 4 as., and Rs 9,000 in cash were collected from Bombay. Practically all clothing was despatched to Assam and the cash was remitted to various relief agencies



Mrs. Jayashri Naishad Raiji



Mrs. Amrit Kaur

The most remarkable fact of the collection is that not a single volunteer was engaged for

it and not one person was personally approached to contribute.

Mrs. Amrit Kaur has also appealed to the Panjab to contribute at least Rs. 2,000 to clothe 2,000 Assam sisters."

Mrs. Prabhamayi Mitra is an artist of considerable merit. Her paintings were exhibited in Calcutta early this year along with those of others of her own sex and highly spoken of by experts. She has introduced new techniques in the village domestic arts, such as, *alpana* painting (painting the floor with the rice-powder mixed with water), etc. She also knows photography.



Mrs. Prabhamayi Mitra



Miss. Sita Bai More

Miss Sita Bai More won many prizes in sword and *lathi* play in Bombay.

NEPAL AND ITS RULER

By S. P. THAPA, B. Sc.

THERE are times in the history of a nation when great souls are born to guide its destiny on its onward march. The canvas of time paints many a towering personality who acts as a beacon light to guide and to inspire his generation with the light of faith and hope. Verily, His Highness Projjwala Nepaltara Atiprabala Gorkhadakshinabahu Prithuladhisa Maharaja Sir Judha Sham Shere Jung Bahadur Rana Grand Croix De La Legion de honneur, G. C., Santi Marijio Elaro. G. C. I. E., Hon. Lt.-General British Army, Hon. Colonel of all the Gurkha forces (Indian Army), Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-chief of Nepal, belongs to this small band of supermen. Even during the brief span of a year-and-a-half's administration of his he has shown that catholic liberality and broad-mindedness which in themselves go a great way to evidence what stuff his heroic soul is made of. A little pen-picture of this great man would be illuminating as a setting and a mould in which this heroic soul is cast.



Maharaja Sir Judha Sham Shere Jung Bahadur Rana

The one fact that comes out prominently in his life is that he came under the stimulating influence of his mother under whose strict discipline his early life was moulded.

Born in 1875 he was brought up in strictest discipline along with his brother Maharaja Sir Chandra Sham Shere by his father General Dhir Sham Shere, the then Commander-in-cniof of the Army. The morning shows the day and even in his early life His Highness exhibited those signs and capacities which were the precursor of his future greatness.

It was in his capacity as a senior Commanding General under the rule of Maharaja Sir Chandra Sham Shere that his high talents and organizing capacity were put to the test and he was found equal to every great task that was entrusted to him. It was during the Terai shooting of H. M. King George in the year 1911 that he showed his capacity for efficient organization that marked in his later life. He was in charge of the whole arrangement in connection with the shoot. It may be said to his credit that every thing passed off as it should have, and his work received the highest approbation of his brother.

The European tour of Maharaja Sir Chandra Sham Shere in the year 1908 whom he accompanied as chief of the staff was more than anything else a real eye-opener to this great mind and the great ideas he imbibed then have borne fruits of far-reaching possibilities now.

It was during the Great War in which almost all the European Powers were involved that His Highness was in charge of the Nepalese war office, being Senior Commanding General of the Army. He played his part well and with ability. During those critical times he worked indefatigably day and night so that the Government of Nepal might be in a pasition to render the highest service to the British Government with whom the Government of Nepal is connected with the indissoluble tie of staunch friendship. It was through the effort of the late Maharaja Sir Chandra and His Highness that the British Government could get so many Gurkha recruits during the War. Several trained Nepalese regiments were sent to guard the Indian forntier.

During the Prince of Wales's visit to Nepal Terai also His Highness was in charge of the whole arrangement of the shooting camp.

Since the accession of H. H. to the Prime Ministership of Nepal he has introduced several reforms which go to show that His Highness' one supreme object in life is the amelioration of the condition of his subjects and the improvement of his country.

His Highness is always untiring in his attempts to introduce reforms in any shape which would be likely to be conducive to the general well-being of the people. Agricultural indebtedness has been the one problem the solution of which has been taxing the ingenuity of many a ruler. With that end in view His Highness has risen to the height of the occasion by making a beginning in the way of establishing co-operative credit societies at the very commencement of his rule whereby it is hoped the material condition of the poor cultivating classes would be much altered for the better.

His Highness is always keenly alive to the need of industry and its organization without which no nation can hope for material prosperity. Industrial improvement has been the one absorbing passion of His Highness. He has been trying to find out possibilities of developing trade and industry. The establishment of the Nepal Trading Company with Nepalese capital is a move towards the same end. Many a contemplated reform in this direction, such as the establishment of a bank in Nepal and carrying out of an industrial survey, will soon be taken up and before long reforms in the direction of trade would be accomplished facts.

The question of good roads and hospitals and municipalities is also engaging His Highness' attention. There have been several reforms in the military and civil offices. His Highness has opened a provident fund for military officers and soldiers who now in the evening of their life would have sufficient provision to make their life of retirement one of ease and comfort. An additional new electrical power house is being constructed at Sunderjal for the purpose of facilitating trade and manufacture and Lt. General Krishna Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana who is in charge of the work is working very hard to complete it at an early date. The whole code

of the law is being revised so that it may be made up-to-date having in view the immemorial traditions and custom of the country.

Two recent happenings in Nepal have still more immortalized His Highness' name. Certain administrative changes have also been necessary and the following principal promotions have been made by His Highness in consequence of the removal of the third category from the roll of succesion. H. E. Supradipta Manyabar Commander-in-chief General Sir Padma Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, G.B.E., K.C.I.E., Supradipta Manyabar Senior Commanding General Sir Mohan Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, K.C.I.E., Supradipta Manyabar Commanding General Sir Baber Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., HON. Colonel British Army, Nepal Pratapbardhak, Supradipta Manyabar Nepal Tara Prasidha Prabala Gurkhadakshinbahu Commanding General Sir Kaisar Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, K.B.E. Grande officier de la legion de honneur, Supradipta Manyabar Prasidha Prabala Gurkhadakshinbahu Commanding General Bahadur Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, Supradipta Manyabar General Singha Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana are all highly educated and experienced Officers and as they have been given charge of important departments so the country's prosperity is further assured under His Highness' benign rule.

But unfortunately Nepal suffered irreparable loss and damage by the recent earthquake of January 15, 1934. At that time His Highness the Maharaja was away from the capital at Nepalganj where His Highness was busy looking after the welfare of his subjects. Immediately on receipt of the news of the damage done by the earthquake in Katmandu and in many districts of hill and Terai His Highness sent long telegraphic messages to all the officers giving them strict order to spend necessary money to help the distressed people.

On the opening of the railway line His Highness hurried to the capital and immediately on reaching there made a provisional grant of four lakhs of rupees. His Highness also opened a relief fund with a capital of rupees fifty lakhs to be given free of interest for four years. Nowadays in the work of relief His Highness' time and attention are so much occupied that he has hardly breathing time. Daily on horse-back he is visiting the devastated town and makes personal enquiries into the conditions of his beloved subjects.

Another landmark in Nepal's history is the establishment of an Embassy in London and His Majesty the King Emperor of India has received one newly created highest Nepalese title. His Highness the Maharaja's eldest son, Commanding General Bahadur Sham Shere Jang Bahadur Rana, is now in London as the head of the Nepalese mission.

In conclusion, we hope his life would be long and prosperous so that His Highness may see the fruition of his efforts.

THE MESSAGE OF LIFE*

An Appreciation

BY R. C. SEN, I. C. S.

In social maladies as well as those that are physical, diagnosis is often half the cure. Yet in the various forms in which the demand for happiness is finding expression in the present-day world, this aspect of things does not always receive the attention it deserves. A growing awareness of this situation has perplexed the modern world. There is too much disparity between the practice and the knowledge of life. Not to strike anyone capable of sustained thought, some indeed there are who, like ostriches burying their heads in sand, think of annihilating the facts by refusing to see them. Some build utopias with their foundations in the air. Some again repeat the jest of Pilate and show the thinness of the line between the apparently profound and the extremely shallow. Life with all its manifold urgencies is there to be lived. It can neither be ignored, nor explained away.

In the community of Sciences, Sociology is the latest arrived. As a pure science it has got the same detachment and the same ethical neutrality as the other sciences. But, as has been well said, 'a scientific method of sociological analysis may serve the same purpose for society as a psychic analysis may accomplish for the individual by unveiling the causes of latest conflicts and repressions and by making society conscious of its real ends and motives of

* Jiban-vani: *By B. C. Mazumdar. Pp. 10 and 328. Price Rs. 2. Published by Messrs. Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons, Calcutta.*

action,' and this attitude is also adopted by the author of the book under review. A life-long student of anthropology in which he has made many notable original contributions, he brings to the study of the social problems of the age a mind rich in the wide knowledge of biology and kindred sciences, and in the passion for truth that follows the logic of facts without fear or prejudice; and in spite of the intricate nature of the questions that are discussed, the book has a literary grace rarely found in this class of writing.

The book is written for the young- -the young in whose hands lies the salvation of each age and in whom humanity renews its hope in each generation. The author assumes no previous training on the part of the public he addresses and is careful to present the data he bases his conclusions on, however elementary some of them may seem to advanced students of science. For the same reason he avoids those results of scientific investigation that are still highly controversial. Yet the book is not written down to the level of the casual student of social phenomena who is not prepared to undergo the effort of hard thinking. It is in no sense a popularization of currently accepted views. Nor is it a mere study of origins, for the author shows what lines of approach to the problems before him emerge from that study. For much of his scientific data the author is necessarily indebted to others, although in those that relate to anthropology there is a good deal that is original. But he has co-ordinated them in his own way and made out a position for his own. This is not the less so because in many of his conclusions he is supported by other prominent thinkers throughout the world. It would have been surprising if it was the other way. Taken as a whole, it is probably the first book of its kind in Bengali.

Throughout the essays that make up this book the author wages a relentless battle against slovenly thinking and the habit of making fetishes of tall words. To those unused to the sense of the new horizons revealed by the progress of science, some of his conclusions may seem unpalatable. The author realizes this risk and relies on the love of freedom of thought which has been a characteristic of the Indian mind throughout the ages. It is to be hoped that he does not rely in vain. In three essays the author discusses the problems of life, immortality, mythological morality and the origin of the moral sense. Their main argument is based on two leading ideas, which to use metaphysical terms, are those of continuity and immanence. It is not glorifying God to conceive of Him as a *deus ex machina*, constantly intervening to set things right, or as a mason busy repairing his architectural faults. If He is, He is active in the processes of the Universe. There is thus an unending continuity between the electron and the proton, and man in whom evolution at last becomes partly conscious. There are indeed gaps that have not yet been bridged by science, but to explain them by miracle or cataclysm is only to indulge in intellectual indulgence.

The author briefly describes the atomic theory and postulates that given this cosmic dust with its inherent properties, the rest of inorganic nature is a matter of development. Following the same line of thought he opines that somewhere in the course of the history of the earth, under a convergence or suitable conditions, life originated from the inorganic. Then began the course of evolution wherein mutations and variations were the raw material and the agent Natural Selection, until the process culminated in man when matter flowered in mind. Science describes the process, but does not explain it. Neither matter nor mind can be thought of without its inherent laws of development. Creation, if that term may be used, is, therefore, eternal.

The above view has certain important implications which are developed by the author.

1. The popular idea about matter which is found to be the source of life has to undergo important modifications; life with its properties of self-reproduction and self-regulation may be qualitatively different from matter. But there is an organic relationship between the two. Every single thing in the universe has its mystery but life is no more mysterious than matter.

2. The particular configuration of matter which yields self-consciousness in man also gives him a sense of free choice of alternatives but consistently with the theory of immanence, the correct lines of man's development are to be found in his nature, although he is at liberty to ignore them and make a wrong choice to his cost.

3. The structure of the human mind sets certain limits to its capacity for investigation. The mind which cannot get out of itself, can never be equal to explaining itself. The laws that prevail in the inorganic domain also obtain in the realm of life, and a time may come when it will be possible to describe all human activities in physico-chemical terms, but this will not explain life. Material processes and consciousness, though they are two different aspects of the same reality, are yet different qualities of being.

The author then takes up the question of immortality, and finds the basis for a widespread belief in it in the will to live that dominates Animate Nature. The meanest amoeba has its reaction to stimuli that are injurious to it. The normal man in his search for things that death may end for ever for him, faces all the miseries and trials that life brings in its train. Nature, as Goethe said, is continually taking advantage of her children's 'capacity for forgetfulness'. The author notices the same phenomenon and he urges the practice of this forgetfulness in which, according to him, lie the springs of life.

If death is inevitable, the problem of immortality is scientifically insoluble, and will remain so for ever. But the author believes that personality survives death. Matter and energy are never destroyed, and the author's argument about the conservation of personality is the converse form of this scientific argument. In a universe where nothing ever goes to waste, it is hardly likely that self-consciousness, its highest product, is alone doomed to extinction. While he holds this belief, he is careful to add that any dogmatic representation of after-life can only provoke ridicule.

The theory of rebirth raises more difficulties than it solves. As an explanation of differences found amongst men, it is uncalled for, as similar differences are found in the animal and plant worlds where there are no souls. In some ways it is also a mischievous theory, for philanthropy, according to its strict logic, is immoral interference with the moral justice of the universe.

It will thus appear that the above view has nothing unspiritual in it. To call evolution the method by which God works, is only to substitute orderliness for the catastrophic theories of divine activity which are still extant in some circles. Then again whatever criticism the idea of emergence may be open to, very few serious thinkers now believe in a 'supernatural hiatus

between the organic and the inorganic. Then again without denying continuity between man and the rest of the animal world and some kind of mental activity to the latter, it is possible to hold that man with his conceptual reason, his language and social tradition has his differences also. As Pringle-Pettison says, 'it is a case of the little more and how much it is and the little less and what worlds away.' Matter with its potencies takes on a new meaning. But such a view does not destroy any values. As Lloyd Morgan says, "Of protoplasm we may likewise say that under certain conditions at present unknown it appeared." Those who would concentrate the mystery of existence on the pin-point of the genesis of protoplasm do violence alike to philosophy and religion. Those who would single out from among the multitudinous differentiations of an evolving universe this alone for special interposition would seem to do little honour to the Divinity they profess to serve. Theodore Parker gave expression to a broader and more reverent theology when he said, "The Universe broad, deep and high is a handful of dust which God enchants. He is the mysterious magic which possesses" not protoplasm merely but "the world."

The author's conception of self-consciousness takes the point out of the age-long antithesis between the body and the mind. Man may be a machine, but he will himself never realize that it is so. His awareness of himself is inseparable from his sense of free will. The author then distinguishes the question of the survival of personality, which may be held as a reasonable belief, from detailed presentations of after-life, which involving, as they do, the difficulties of translating eternal life into terms of duration, are bound to be full of absurdities and he shows that in popular pictures of the life beyond the grave there is much that belongs to the infancy of mankind.

Flaubert in his 'Temptation of St. Anthony' shows the procession of the gods made by man, and Rhys Davids in his American Lectures on Buddhism conceived of a book on 'The Birth Days of the Gods'. This is the task which the author accomplishes on a small scale in the essay on mythological morality. The first reaction of the early man to the universe consisted in a sense of wonder and awe. It may be noted that some writers have described the feeling as 'theoplasm', the stuff out of which gods are made. From his dream-experiences and his observation of his own shadow the early man gets the idea of a detachable ego with which he ultimately connects the phenomenon of death. This ego is invested with supernatural powers from the analogy of freedom of movement possessed by the self in dreams. Thus are born spirits which are later on believed to be capable of introducing themselves into anybody. This gives rise to fetishism which through polydemonism develops into polytheism. The owner of a body receptive of spirit-influence becomes a natural intermediary between the spirit-world and man. Thus arises the priestly class. The idea of confining a spirit leads to the construction of the first temples.

But there are other sources of the origin of gods. The only source of activity known to the early man was his own will. All unusual material objects and phenomena are thus endowed with will and personality. Later the material object is not itself considered as alive, but its controlling force alone is deified. At this level of culture there also grow up magic and fetishism of a different sort, e. g., talisman or amulet which owes its efficacy to power transmitted from without.

In the contact of early religions is to be found another cause of the birth of gods. The problem arising from a clash of the gods is solved either by syncretism or the creation of a pantheon. The author then explains what is now described as monolatry, a phase in the development of the early monotheistic systems.

The description of this development the author supports with a wealth of facts, some of them being observations of his own. It, however, seems that these different stages of development are more logical than chronological. The two main points that the author makes as a result of the above study are the following:

Early religion consists in propitiating, cajoling or deceiving the deities. It discloses no evolution of the ideals of conduct. There is no real communion between the worshipper and the worshipped, or the joy that is born of such communion. It may, however, be argued that, relative to the age, this was the development that was to be expected. The human conception of the Deity cannot transcend the current ideals of moral excellence and in these primitive conceptions of the life and the world are to be found the first beginnings of religion, philosophy and science. This lends special weight to the author's second point, *viz.*, many of these superstitions are to be found in the present civilizations filling life with unnecessary gloom. He refers to the present agitation for temple-entry and shows that the concession of this right to certain classes is worse than useless until they have been educated out of some notions that have survived from primitive times.

The author then shows that the idea of a Supreme Being behind the universe is not of late appearance in culture. He himself found it among the Kols and other anthropological investigators have found it among many tribes throughout the world. Some of them are democratic, so that the idea is not borrowed from monarchy. According to the indications of the myths it does not appear to be a later development either. The author then explains why the development of religious thought did not take the line of monotheism from the start. This Supreme Being was remote and not localized. He did not intervene in human affairs. The spirits and the gods did intervene, and were accessible through gifts and prayers. It is they who, therefore, came to be sought after.

The question that now suggests itself is where then is to be found the basis of true religion and true morality. The author asks man to look inside himself. The individual is in a certain sense an abstraction. There is no 'I' without a 'Thou'. The individual cannot be conceived of except as a member of a species. The motive-power behind all his activities is the supreme desire to live, to have more life both in quantity and quality, and early in the history of life it is found that in the higher reaches the interests of the organism and the species it belongs to are identical. In the love for the mate, in the parental care for the young and in the mutual aid among the members of the same species, are to be found the rudiments of the moral sense. The individuality of all animals thus completes itself in the larger life of the race. Moral sense is thus innate in man although moral codes may vary in space and time. It is on what Nature has bestowed her greatest approval, *viz.*, survival value. The author then points out that no philanthropy, no social endeavour is genuine, until it is realized that man is organically

interested in working for his species. Morality is both difficult and unsatisfying so long as it is taken as an imposition from without.

It may, however, be argued that the biological argument is based on selected facts. What about the race being to the swift and the battle to the strong, the picture that is associated with the idea of Struggle for Existence? The author does not touch the point probably because to a great extent it is an obsolete picture. The competitions that is in Nature is chiefly amongst different species. Further, competition and mutual aid are alternative responses of the organism to the environment. Progress in biology has confirmed Herbert Spencer when he said, 'Self-Sacrifice is no less primordial than self-preservation'.

But man is also organically connected with the Infinite. He is not a finite being in any ultimate sense. The processes of his mind, his ideals and aspirations, his sense of incompleteness that carries him forward are inexplicable except for the felt presence of the filaments that bind him to the Infinite. This Supreme Reality, God of Religion, whose existence is neither proved or disproved by science, is the 'Beyond that is also Within'. It is in his longing for the Infinite that one finds the true sources of religion, literature and art. The latter aspect of this view the author develops in a beautifully written essay entitled 'The Ideals of Literature'.

The universe is, however, governed by laws. No development of the individual could take place in a world ruled by caprice. Prayer is thus of value as submission of desires to God for purification, and repentance as the sign of a moral rebirth. Goodness is conquered evil, and power is transmuted pain. The meaning of life cannot be reached by a refusal to face it. Systems that rely on esoteric practices or seek escape in the belief that the world is an illusion, are thus fundamentally misconceived.

The author thus does not formulate any creed. There are enough creeds in the world; Religion has survived and will survive many creeds, and the ultimate facts pointed out by the author will probably remain true for ever.

In a set of three essays the author then takes up the question of heredity, caste and marriage. In the space at my disposal it is difficult to give even a bare outline of these essays, written as they are with a rare insight into the fundamentals of the problems. He explains the chromosome theory of inheritance and points out that it is the germplasm that binds the generations. Somatic changes that do not affect the germplasm are not inherited. But although acquired characters are not inherited in man, the situation is complicated by the existence of the social tradition which Thomson describes as the 'Eternal Heritage' So far as mental qualities are concerned, what is inherited is capacity or general intelligence, its development being directed by the social tradition. He refers to the case of the Gonda tribe near Sambalpur which has been found to be extremely criminal. Researches into their early history disclosed that they were at one time the frontier guards of aboriginal kingdoms, and the successful commission of crimes against their enemies brought credit to them and not disgrace. Conditions have changed, but the tradition has persisted and every Gonda child is born into it. It is impossible to reclaim them unless children can be separated from their parents at a very early age, but this has its difficulties. Their only hope of salvation, therefore, lies in their being absorbed by people with a different external heritage.

From the above facts the author formulates two general laws: (1) Every human being is born into a social tradition in which is included the traditions of his family and this has important effects on his development. (2) The more isolated, the more inelastic a society is, the greater is its chance of degeneration. This he attributes to two causes: (a) the intellectual stagnation that results from lack of cultural contact with other peoples and (b) the evil effects of interbreeding.

He also refers to the growth and decay of elect castes and points out that the decay is usually the result of some social vices that almost inevitably spring up in such stocks. Among the factors that make for this result, the author emphasizes the enforced sexual union with people to whom, from early familiarity, the whole emotional attitude is different. Thomson is inclined to think that the failure in reproductive power which characterizes such stock is 'an expression of Nature's verdict against dis-social isolation of privileged classes, against every self-contradictory denial of the solidarity of the social organism".

The author accordingly advocates out-breeding, but points out that its usefulness also has a limit. Too great a difference in the external heritage between husband and wife does not conduce to a happy marriage or the successful rearing of children.

He then turns to Hindu Society. Caste, as is well known, is both an exogamous and endogamous group, the caste as a whole being endogamous, the *gotras* inside the caste being exogamous. The author then points out an important fact which is likely to escape observation. This compulsory marriage outside the *gotra* leads to inbreeding and thereby defeats the very purpose for which the system was consciously or unconsciously adopted. The *gotra* does not really indicate common descent. As marriage has to be contracted outside the *gotra*, it often takes place among closely inter-related families and thereby results in inbreeding.

There is a good deal of free social intercourse among the higher castes of India but that they do not yet show the evil effects of inbreeding is due to the fact that the rigidity of the caste system is of recent origin. The author is inclined to think that they are high-mortality groups. He accordingly advocates inter-marriage among them as they have more or less the same social background.

As regards caste he points out that it is a growth and not an imposition either by the Brahmins or anybody else. He also points out the factors responsible for social grouping and makes the interesting observation that there is lack of commensality among the different aboriginal tribes also. It is the belief in the hereditary transmission of qualities which is the earliest factor in producing social rigidity. The Indian system is, however, peculiar and for this peculiarity the author advances a theory which is original and instructive, although it is reasonable to hold that so complex a phenomenon cannot admit of any one explanation. The author points out that life in India has always been easy and that Indians, unlike the nations of the West, had never engaged in any common enterprises. Those who emigrated, left India for ever. Few of the wars that took place were wars between nations. The sense of solidarity was, therefore, never strong enough to overcome the

tendencies that went to the formation of the caste system. He also points out that during the rise of the Marhattas, whose activities were chiefly directed against the Muhammadans, caste restrictions were, as a matter of fact, relaxed. It may be noted that a similar phenomenon due to similar causes is observable today.

As regards the future of caste the author does not think that any serious disintegrating tendency can be noticed now. The agitation against it is largely conducted by people who had never been really within it. The social aspirations in the lower castes, their desire for a higher status, is in essence an acceptance of the system. Yet the author is of opinion that its ultimate disappearance is now largely a question of time. The whole world has gone back on the apotheosis of the Nation-State which resulted in the last Great War, and which is the logical development of the ideas underlying the caste system. And although in the idea of Nation there is probably something that is too precious to be wholly sacrificed, the forces making for human unity are too strong to leave it or caste unaffected.

The desire to avoid technicalities has made the author omit all reference to the Mendelian Laws of Inheritance, in the section on heredity. Yet a short description of them and the subsequent work on those lines would probably have been useful. A reference to Mendel's Laws would also have explained why inbreeding, not an evil *per se*, has usually such undesirable results. The human race at least is of such mixed origin, that inbreeding sooner or later ensures the release of undesirable recessives.

Turning to marriage, the author is of opinion, which he supports by a wealth of facts, that the earliest form of marriage was exogamous monogamy. Anthropologists are not agreed on this subject, but the balance of authority appears to be in favour of the author; for in the earliest stage which is the collecting stage, families must needs have been small and mates must have been sought outside their limits. Later variations such as polyandry were either perversions or adaptations to particular circumstances. As it may be argued that the earliest form is not necessarily the best, the author refers to the prevalence of monogamy in the animal world and urges that there are in human nature innate forces that make for this form of union (exogamous monogamy) They are :

1. An almost instinctive repugnance to incest. There is, however, something to be said for the view that this repugnance and the severe taboos prevalent in savage society against this kind of union are the relics of an original attraction.
2. The need for prolonged parental co-operation for the rearing of the offspring which can be best achieved by persons in love with each other.
3. The needs of the emotional life which demand this kind of union, and the author in a separate essay advances certain psychological and physiological reasons in favour of this argument.
4. The fact that man is not handicapped by a sexual periodicity. The author points out that in animals with mating seasons, sexual union often lasts beyond the period of the needs of the offspring. The argument would, therefore, apply with greater force to human beings who have no such season.

To these it is possible to add the fact that normally the sexes are approximately equal in number.

The author emphasizes the essential necessity of the child being brought up by the parents, and doubts if State nurseries can ever replace the home. It may also be reasonably urged that parents need the society of children, as much as the latter need the society of the parents. The author admits that the present marriage systems may be unsatisfactory in many ways, but all that he is anxious to establish is that there are in this matter certain permanent factors that cannot be ignored. Even where the marriage has not turned out what it was expected to be, he advises restraint.

It would be mistaking the intention of the author to think that he advocates any particular legal system of monogamy nor do I understand him to mean anything beyond the fact that monogamy is the norm round which there are the oscillations. But his general conclusions are beyond dispute and are welcome in an age when there is so much slipshod thinking about sexual morality. There is no promiscuity anywhere among the savages. In societies where group-marriage or some forms of sexual communism obtains, the limits within which such relations can take place are rigidly fixed. The psychic and the physiological barriers of personality cannot be thrown down at random without damage to the finer expressions of sexual life. As has been said by Julian Huxley—"To love one woman fully is to wish not to love any other woman fully. If a philosopher existed who was both purely rational and had also never fallen in love, this would doubtless seem to him very absurd—how could one limited human female, when so many and such diverse types exist, satisfy the mind's craving for variety? The answer is that it is so; but also that as a matter of fact this complete giving of the self in one way to one person makes it possible, so is the mind constructed, to give and receive more freely, but in a different way, to and from other beings; whereas an attempt to love many completely is impossible in practice, and with no single one does the love attain fullness."

Yet it may have been necessary to reprove the old, for the old system contained much that was cruel and unjust and suffering beyond a certain point may be sterile or degrading. The form was exalted at the expense of the spirit. As has been well said by Havelock Ellis, "it is the reality of the marriage which sanctifies the form" The author has wisely refrained from telling us how such marriage is to be achieved. The happily-married have not left us their secrets. Such secrets cannot be told.

It is not my intention to exhaust the contents of the book. The teaching that is to be found there, cannot be given in a summary. In the discussion of every problem that the author takes up, he preserves an admirable detachment and uses his wide vision of the solid biological facts of life and his consummate grasp of the streams of tradition in finding out the true lines of advance. He is no scientific Chauvinist or a despiser of social tradition. Again and again he emphasizes the need of both knowledge, without which emotion is pregnant with mischief, and emition, without which knowledge is sterile, in studying social problems. God to him is not a theological mystery. He is to be found in the very texture of human experience. He is not remote and unfriendly, but His ways have to be understood. He may be inexhaustible but He is not unknowable. In a certain sense nothing in the world, says the author, is fully known, a view that reminds one of Tennyson's famous lines on the "flower in the crannied wall". For man to try to understand the ways of God is to realize his own potentialities, and that realization has its own inspiration. It is, therefore, not for man to retreat before the complications of the world that science reveals.

The author's combination of scientific knowledge with expository and literary ability equips him eminently for the task he has undertaken in the book. In an appreciation written in English, it is difficult to do justice to its style, its illustrative brilliance, clearness of exposition and lack of special pleading The book is easy reading, but the very simplicity of its style conceals its strength. Although the book is primarily intended for the young, every class of reader will find in it a very valuable intellectual discipline. For lucidity of exposition, the tone that is adopted is sometimes of the class-room, yet he will have read the book in vain, who does not realize that the aim of the author is to provoke thought and inspire the reader 'to learn what none may teach, to seek what none may reach.'

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

"Relative public spirit and enterprise of Hindus and Muhammadans in Bengal"

The number of Muhammadan magazines in Bengal is not six, as stated by Mr. J. M. Datta, and that of Hindu ones eighty. In *the Calcutta Gazette* of 2nd August 1934, ninety-four Bengali periodicals have been noticed of which only four are conducted by the Muhammadans. The maximum circulation of a Muhammadan magazine is 1,000, while that of some conducted by Hindus is 15,000.

Sukchar P.O.
24 Parganas HARI DHAN GANGULY

"Relative public spirit . . ."—Mr. J. M. Datta's Reply

Please allow me to reply to Mr. G. Murtaza's comments on my article "Relative Public Spirit and Enterprise of the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Bengal". He has accepted my facts and figures, but he imputes me motive and challenges me to prove something else. The real facts and figures bear rather hard against Mr. Murtaza's community; so he has invented facts and based his arguments on them.

Let us test the truth or otherwise of his facts. He says that of the Rs. 12 crores of provincial revenue. Rs. 6 crores goes to the Hindus and about Rs. 1 crore to the Muhammadans in salaries. It is not a fact that the Government spends as much as Rs. 7 crores in salaries. It is well known that the Government effected 10 per cent cut on all salaries of over Rs. 40 per month. This cut included H. E. the Governor, the Members and Ministers of the Bengal Cabinet, and the I. C. S; I. P. S; I. E. S; I. M. S. &c. The net annual saving was less than Rs. 37 lakhs The Hon'ble Mr. A. Marr in presenting the Budget for 1932-33 before the Legislative Council on the 22nd Feb., 1932 said:

"The savings due to the 10 per cent cut in pay during the 3 months in which this was effective in 1931-32 are estimated at Rs. 9,10,000 while the savings anticipated on this account during the next 12 months are estimated at Rs. 36,98,000." [*Bengal Council Proceedings* Vol. 38, no.2 p. 31.] Therefore the total of all salaries over Rs. 40 comes to Rs. 370 lakhs. Let us calculate the total of all salaries below Rs. 40. The actual number of workers including working dependants of all religions in services under the state is 38,769; and that, of those who serve the state as a subsidiary occupation is 1,658. These two total 40,427; deducting therefrom the number of persons working in the Post and Telegraph Departments, numbering 23,843 we get the maximum possible Bengal Government servants to be 16,584 maximum because we have not deducted the number of government employees in the customs etc. for example. If we assume every one of them including the peons and chaprassies getting Rs. 40 p. m. the total of their salaries do not exceed Rs. 80 lakhs. So the Governments' salary bill cannot exceed Rs. 450 lakhs; but Mr. Murtaza makes the Hindus alone get Rs. 600 lakhs!

Mr. Murtaza says his figures are not imaginary. for he has consulted the Government budget of 1932-33, and has made a rough calculation out of them. I too have gone carefully page by page through its 321 pages, but nowhere have I found any mention anywhere of the religion of the government servants. If Mr. Murtaza ever publishes the bases of his calculation. I shall try to meet him.

As for the proportion of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, it is generally conceded that in the lower ranks the Muhammadans predominate; and the higher you go, the less the number of Muhammadans. The proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu Deputies and Sub-deputies (in spite of the fact that many Hindus joined service before 1912 and the Muhammadans cannot compete freely with the Hindus) is 42:100 and 41:100 respectively. If there is any preponderance of Hindus, it is because of their superior merit and in spite of the favour shown to the 'favourite wife' by the British Government.

The Hindus took to English education, but that is no fault of theirs. And it is not true that the Hindus acquired wealth and influence by means of Government service alone. Keshub Ch. Sen had influence over Queen Victoria herself, but he was not a government servant. Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea acquired wealth and influence not as a Government servant, but as a public man. Both Sir Rash Behary Ghosh and Sir Tarak Nath Palit whose munificence goes to benefit the Hindus as well as the Muhammadans, were never Govertment servants. To give one example from amongst the living, Sir Rajendra Nath Mukherjea's vast wealth and still greater influence is not due to any Government service. But Mr. Murtaza in his prejudice cannot think of any other means by which the Hindus have acquired wealth and influence. Will he kindly explain why almost all the endowments and charities of the Muhammadans are communal in character? Why in cases of floods and famine relief, there is a dearth of Muhammadan volunteers—to be a volunteer does not require much money. The same causes—one of which is narrow selfishness, which encourge the Muhammadan to make his charities communal, often

prevent him from making any even when financially he is able to do so.

Assuming for argument's sake that the Hindus get Rs. 6 crores in Government service, may we not retort that they get Rs. 6 crores, because they pay at least 80 per cent of Rs. 12 crores *i. e.* Rs. 960 lakhs in Government revenue and taxes, while the Muhammadans who at most pay Rs. 2 crores, (leaving bare 40 lakhs for the Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Buddhists and Animists &c.) get back about Rs 1 crore in salaries, and another 30 or 40 lakhs in special educational facilities ?

Mr. Murtaza's facts are of the same order of truth.

J. M. Datta

[As we could not give more space to Mr. Datta, we have cut out the remainder. Ed. *M. R.*]

Mr. Shyam Sundar Misra, M. A., writes :

"Perhaps unknowingly you have committed a mistake in your Notes on 'Oriya Poets Honoured' in the last May issue of your *Modern Review*. There, while speaking regarding the akinity of the Oriya and the Bengali language, you have mentioned that though you delivered all your speeches except one in Bengali, none objected to your doing so except a young man who you say is a Telugu-speaking gentleman from Ganjam. But the young man who objected to your speaking in Bengali is not a Telugu-speaking gentleman. He is—myself—a genuine Oriya and a resident of political Orissa."

DR. HIRALAL

By K. P. JAYASWAL

THE death of Rai Bahadur Dr. Hiralal, which occurred at Nagpur on the 20th August last, causes a gap in the ranks of Indologists. Rai Bahadur Hiralal was a great figure amongst Indian scholars. He was the leading authority on the ethnology of the Central Provinces and Berar, and on the various dialects of Hindi prevalent in the former. He was similarly one of the foremost epigraphists, and the Kalachuri period of Hindu history was largely elucidated by him from inscriptions and other sources. At the same time he made very useful contributions to Hindi literature in the form of a number of books of the nature of scientific Gazetteers on the Central Provinces. In addition to being one of the leading Indologists he was one of the ablest writers in Hindi, noted for his chaste style. He conducted searches for manuscripts in Hindi for the Benares Nagari Pracharini Sabha, of which he was president for a number of years. His catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Central Provinces brought to light a new class of Prakrit literature of the ninth and tenth centuries, which is written in proto-Hindi.

By profession the late Rai Bahadur was an executive officer. In the Executive Service of his province he rose from the humble post of a Naib Tahsildar to the highest open to men of his generation, namely, that of a District Magistrate and Collector. He had started life as a sub-inspector of schools. Census operations of the Central Provinces were carried on more than once under his superintendence.

He was a silent worker, and of retiring nature. For over three decades he had silently worked in the field of original research when the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri proposed him to be elected as the President of the Oriental Conference, the highest office of honour open to an Indologist. He presided over the sixth Oriental Conference held at Patna in 1930.

For his scholarship and services the University of Nagpur conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters last year. Dr. Hiralal was 70. He always enjoyed good health, walked erect in his seventieth year and looked about twenty years younger than his age. A short ordinary illness, causing his removal from his home at Katni to Nagpur, ended his earthy career.

Dr. Hiralal was always a pleasant and popular man in every walk of life, and earned the highest respect of all who knew him for purity of character and devotion to duty.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Seeing God

Of Beatific Vision we have no knowledge, though some of the ancients experienced this phenomenon. But the writings of the Basil King show a departure from the traditional way of seeing the Almighty Father face to face. We quote the following extracts from the philosophic contemplations of the Basil King published in the *Message of the East* :

We see God by what we understand of Him ; we understand Him by His attributes, and we measure His attributes by their beauty and goodness and practicality. Whenever there has been a blessing for you to enjoy, you have seen God. Whenever love has cheered you or kindness helped, you have seen God. In sunrise and sunset and moonlight and starlight and trees and fields and harvests and flowers and ice and snow and air and health and beauty and generosity and friendship and all that gives pleasure to existence, *you've seen God.* He hasn't been invisible. There is not one world in which God is seen and another world in which He is not. There is not a life with God and another life away from Him. There is only *one* world and God fills it ; there is only *one* life to which God is All-in-all. There is no beyond ; there is only a universal *Here.* There is only an ever-present *Now.*

To the true Son of man who is also the true Son of God, heaven is not another world or an after-world ; it's the only world. It's a state of consciousness He never leaves and of which He never loses assurances. He has the highest authority for knowing that in it His angels do always behold the face of His Father.

Angels are messengers and messages. In yearnings and prayers and aspirations and hopes, and a thousand other impulses of your being, what have you been doing but sending troops of your angels to see His face?

Abandon the inverted reflection on the mortal retina as a necessity for sight, and you see him at once. Jesus has said, "To know God is eternal life" and that they who possess even the rudiments of that knowledge, can never die. What the end of that knowledge will be surpasses our capacity to guess at, as God Himself surpasses it.

For the present, we are the inheritors of love, joy and peace, and in proportion as we have them—whatever the stage of our progress out of material beliefs—we see at least the fringe of the robe of Him whose qualities they are.

Menace of German Cæsarism

The following editorial comment on Hitler's Germany appears in *The Inquirer*, a British weekly journal :

Germany is losing one by one the support and respect of doughty champions who for fifteen years have unflaggingly espoused her cause. Men like J. L. Garvin, Robert Dell, and others who for years have exposed the injustice of the Versailles Treaty, have been moved by recent events to set their faces against this people whose soul is ravaged by a venomous poison—the poison of a febrile racialism fostered and enflamed by a malefic dictatorship.

This new Germany is not the nation which they and we have loved of old, to whose genius in religion, philosophy, science and art all the world is debtor ; it is not the authentic Germany of Lessing, Kant, Goethe and Beethoven that forever glorifies the human race, but a Faustian Germany whose soul has been given to Mephistopheles. Myrmidons of the Prince of Darkness hold in terrible thrall this fairest of lands that gave Luther to the world : almost everything that is creatively lovely in the Commonwealth of Man wilts and dies under the blight of their policy and creed.

Man, says Oswald Spengler (Nazidom's dominant philosopher) is "a beast of prey." And one cannot nourish beasts of prey on the milk and water of Christian romance and sentimentalism! What nonsense is this—this morbid idea of reforming society! Only Cæsar can conquer the world—only a cæsaric, "prussianised" Germany. fettled in iron and nourished on other men's blood. That is Spengler. Lesser men, even Hitler himself, may quail at the vociferous metallism of this gospel but they cannot deny its logic. Not Hitler's Reichstag speech, prepared for a listening world, but Spengler and his like reveal the inner nature of the Nazi creed—and the impending clash of arms to which it inevitably leads.

Explain how we will this dehumanising of the spirit of man—this renascent Medievalism equipped in the technological accoutrements of the modern age—no explanation in psychological terms (over-compensation of a national inferiority complex consequent upon defeat?) can minimise the brutal facts. The German spirit, twisted and torn, is betrayed for a mess of pottage to pagan, blood-lusting gods. Germany *has* put the clock back.

Germany's present mood—her revival of the gospel of Might—constitutes the world's direst peril—and warning. Either Cæsar will prevail, or Christ. Cæsarism means war. The way of Christ means internationalism and peace, a peace founded upon the ollective security of the solidarity of the nations. It is for the world to choose ere it be too late.

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Britain's Colonial Trade-War With Japan

British Government imposed import quotas on Japan's export trade in cotton and rayon to British Crown Colonies. This drastic order will cut Nippon's textile exports to English Crown Possessions and may also have effect of reducing Oriental Power's American cotton purchases. The following extracts are quoted from *The Literary Digest* :

This new policy was announced in the House of Commons by Walter Runciman, President of the Board

of Trade. Previously Mr. Runciman had handed what was called a "commercial ultimatum" to Tsuneo Matsudaira, Japan's Ambassador to England. He waited for a few days in the hope that some word would come from Tokyo which would make restricted action unnecessary. But Japan stood pat.

In the House of Commons Mr. Runciman explained that the basis for apportioning the quotas would be the average of the foreign textile exports to the Colonies from 1927 to 1931 inclusive, Japan's average in that period was 87,670,000 yards of piece-goods, but in 1932 Japan's exports to the Colonies amounted to 205,000,000 yards and last year they were considerably more.

In England *The Manchester Guardian*, as shown in an editorial cabled to "The Literary Digest", seemed distrustful of the effect of the Runciman order. It supposed the Government had concluded that Great Britain had pursued a conciliatory policy toward Japan long enough, and now must try other methods but it warned against indulging illusions as to where trade discrimination might lead Britain. The measure, the paper said, was "hardly a crippling blow to Japan" The loss of 100,000,000 yards would mean about 5 per cent of her trade of last year, but *The Guardian* could not assume that what "Japan lost, Lancashire would gain."

In Japan the powerful Osaka *Mainichi*, whose Tokyo edition is the *Nichi Nichi*, declared that, "in view of Great Britain's favorable trade balance with Japan the British people should consider deeply before imposing quotas on Japanese goods." Tokyo United Press dispatches reported that the Japanese Government and textile leaders maintained an attitude of watchful waiting and hinted that the United States might be a sufferer from Britain's procedure. If Japanese exports declined under import quotas in the British Colonies, it was pointed out, the first effect would be a reduction in mill orders and a consequent reduction in purchases of raw cotton – most of which came from the United States.

The Japanese Government held that the British Dominions, which mostly enjoyed favorable trade balances with Japan, would only hurt themselves by cutting down their Japanese imports. Japanese textile leaders said they would seek an outlet for their products at Canton for the southern Chinese trade if import quotas were imposed at Hongkong. Hongkong's important importations of Japanese goods were mostly for re-export to China, it was said, and the result of quotas would be to reduce Hongkong's trade, not China's.

Is Religion a Private Matter ?

It is often whispered that religion is an individual's private affair. Mr. Kenneth C. Walker's bold challenge to this age-old doctrine, finds expression in an editorial article in *The Christian Register*, part of which we quote below :—

We often hear it expressed, when we challenge some specific religious doctrine, that religion is a private affair. Until we learned more of the true nature of our social life this may have been true, or appeared to be true. Today the facts reveal that there is no longer any such thing as a strictly private life. This holds fully as much for faith and morals as it does for economics, politics, and other aspects of our societal life. We are beginning to see now that we have not had a sufficiently adequate social morality. That we have been so long in discovering this is due very largely to the fact that we have thought religion was a private affair, something between an individual and his God, or a sect and its God. What an individual thinks and does, or *does not think and does*, sooner or later has consequences beyond his own private life.

This being true, the time is fast approaching, if indeed it is not already here, when the community has a right to challenge the private beliefs of its members on matters concerning faith and morals, if it is discernible that the carrying out of these beliefs will result either in the lack of a complete and satisfying life in that individual, or will obstruct the highest spiritual and cultural development of the community.

Just as we are beginning to socialize other aspects of our common life, *e. g.*, industry and politics, we must socialize religion. Religion is no longer, in this modern day of ours where human life is so interdependent in every aspect, an affair solely between a man and his God. It can never cease being an affair between ourselves and our fellow men. The day has come when the individual or the sect can no longer hide behind the flag of religious freedom in order that it may continue to propagate and maintain its own private, obsolete, anti-social, irreligious teachings. Every sect must serve humanity first, last and always, or be challenged as to the propriety of its existence.

Bulgaria's New Dictator

The following editorial comment appears in *The New Republic* :—

A Correspondent in Bulgaria sends us some news of the new dictatorship there, which indicates that Prime Minister Kimon Georgieff is a skillful politician as well as the ruthless engineer of a *coup d' etat*. One of his first acts was to intervene in a strike of 8,000 workers at Plovna, who were asking that their wages be increased from 40 to 45 cents in the case of men, and from 25 to 30 cents in the case of women. Georgieff ordered the industrialists to accede in full to the demands of the workers. He went on to appoint several "former" Communists—there has been no recognized Communist party in Bulgaria since 1924 - as mayors of cities. While these developments are not important in themselves, they constitute the only victories labor has had in the Balkans in several years, and have been received with proportionate acclaim. At the same time, Georgieff is popular at the moment with the bourgeoisie, largely because they hope he will settle the perpetual problem of the Macedonians. If he does so, it will be at the expense of the Michailovists, the Bulgarian branch of the Imro, the International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization. Suppression of the Imro would mean better feeling between Jugoslavia and Bulgaria which, in the complicated politics of the Balkans, would be a diplomatic defeat for Italy. Cafe gossip in Sofia suggests that with these developments, Italy may turn for a new ally to Greece. Of politics in this part of the world it is true, as it is of so many other things, that the more it changes, the more it remains the same.

The Balkan States

Mr. Max Fischer takes a prospective view of the situations of the Balkan Territories, which, in the near future, will bring forward some

political changes of considerable importance. A keen-eyed political observer of South-eastern Europe will, in the mean time, find a delicacy to appease his intellectual appetite in Mr. Fischer's article, published in *The Commonweal*, a portion of which is quoted below:

The Macedonian question has been the lever used by interested parties in trying to undermine the preponderance of Belgrade influence in the Balkans. A glance at the map will show how difficult it would be to defend the territory involved, lying as it does like a narrow wedge between an Albania controlled by Italy and a Bulgaria strategically dominating it, if the greater part of the Macedonian people really detested Belgrade and loved Sofia.

Today the chief political difficulties of Jugoslavia grow out of conditions in the Slovene and Croatian districts of the country. The political evolution of the Jugoslavian nation was for a long time a matter of the mind, even as was the German effort toward unity or the Italian *Risorgimento*. But when the time came to proceed from the realm of idealistic vision to that of plain, ordinary *Realpolitik*, there presented themselves a row of problems growing out of regional differences still sharper and more complex than those which sundered the various provinces of Germany and Italy Granted that the Slavs who joined hands to create a new state were a single people, there was nevertheless an important difference between those sections of the population which had for centuries enjoyed self-rule and those which had lived either under the yoke of the Turks or inside a modern culture nation such as Austria-Hungary was The resultant situation showered the government of Belgrade with tasks the difficulty of which has not been sufficiently appreciated by the world at large. Take one example: as a result of the various cultural and political influences under which the people had lived, there existed in Jugoslavia until 1930 (when Minister Srskic instituted a reform) no fewer than six different codes of law, each in force in a given district. Since standardization always results in an average product, the result has been that regions formerly belonging to Turkey have profited, while those once incorporated in Austria-Hungary have suffered. The older generation in Croatia or Slovenia nurses its resentment of what is defined as a triumph of the "barbarian East" over a western civilization and is often also unjustly proud of its own traditions.

Yet in spite of everything a large part of the younger generation has come to understand the fact that there is now a Jugoslavic nation, the tasks and problems confronting which are the concern of all. "One people and one state" is a slogan which today has a very real significance for the regions which look to Belgrade for leadership. Some are not content with thinking of the nation as now defined, but dream of the union of all Slavs in the Balkans through the union of Bulgaria and Jugoslavia - an ideal the realization of which is hindered not only by the bitterness which has grown out of the World War but also by the irreconcilability of the two reigning dynasties At least there is no doubting that a desire to bury the hatchet and to achieve some measure of political and economic co-operation is present in influential circles. Unquestionably the fruition of this wish would be a good thing. It would mitigate the dangers of conflict in the Balkans, and would gradually serve to emancipate the entire region from subservience to French and Italian ambitions. The Macedonian problem would therewith also be definitively settled. Of course all this may seem to belong to a far-distant future, but the political observer must note the probable weather of tomorrow as carefully as he observes the winds and storms of today.

Don't trust the honest

We are inclined to believe that giving certain modes of conduct sanction, whether it be moral, religious or scientific, makes them light. But it is the consequence of our acts that are more important than the phantom symbols we use to give them proper moral sanction. The following extracts, from the pen of Mr. Swan Harding published in *The Modern Thinker* may be interesting to our readers:

What is right? It is most difficult to determine and it is no wonder that most people have recourse to phantom morality and set up symbols to indicate the righteousness of their intents and motives. That indication given, that Sabbath decorum observed, why bother also to do what is right. Man hates moral responsibility anyway. He is always looking for ulterior sanctions, exterior to himself, to determine his conduct; he is always fashioning symbols to indicate to others that what he does is right. He thus saves time, thought, and uncertainty Thus he erects any method or form into an independent value, and the concept or mental picture of right behavior begins vicariously to do the work of real behavior in ordinary life.

It is forbidden for Mohammedans to drink intoxicating liquors It is therefore neither right nor moral for them to do so. But Persian Mullahs drink arrack, which is ferociously authoritative, out of tea pots and in tea cups. It thus becomes cold tea; they get their drink and the gesture preserves their moral integrity. Other Mohammedans heat wine ever so slightly, though not enough to drive off any of the alcohol, and thereafter imbibe it freely on the assumption that it has thus become another substance. The proper moral decorum is again preserved. Pious Dutchmen plant the coca bush in the East Indies, so that native laborers may be debauched with cocaine for the enrichment of revenue coffers, but they call the bush an ornamental hedge and thus preserve the moral values.

In a certain primitive community a certain savage added his stone to a pile of stones dedicated to the local big-shot spirit, took out the jawbone of an ass, mumbled a few incoherent but mystical words over it, ate the hind leg of a porcupine which happened to be his totem animal, and then went home and kicked his wife's teeth out one by one. The next day he brained a surplus child the family had somehow accumulated, and then ate it to manifest his love and affection. Thereafter he interred his grandfather alive and, in the afternoon, he went forth head hunting, which was his innocent hobby and diversion.

In our less tolerant moods we may be inclined to think that this savage was rather a wicked sort of person. But he was not. The first ceremonial acts he performed so suffused him with righteousness, mercy and transcendental decency and morality, that each of his later acts partook thereby of moral sanction and became both meritorious and hallowed. Phantom morality made him wholly good.

In Defence of Peace

In view of the present political situation in Europe, Mr. Frank Coleman has chalked out a programme of peace activities in *The Inquirer*, which is reproduced below and may be adopted by warring nations:

What are the problems that make the present situation so serious?

(1) The failure of the Disarmament Conference to achieve agreement and the resultant threat of the British Government to increase the Air Force, with also ominous rumours of a demand for a large increase in Naval strength. As late as June 11 British delegation at Geneva joined in passing a resolution which it had helped to draft, "expressing the necessity of this Conference continuing its work with a view to arriving at a general Convention". Further, that resolution called upon the Air Committee of the Conference to resume work on the prohibition of air bombardment, the regulation of civil aviation and the limitation of military aircraft. What has happened since June 11 to make this work unnecessary? The fact is that our Government has gone over to the militarists. The hypocrisy of our Ministers is exposed. Our duty is to make known to the public what has actually happened. Compare the proposals of Russia, Germany, America, Italy, Spain and even France with our own Government's stand with regard to the use of bombing planes in outlying districts.

The League of Nations Union Council at its recent meeting passed with enthusiasm a resolution, parts of which I quote. After deploring the declaration of the Secretary for Air it recalls

"Mr. Baldwin's repeated declarations that Air Forces give this country no protection from air bombardment except that which results from the power to bombard and destroy the cities of foreign countries. It also insistently demands that the Government, before they enter upon a renewed Armament Competition of the kind that led to war in 1914 should put forward concrete proposals of the kind, which the Disarmament Conferenee has had under consideration: for the total abolition of all National Air Forces, combined with adequate safeguards against the use of civil aircraft for disloyal aggression and pledges to resist by all means in its power a policy of Armament increase until such proposals have been made to the Conference by the representatives of Great Britain."

Professor Noel Baker in moving this resolution observed that:

"It remains true today as it was true in 1933 that if our Government accepted the International solution of the air problem that problem would be solved and the Disarmament Conference would succeed in a week. Let there be no mistake, this is our biggest task and every lover of peace of whatever kind will be unworthy of that name if he or she does not take his full share and use every constitutional means to prevent this criminal folly of a new and more disastrous race in armaments."

(2) We must expose the iniquitous arms traffic. This is no side issue. We have to remind the community that there are those who are making a *profit* out of war and war scares. The Prime Minister wants up to date facts. Well we can provide them, but let us not imagine that private manufacture is the only evil. Abolish this, and still we need international control.

We need to emphasise (i) our bitter opposition to any increase in armaments; (ii) the abolition of all national air forces and the internationalisation or international control of civil aviation; (iii) the elimination of private profit in the manufacture and sale of armaments and all manufacture of armaments to be brought under international control.

Pottery Industry

Mrs. R. Copeland, M. P., in the course of a lecture on the romantic art of pottery, has traced back its history down to the pre-historic ages, when such works were created and remnants of which can be still visible. We quote below the introductory portion of her speech from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

In the old days the potter could only work with the clay found near at hand, but in these days of international commerce and quick transit, the finer plastic white burning clays from Southern Europe and the hard flints from the French and Northern coast and China clay from Cornwall; can easily be conveyed to any country in the world, so that the potter need no longer rely solely on the particular clay or marl found in his own district.

There is, however, one thing which cannot be dispensed with even by modern civilization, and that is the potter's wheel, which, from time immemorial has been used by all makers of pottery......

I will now show you the picture of a master potter or "thrower" in India sitting simply on the ground and using a potter's wheel. His large stock of pots is explained by the fact that an eclipse of the moon was due at the time the photograph was taken, and, according to Hindoo custom, all household utensils must be broken at that time and new ones bought the following day—a custom I would like to recommend to my listeners to-night, so that the pottery trade in this country might be placed in a more affluent position!

Next I will show you the "potter" of to-day—the same wheel, only instead of its being spun round by hand or foot, an electric belt does the spinning, thus allowing the thrower as much comfort as possible, as well as absolute freedom of hand to concentrate on his work.

Doubtless the early potters quickly discovered that different clays did not fire the same colour, and so colour decorations first arose by a rude daubing of a brighter red or buff clay on one of a duller hue. For over 4,000 years all the known civilizations such as Persian, Cretan, Egyptian, Etruscan and Greek evolved schemes of glowing colours and glazes fired on objects of which examples are to be found in all museums. We all have admired the lovely Egyptian blue-glazed pottery, the beautiful shapes and geometrical patterns of Cyprus, the black and red vases of Etruscans and Greeks.

Later, as the Roman Empire grew and conquered the nations around, she absorbed their crafts and spread them over Europe, so that when Rome invaded Britain she brought with her much Samian pottery from the Rhine, and it is easily conceivable that our native British potters sought to emulate these specimens in the local clays, on the Medway, in the New Forest, at Colchester, and at Castor in Northamptonshire, and other parts of England.

The Roman Empire passed, and in Europe the Byzzantines and later on Moslems kept the pottery craft going.

It was from the Far East—from China—that the finest potters the world has yet produced were to discover the secret of making that marvellous translucent porcelain which became the wonder of the world. So zealously, too, did all these potters of Kang-hi guard their secret that it was a century later before we, in Europe, were able to begin to find out how it was made.

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Philippine Independence

An observer, with a keen eye on the present political situation in British India can not ignore the much commented topic of the Independence of Filipino with which we have a great deal of political affinity. The islands are the centre of the disturbed scene in the affairs of the Pacific regions and the Far East. Sir Frederick Whyte raises this controverrial issue in the *Pacific Affairs* :

Philippine independence is capable of many interpretations ; and to the eye of the observer and still more to the watchful eye of the observer and and still more to the watchful eye of Japan, the recent negotiations in Washington look like an American withdrawal from the Far East Whether the withdrawal be partial or total, a distinctly new situation is being created. During the ensuing period of uncertainty it is worth while to consider all that is involved, so that we may realize in time whither the Far East may be led by the decisions about to be taken in Washington. The Philippine Islands are no more an isolated problem to be solved by an unnatural alliance between American altruism and certain interested lobbies in Washington, than Manchuria can be regarded as a *chose jugee* merely because the Japanese Army has put K' ang Te on a new throne.

There are two aspects of the American people who have the obligation to solve the domestic problem in the Islands by some form of self-government, either under continued American tutelage or in a complete form of domestic home rule. No one, least of all a British observer, with the problem of British India in mind, can fail to be deeply interested in the design adopted by Congress for this purpose ; but our interest in the internal side of Philippine affairs is only relevant with respect to its effect upon the position of the Islands in the disturbed scene of Far Eastern affairs.

We may therefore pass to an attempt to estimate the external consequences of contemporary American policy. In some form or other, limited or complete, this policy is a withdrawal, creating a partial vacuum in a region where great pressure surrounds the vacuum and will naturally seek to fill it. It is obvious that the experiment of Filipino self-government can have little chance of undisturbed success unless the integrity of the Islands is protected from the impact of this pressure. By what guarantee will Philippine independence be maintained ? The history of the world since 1914 forbids us to rely on the paper protection of an international guarantee, and therefore the security of the Islands would seem to rest upon an American determination to say "hands off" to any other Power. In the absence of the readiness of the American people to guarantee to the Filipinos a reasonable opportunity to solve the problem of their own self-government, it seems likely that Japan will take an active part in deciding the fate of the Islands. Will the United States forbid Japan to interfere, and if so, at what stage ?

There is little doubt that in the first place Japan will seek to extend her trade and to extract special concessions, both by tariff agreements and by actual participation in Philippine enterprise. Upon this foundation a superstructure of Japanese interest will be raised, of the same kind which Japan created for herself, first in Koria, and then in Manchuria. In this process the moment will arise when Japanese interests will conflict with Filipino domestic policy, and the Japanese will then claim that their interests are being imperilled by political interference or by the incapacity of the Filipino government to protect legimate foreign rights. A case for intervention will be sedulously prepared ; and once these forces are set in motion we shall witness a developement of the same process which has transformed the Three Eastern Provinces into Manchukuo. At what stage, if at all, will the United States act ? If she does act, will she be prepared to support any necessary protest by force ? If she does not act, she will be compelled to acquiesce in the absorption of the Philippine Islands within the economic and political orbit of Japan : and in that case it matters little whether Japan annexes the Islands outright or not.

This appears today to be the almost inevitable consequence of present trend of affairs While these events are in progress other nations will be bound to take note of their significance. England will watch, Holland will grow nervous, Australia will re-arm and New Zealand will use all her influence to persuade Great Britain to take more an active share in Pacific affairs.

At some point the British Government must then decide how to meet the new situation. Will Englund be tempted to intervene in order to protect her Asiatic interests ? Will she fight Japan or come to terms in a new Anglo-Japanese alliance ? England wants none of these. But the renewal of the alliance might appear to a Conservative government to be the least of many evils involved. If England were driven to renew the alliance as an assurance of her Eastern interests, the consequences would be far-reaching. Anglo-American relations would undoubtedly suffer, and the Dominions of the British Commonwealth might feel that their interests demanded a closer association with the United States than with England. A new alliance might seem to offer security to the British Empire in the East for a time, but the price would be high and the security weak Japan would know that England had made her choice from weakness and not from strength. Her people would feel contempt for America and England alike, and the whole East would draw the conclusion that the Western Powers were liquidating their responsibilities in Asia, and that the West had become effete.

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Proposed Indian Reforms

'I have always deprecated the attempt to divide the world into those who support and those who oppose the White Paper'; with these words Mr. B. C. Allen I.C.S. (Retd) opened his speech on the Proposed Indian Reforms. Critics of all shades of opinions present were almost unanimous that a solution of this problem is necessary in order that a better order may prevail in both the countries. We quote below the speaker's criticism of the Indian Opinion regarding the White Paper from the *Journal of the East India Association :*

My critics will tell me that my proposals will not commend themselves to Indian public opinion. I am very well aware of that, but what proposals do? The White Paper certainly does not. (Read Record No. 10) If the amendments set out therein were to be adopted, most of the White Paper safeguards would disappear. I hav: not time to enter into the details, but here is a statement I have prepared giving chapter and verse for what I say.

Well, if the White Paper in its present form is rejected by India, why should we not introduce modifications which would make it possible to set up a stable Government? Why should we not say that we feel it is impossible for us to leave the country and that so long as it is necessary for us to remain we must have a real share in the Government? It must be a real union of Britain and India—a real partnership. I have had some experience of political agitation, and I have always found that public opinion tends to rally to sympathetic but firm Government. This is the case in England (witness the General Strike and the election in 1931), and even more the case in Asia. "He who is Raja his subjects are we," said some villagers to me at the time of the Gandhi agitation, and these words, I believe, represent the real soul of India.

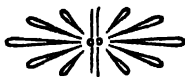
What is the present situation in the great dependency? There is no money to finance the White Paper; practically every section of the political world rejects it; there are bitter protests against the communal award; the British trader in India is called an alien, the British Indian Government an alien Government. We have tried concession and it has not succeeded. Two alternatives remain. If you think that we can leave our Eastern Empire without serious prejudice to its fortunes, let us go. But if you feel, as I feel, and Mr. Sastri feels, that the presence of the British Army is still essential, then set up a Constitution under which we can remain in safety and in honour.

It must not be supposed that I do not fully appreciate the excellent work done by many Indian Ministers during the past few years. But conditions under the Constitution envisaged in the White Paper will be much more difficult than conditions in the past, and it is the duty of all lovers of India to do anything which they can to help them in their difficult task. It is not only old Anglo-Indians who are nervous of the future. "You cannot avoid the reforms in the same way that you may try to avoid measles or meningitis," said Sir N. N. Sirkar. "We have asked for the reforms and we are going to have them, but whether we survive them or succumb to them remains to be seen. I may not live to see their burial, but I shall not be surprised if I see that undertakers are given notice to get ready."

Child Labour in India

In 1930 and 1931 Dr. Rajani Kanta Das of the International Labour Office, Geneva, contributed articles on labour legislation in India and woman labour in India to the *International Labour Review*. His study on the question of child labour in India was published in the same *Review* in December, 1933 and January, 1934. In it :

"He shows that in India, as in all predominantly agricultural and relatively little industrialised countries, the labour of children is an important factor in production; indeed, owing to the shortness of adult life as compared with Western countries, as well as the absence of compulsory education and the earlier age at which children begin to work, the burden of producing the national wealth falls heavily on the younger generation. Nevertheless, the adoption of protective legislation and the increase of industrial efficiency have greatly reduced the amount of child labour in organised industries. The vast mass of working children are engaged in assisting their families in agriculture, which is followed in order of importance as regards the employment of children by the traditional handicrafts and those numerous small undertakings that are not at present covered by the Factories Acts. The widening of the scope of the Indian Factories Act is now under consideration by the Government and Legislature of India and this is without doubt the most urgent immediate task for the protection of Indian childhood. But both the problem of restricting the employment of young children and that of the more efficient utilisation of juvenile labour call for the extension of compulsory primary education and the development of vocational training. It is only by progress in these directions that the wider problems of the employment of children in India can be met. Meanwhile much has been done for the restriction and proteetion of child labour in factories, mines, and plantations; the extent of child labour in these industries in the British Provinces of India, the systems of regulation, and the more immediate problems both in these industries and those which are still unregulated are the main subjects of this article" [of Dr. Rajani Kanta Das].



The Motive Spring of Caste

Various theories have been put forward to explain the origin of caste in India. A probable explanation is however, found in the primitive *mana*-philosophy. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi discusses various theories on caste in his *Man in India* and comes to the following conclusions:

Dr. Hutton and some other writers, however, see the motive-spring of caste in a primitive *mana*-philosophy. Taking Handy's definition of "the concept of *mana* as a manifestation of dynamic, psychic energy, derived ultimately from the Supreme Being and permeating all other beings and nature," it cannot be said that this sense of supernatural presence in the universe is the monopoly of primitive man alone. In fact if the concept of *mana*, or, as it has been called by some writers, 'power-life-will', is understood in the Atharva-Vedic sense of *bramha* or divine power, it may be said to constitute the basis of all religion and of such social and political systems as have any religious associations or flavour in them, including the Varna system of the Hindus.

According to Hindu ideas the more of *sattva guna* or 'goodness' a person has evolved, the clearer is the manifestation of *bramha* or the *divine within him*, and the worthier is he to be called a true *Brahman*; in the man in whom *rajas* or passionate activity predominates the *Brahma* within is partially veiled so that he becomes a *Kshatriya*; the man in whom *tamas* or darkness more completely veils the *bramha* or good *mana*, is called a Sudra.

Thus, the progressive manifestation of *mana* or *bramha* in any person depends on the degree of development of the *sattva guna* in him. Association with persons having *sattva guna* helps the promotion of that *guna* in the person; and intimate association with persons of lower *gunas* may impair a person's *sattva gunas*. Similarly different habits in life, even in food and drink, foster respectively the different *gunas* and thus help or hinder, as the case may be, the development of the spiritual nature of man.

This development of the inner man by stages would appear to be the dynamic cultural ideal,—a resultant of the race psychology and ethnic history of the Aryans in India,—which originally inspired the *Varna* system. The modern caste-system with its two thousand or more rigid divisions and a larger number of sub-divisions (sub-castes) and its legion of intricate taboos and perversities would appear to be its degenerate foster-child which has long outlived its usefulness. The fact that not many Brahmans now-a-days act up to the old Varna ideal does not, however, affect the question of caste origins.

This view of *brahma-mana* would appear to bring into one connected system most, if not all, beleifs of a religious, quasi-religious, magical, and 'superstitious' nature, both of civilized and uncivilized humanity. In this view of it, the scope of the *mana* philosophy or the *Bramha* concept ranges from the primitive man's dim sense of the presence of supernatural powers in different beings and objects up to the sublimest philosophy which regards the world as a manifestation of Divine Power and each man as a spark or fragment of that Power, capable of becoming devine by realizing the Divine within him through gradual spiritual unfoldment, or, in terms of the *mana* concept, by gradual acquisition of higher and still higher *mana*.

Women and Labour

It is a good sign that Indian women are engaging themselves to the study of labour conditions in the country. *The Social Service Quarterly* writes editorially:

A few recent developments in regard to women and labour deserve special mention in this journal. In 1930, the National Council of Women in India formed a Standing Sectional Committee on Labour to collect information pertaining especially to conditions of women and children workers in India. In addition, this Committee requested all the Branch institutions to form local Labour Committees in order to get into touch with the local questions relating to industrial workers. This is how the Bombay Presidency Women's Council Labour Sub-Committee came into existence, meeting for the first time on March 10th, 1933, under the convenership of Mrs. Wagh. An All-India Conference on Labour was suggested, but owing to the unsettled condition in the country at the time, it was proposed to make this Conference a Provincial one, and the Bombay Sub-Committee agreed to take it over. The entire attention of the Committee from its inception was centred on preparation for the Bombay Provincial Women's Conference on Labour which was held at the Wilson College, Bombay, on the 25th of September, 1933, under the presidentship of Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth of Ahmedabad, experienced in practical social work, and well known for her interest in the economic and social welfare of the labouring classes. At an informal discussion group held, a few important suggestions were made of which two seem to be deserving of special notice. (1) To form a study circle in order to study labour problems and to take part in the serious labour problems undertaken by the Government, employers and labour leaders. (2) To persuade the employers to engage educated women in place of the Naikins in the mills, with decent salaries, after a few months' training of the work, in order to create better atmosphere in the women's departments and to get rid of the Naikins' power to which the poor women workers are very often subjected. A Labour Study Circle under the leadership of Miss Hawkins has been formed. Visits were made to various chawks in the city in order to ascertain conditions at first hand.

Bombay Infant Welfare Society

Other presidency towns of India should emulate the activities of the Bombay Infant Welfare Society as summarized in the same paper:

The Committee of the Bombay Presidency Infant Welfare Society in their report for 1933 state that with the means at their disposal they had tried to make their maternity and child welfare organization as useful and serviceable as possible. Ante-natal work was one branch of their activities of which they were truly proud. Their wholetime lady doctors conducted these clinics at the centres of which they were in charge. One afternoon in the week was set apart for these clinics at each of the seven centres. These clinics had not only considerably checked maternal mortality but had enabled mothers to give birth to babies in healthy condition. The number of new expectant mothers admitted in 1933 was 4,80 , as against 4,232 in the previous year, while the total attendance of expectant mothers at ante-natal clinics was 18,171, as against 16,159 in the previous year. The number of new expectant mothers visited at their homes was 7,997, as against 7,312 in the previous year, while the number of revisits paid to all expectant mothers was 44,412. The number of maternity cases directed to hospitals through the efforts of their doctors and nurses had risen from 2,271 in 1931 and 3,478 in 1932 to 4,265 in 1933. The ante-natal and maternity figures showed that the mothers were taking advantage of the up-to-date amenities of the hospitals and homes in the city to an increasing degree, and that the efforts of the Society's doctors and nurses to educate mothers in the directions hed borne fruit. The Society had co-ordinated the ante-natal clinic with the anti-venereal clinic. Mothers also took advantage of the centres for instruction and advice on child hygiene and management, and for early detection and treatment of minor ailments. The total attendance of babies for milk and medicine was 354,306, while the total number of new babies admitted was 6,110. The average daily number bathed at the centres was 381.

Carey—the Giver of the Bible to India

Much is being written of William Carey this year, it being the centenary of his death. The following from *The National Christian Council Review* will no doubt prove interesting:

'Blessed is the man who has found his work,' says Carlyle, 'let him seek no other blessedness.' What that work was for Carey, we know. When Dr. Thomas, fresh from Bengal, met the committee for the first time in January, 1793, he read a letter from some Indians there, asking for preachers to be sent, and 'such as will forward translations.' That was the call to Carey. He had cultivated a natural aptitude for the acquisition of languages. He could eat them as other men eat bread. Here, therefore, was something he could do. He immediately volunteered, and was appointed to go out with Thomas.

Before leaving London, he met a young printer named Ward, and telling him of his intention to translate the Bible into Bengali, bade him be ready in four or five years to come and print it. Ward arrived in December, 1799, went up to Carey's indigo factory at Madnabati, and found the New Testament all translated and wtitten in the strange Bengali script, by Carey's own hand, as also a large part of the Old. The mere physical achievement is amazing when one knows that it was all done in the afternoons and by candle light in the evenings. There was a press bought from Calcutta also ready, waiting to be used. But the Danish governor had offered a sanctuary for the msssion settlement at Serampore, and Carey now joined the new recruits there. In a little while they were planning 'within fifteen years' to translate the Bible into all the languages of Hindustan, and the task was practically accomplished.

Indians in South Africa

As a member of the Paddison Committee Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary had opportunities to get first-hand knowledge about the conditions of Indian settlers in South Africa. So what he says on the subject deserves careful consideration. He writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

The attitude of the authorities is not firm and determined in the interest of the Indian Settlers. Including the colonial-born, they did not exceed a lakh and sixty thousand when I was there in 1925-26. Births are slow, deaths are rapid. No outside accession is allowed and rapid repatriation and expatriation are the order of the day. Successive High Commissioners are frankly out to help in this and, even some from Indian Settlers favoured the bodily transplantment of the remnant to some bleak inhospitable and unfamiliar island in the Pacific or the Atlantic. The average Indian settler, particularly the colonial born, who have built up the prosperity of South Africa, naturally cling to what they have won and earned. They and their forbears have given the lie to the defamation that the stay-at-home Indian will not take timely to colonization. Those who have colonized in Malaya, Singapore, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and the smaller islands of the Pacific archipelago had not given such lie with insistent consistency that is proving amusing to those who research about Greater and Further India in ancient and mid-ancient times. The recent investigations of Harvard Professors have brought out a chapter of Indian culture in the Philippines.

The plight of these people is that of the Potter's Clay—as a Bengali adage is carried on the head and kneeded with the feet. Bharat is anything but Prabuddha in regard to the Indian Colonial question. I made a strong appeal for inclusion of suitable provisions for prytection of Indian interest abroad and our colonizing rights in the new constitution. This would be the first step of protection not only of Indian interest but of Indian prestige, always a first lank in the nation-building platform.

The Art of Letter-writing

Letter-writing is an art, and Prof. B. Tandon, M. A., writes in *The Indian Review*:

And what are letters without personal element? In the words of Herbert Paul: "They are like history without events, poetry without invention, Blue Books without dates, or novels without love." A good letter is "an easy and agreeable talk on paper." It is the nearest approach to drawing-room conversation. Leigh Hunt knew it and this is how he begins an intimate epistle to Mr. and Mrs. Shelley:

"Whenever I write to you, I seem to be transported to your presence. I dart out of the window like a

bird, dash into a south-western current of air, skim over the cool waters, hurry over the basking lands, rise like a lark over the mountains, fling like a swallow into the vallies skim again, pant for breath, there's Leghorn—eccomi ! how d' you do ?"

And who can improve on the receipe of that delectable English essayist, Alpha of the Plough ? Here is his advice."

"You must be personal, not abstract. You must not say : 'This is too small a thing to put down.' You must say : 'This is iust the sort of small thing we talk about at home. If I tell them this, they will see me as it were, they 'll hear my voice, they 'll know what I m about."

Islam's Contribution to Science and Civilization

Maulavi Abdul Karim writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

Canon Taylor, after a careful study of the history of Islam, came to the conclusion that "Islam has done more for civilization than Christianity." If Europe's indebtedness to Islam for the extraordinary progress it has latterly made in science and civilization were adequately known, it would have astounded the modern civilized world. "During the darkest period of European history," writes Bosworth Smith, "Arabs for five hundred years held up the torch of learning to humanity." Arthur Leonard has truly said, "Islam, in fact, has done a work. She has left a mark on the pages of human history which is so indelible that it can never be effaced . that only when the world grows wiser will be acknowledged in full." That the early Muslims made an ineffaceable impression on the cultural development of the world cannot but be admitted by every unprejudiced and fair-minded critic of Islamic history. It is a religious prejudice and an overweening sense of racial superiority that have stood in the way of acknowledgement and appreciation by the West of the glorious achievements of the East. Draper is perfectly justified in deploring "the systematic manner in which the literature of Europe has continued to put out of sight our scientific obligations to Mahommedans. Surely they cannot be much longer hidden. Injustice founded on religious rancour and national conceit cannot be perpetuated for ever."

Before the advent of Islam, the cultivation of science was condemned as heresy.

Is Meat a Dietetic Necessity ?

Charles H. Wolohon, M.D., writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

Meat may be indicted on many scientific counts and abundant evidence produced to sustain the indictment, but I shall have to content myself with discussing only two points, the first of which is that *meat is not a dietetic necessity* and second, that *meat eating is productive of positive harm.* As a by-product of these, there naturally follows the corollary that vegetarianism is the diet of :choice.

The science of dietetics informs us that there are the following classes of foods : Proteins, fats carbohydrates, vitamins, and mineral substances. The average calories of our diet are divided as follows Protein, 10' per cent; fat 25 per cent ; carbohydrate 65 per ceut. The carbohydrates (starches and sugars) and fats are the heat -and energy foods. It is these that need to be increased or decreased in proportion to the amount of muscular effort and the climate. The protein is repair material and the requirement remains quite constant for an individual of a given weight, whether lying in bed or sawing wood. The average amount needed is one gram (1-30 oz.) per kilogram (2.2 lbs.) of body weight. Thus, an individual of 165 pounds would require 75 grams, or 6 ounces, of protein as a daily ration.

For decades flesh foods have been invested with mysterious attributes as to strength and health-given qualities, which science cannot sustain. Meat is just one kind of protein food. The flesh is built of nothing other than the grains upon which the animal subsisted during life Then meats are just second-hand or animalized grains, with nothing desirable added, and much that is unwholesome in the way of wastes contained in the carcasses. In analyzing the protein foods a little further, we find that flesh foods, as well as nuts, milk, and cheese are molecular in composition. In the molecule there is about 120 amino acids, and it is the work of digestion to break down the protein into these amino acids, in which form they are in small part utilized in the body and the rest excreted in the urine, chiefly as urea. The amino acids differ from other acids in that they contain nitrogen ; it is this that makes them capable of being used in the repair of our tissue proteins, the basis of which, too, is nitrogen. There are fifteen to eighteen different kinds of amino acids, among which some are very important. For instance, one, called tryptophane, is necessary to life, and lysine required for growth. I say these amino acids are essential ; but it does not necessarily follow that one requires a flesh dietary to obtain them, for nuts, milk, cheese, or eggs may be substituted for flesh, and all the necessary amino acids obtained. In fact Dr. Sherman of Columbia University, in his book, "Food Products," page 400, says: "It might be more logical to speak of meats as nut substitutes' rathes than nuts as meat substitutes,"

It follows therefore that meat is not a dietetic necessity.

Indo-Javanese Literature

Dr. R. C. Majumdar in an important paper in *Indian Culture* traces the relation between ancient Indian and Javanese literatures. He writes in part :

The class of poetical works we have hitherto described is called Kakawin. They are all written in Old-Javanese language and their subject matter is derived mostly from Indian epics and Puranas. In addition to the works mentioned above there are many other Kakawins, which however, cannot be dated even approximaiely, We give below a very brief account of some of them :-

1. Indrabijaya—story of Vritra's conquest and death followed by that of Nahusa who secured the position of Indra for a short period.

2. Parthayajna—It describes Arjuna's asceticism by means of which he obtained weapons from Siva.

3, Vighnotsava, writ]en by a Budhist, describes the exploits of a Yaksa king named Vighnotsava and particularly his fight with the *raksasa* king Suprasena.

4, Bratasraya is a later development of the same theme.

5, Harisraya. It describes how the gods, threatened by Malyavan, king of Lanka, seek, at first the help of Siva, and then of Visnu, who kills Malyavan and

restores to life, by amrita or nectar, the gods who perished in the fight.

6. Hari Vijaya.—It describes the churning of the ocean by gods by means of Mandara mountain.

7. Kalayavanataka.—It describes, after the story given in Visnupurana, how Kalayavana invaded Dvaraka, to avenge the death of Kamsa, and was ultimately reduced to ashes by Mucukunda, with whom the fugitive Krisna had taken shelter. It also describes how Arjuna carried away Subhadra when the Andhakas and Vrisnis were celebrating a feast on Raivataka.

8. Ramavijaya.—Its theme is the defeat of Sahasravahu Arjuna by Parasurama, son of Jamadagani and Renuka.

9. Ratna Vijaya.—It describes the fight between Sunda and Upasunda over Tilottoma.

10. Parthavijaya.—It is based on an episode from Bharatayuddha, *viz*, the death of Irava, son of Arjuna and Ulupuy, and of Nila.

11. An unnamed and incomplete Kakawin gives the story of Udayana and Vasavadatta in a modified form. Satasena of the lineage of the Pandavas had two sons, Udayana and Yugandarayana. The abduction of Angaravati, princess of Avanti, by Udayana forms the plot of the Kakawin.

Inter-tribal Absorption—a Phenomenon of Hindu Society

In his essay on "Caste as a Social Phenomenon" in *The Calcutta Review* Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose writes:

It must be taken as a historical fact that Hindu society had been absorbing various tribes within its fold from the earliest times onward. Proofs of this are not lacking in ancient records, while, at the same time, the process can be seen in operation in some of the outlying regions of Hindu culture up to the present day.

The Magian cult of the sun-god Mithra was introduced from Persia into India sometime about the beginning of the Christian era. Although they were outsiders, the priests of the Mithra cult were regarded as Brahmins, it being stated that they were the Brahmins from Sakadwipa. Accordingly, when they came within Hindu society they were accorded a place in the first *varnas*, but their status was lower than that of the native Brahmins of India.

To take an example from modern times, we may refer to the case of certain Mundas of Chotanagpur, who have recently been incorporated into Hindu society by virtue of the adoption of certain religious rites. These particular Mundas have given up eating beef and drinking intoxicating liquors. They put on the sacred thread for one month in the year while celebrating the *Manda Parab* in honour of the Hindu deity Siva. A Hindu priest officiates for them during the above celebration. On that occasion, he is even allowed to ride upon his clients' shoulder as a mark of special honour.

Hindu society has, in this way, been incorporating tribe after tribe within its fold from the most ancient times to the present day. The theory of four *varnas* helped to fix a status for these tribes in the social scale in accordance with the nature of their predominant occupation as determined by the Brahminical law-makers.

Income and Expenditure of Universities in England and Wales

The Government of Bengal contribute about 14 per cent only of the total income of the Calcutta University at the present moment. In the light of this, the following facts about the income and expenditure of Universities in England and Wales given by Mr. J. M. Datta in *Teachers' Journal* will be of much interest.

There are 19 Universities and university colleges in England and Wales. An analysis of their sources of income and the heads of expenditure would be *useful to us in Bengal*, in view of the *niggardly attitude* of the Ministry of Education *towards the Calcutta University*.

Sources of Income	Total of the 19 Universities
Endowments	£648,084 12 p.c.
Donations & Subscriptions	£116,541 2·3 p.c.
Grants from Local authorities	£554,781 11·0 p.c,
Parliamentary Grants	£1,743,242 34·8 p.c.
Tuition fees	£1,179,853 23·5 p.c.
Examinations, Gradution, Matriculation, Registration fees	£374,687 7·4 p.c.
Other income	£391,685 7·8 p.c,
Total	£5,008,773

Heads of Expenditure	Total of the Expenditure in 19 Universities
Administration	£430,190 8·0 p.c.
Salaries of Teaching Staff, Superannuation & other Expenditure	£3,111,437 63·2 p.c.
Maintenance of Premises	£528,439 17·4 p.c.
Fellowships, Scholarships etc.	£849,910 17·2 p.c.
Total	£4,919,976

The figures are for the year 1931-32.

Worse Future for the Excluded Areas

Angul is an excluded area in Orissa. Deputy Commissioners are all in all in these areas, and this has been recently more than proved by an executive fiat by prohibiting a house-owner from quartering Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. A. V. Thakkar writes in *The Ashram Review* (formerly *C. S. S. Review*):

What is far worse than the present state of thingss is that even in the 1933 proposals for constitutional reforms, unsatisfactory as these are, there is not the ghost of a chance of the areas coming into their own for a long time to come. Sec. 106 of the reforms proposals lays down that "His Majesty will be empowered to direct by Order in Council that any area within a province is to be 'excluded area' or 'partially excluded area' and by subsequent Orders in Council to revoke or vary any such Order." Thus it lies within

the discretion of his Majesty by an Order in Council to create many more Anguls than at present. At present Angul is fully excluded from the operations of the ordinary constitutions. Further under sec. 108 the Governor will be empowered, at his discretion, to make regulations for peace and good government of any excluded area and will be competent by any regulation so made, to repeal or amend any act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature which will be applicable to the area in question. Thus the Governor can supersede any Act of the Legislature at his sweet will without assigning any reason or without allowing any question in Council to be asked. In other words he can arrogate to himself the powers not vested even in His Majesty in Council and may act as a most irresponsible potentate.

Sec. 109 of the proposals is even still more dangerous. It contains a provision prohibiting the discussion in the provincial legislature of, or the asking of questions on, any matter arising out of the administration of an excluded area. Thus if a crowd is fired upon by the police in any part of Angul, or if any massacre, like the Jallianwalla Bagh, takes place in Angul, say, in the year 1950, even the asking of questions about the event will be prohibited in the Orissa Council or the All-India Assembly. In short, the whole chapter in the White Paper on Excluded Areas consisting of four clauses from 106 to 109 is pregnant with forebodings for the aboriginal tribes of India, who number as many as 25 million people, and who inhabit such wholly or partially excluded areas. The Santhals of Chhota Nagpur, the Gonds of the Central Provinces and the various tribes of the hills bordering the Brahmaputra Valley are probably for ever to be kept in non-regulated areas under the direct administration of the Governors; and to be kept absolutely unaffected by a democratic constitution.

Ideals that Girls Should Follow

The Poet Rabindranath Tagore delivered an address to the girl students in which he laid down the ideals that they should follow. We make the following extracts from it published in *Visva-Bharati News*:

It is needless to say that our girls should have perfect manners in their behaviour towards each other and in their dealings with outsiders. It is ugly to be unmannerly and particularly for women it is unpardonable.

Moderation in behaviour, in social communication, in expressions of emotion, is an essential part of good manners. We should remember that boisterousness must never be mistaken for exuberance of spirit. Good manners should be an outcome of good nature which reveals itself by willingly respecting others' legitimate claims, even going out of one's way to look to their convenience. It is positively objectionable to be noisy in the neighbourhood when someone is studying to disturb one who wants to go to bed when it is due time and to enter somebody else's room without permission, ransacking her things, making her bed untidy, looking into her papers or letters, taking away books or articles of use. To get addicted to the pernicious habit of enjoying and circulating scandals and mischievous gossip breeds in one's character a vulgarity of a malignant type which must be completely eradicated from our nature.

Cleanliness and orderliness should never be neglected. There are some who seem to take pride in displaying slovenliness as a protest against indulgence in luxury. But well-dressed tidiness and foppishness do not belong to the same class. Attractiveness in one's dress may show a high quality of æsthetic sense and go hand in hand with a beautiful spirit of simplicity. It necessarily need not be for ostentation but for taking trouble to offer our respect for others. If we are careless in our dress when meeting people, we rudely show that we do not care for them.

An Ideal Mother

The following occurs in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*:

There will be sympathy for Mr. Daniel Swamidoss from his friends in all parts of the world on the loss he has sustained in the death of his mother on July 12th. The news is conveyed with sorrow and pride in a letter written from the Y. M. C. A. Community Centre at Indukurpet: "To-day there has passed away a Christian woman who is no less than my dear mother. Next to God I owe her everything that makes life worth living. I am not sad, for she has gone home to be with our Heavenly Father and our Lord Jesus Christ. Through her I have learned the blessedness of poverty, and therefore I am in the service of the poor."

The story of the blind mother and her boy has been told in many lands, and has been given a place by Arthur Mee in his unique anthology, *One Thousand Beautiful Things*, chosen from the life and literature of the world:

"Outside a bungalow in India, squatting on a verandah, pulling mechanically at a rope which worked the fanning punka inside, a blind woman spent hour after hour, day after day, year after year. She could live on a handful of rice. She had no wish for fine clothes. But her son whose face she could never see was everything in the world to her. All the money she earned by pulling the punka, this blind woman spent on her boy. A day came when the boy, after four years in a university, has tened to his village with the tremendous news that he had been offered a Government appointment. She said to him: 'If you accept it you will break my heart.' He was astonished. She told him she had dedicated him to God. She wanted him to teach the outcaste people of India the love of the Father of us all."

We are glad to think that she was not disappointed in her son.

Fichte's Contribution to Modern Educational Philosophy

Dr. Debendra Chandra Das-Gupta, M. A., Ed. D. writes in *India and the World*:

According to Fichte the ultimate aim of education, whether cultural or vocational, was citizenship. This ultimate aim had three important aspects or intermediate aims, namely, political solidarity, economic independence, and moral character. To these might be added a fourth, namely, general culture.

Political Solidarity. Fichte regarded the individual citizen as the smallest unit in the nation and maintained that national security depended upon the intellectual and moral improvement of this smallest unit. Hence to make of the German people a strong,

powerful nation each individual member of the nation, irrespective of social rank, must be made to feel that his own interests were bound up with the common interest, and must receive such an education as would enable him to contribute to the prosperity and welfare of the nation as a whole. This goal of national unification could be achieved, Fichte maintained, only by abandoning the old educational system with its class distinctions and tendencies toward disunion and establishing in its place a new system of education which would afford equal educational privileges to every member of the nation regardless of class or condition.

Fichte, like Pestalozzi, advocated literary and technical education to be given in a common school. In Fichte's plan, however, this common school was to be attended by the future scholars destined for leadership in the commonwealth as well as by the great masses of people destined for manual work. All alike were to receive the rudiments of cultural and vocational training in this common or universal school. The future scholar's technical education would be general in character, designed simply to give him a reasonable familiarity with the processes of trade and industry while those not destined for the scholar's career would receive a trade and technical education that would be vocational in a strict, modern sense of the term. Fichte assumed that every body must work and that no one had a right to be a parasite on society.

Moral character. In addition to the economic aim vocational education was to be motivated also by a moral aim. Fichte maintained that moral development was undoubtedly dependent upon vocational efficiency. Honesty, for example, could be developed to a great extent only by increasing the earning capacity of the future worker and thereby raising him above the temptation to dishonesty. This could be accomplished by a thoroughgoing system of vocational training.

Fichte believed that all education, both cultural and vocational, should result in better citizenship through achieving national unification, economic independence and moral character. He suggested that the technical education of scholars should be more general in character than that of the workers. That is, for the worker's trade and industrial education was to be strictly a matter of vocational training in the narrower sense of the term while for the scholar it became more or less a matter of general culture.

The trade and technical training given was to be such as might be put to immediate use in their daily living. Moreover the working people were to be furnished with such occupational information as would enable them to make an intelligent selection of a life calling.

At a time when Germany was devastated by the fortunes of war Fichte, one of the leading thinkers and philosophers of his day, was foremost among the patriotic Germans to advocate education for all, rich and poor alike, in a common school as a means of national rehabilitation. In this school all were to receive both literary and technical training. The brilliant students, capable of becoming scholars and leaders in the state, were to receive technical training for cultural purposes while the students of lesser ability were to receive intensive training in various gainful occupations as a preparation for their life work. Through education Fichte aimed to make Germany commercially and industrially supreme. Hence he advocated an educational system that would produce good citizens, conscious of their interdependence, economically self-sustaining and of sturdy moral fibre. Fichte's theory had much in common with the theory of Pestalozzi and shows the influence of the Swiss reformer. Both aimed at the social and moral regeneration of the individual and of society through education. Both attempted to rejuvenate national prosperity through education. Both advocated an elementary education consisting of literary and technical training as indispensable to the good worker. Fichte's theory does not advance beyond Pestalozzi's except in advocating that not only the working people but all the people of every class and rank should receive the education which he proposed.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

AT last we possess, for the first time, adequate histories of British Rule from the side of the Indian people. This is a matter of great importance, not only for India but for the world.*

British rule in India is not something small or in a corner. Consisting as it has done, and does, of conquest, and for two centuries of the domination, of a great civilized nation, the second largest in the world, it is, in its very nature, one of the major, one of the most commanding and important sections of modern world history. Yet the anomaly exists, that vast section of history has not been known to the world, except from *one side*, and that the side of the *foreign conquerors* and *rulers*.

One of the tragic features connected with subjection everywhere is the fact that the channels of communication with the world are all in the hands of the ruling power.

This has been conspicuously the case in India from the beginning of its subjection. Great Britain has had the ear of the world. All mail lines and telegraph lines have been, and are, under her control and subject to her censorship. She is great and powerful; every-

* *Rise of the Christian Power in India.* By Major B. D. Basu of the British Indian Medical Service. Pp. 1011. Calcutta. Ramananda Chatterjee. 1931.

India Under the British Crown. A continuation of the above. Pp. 570. Same author, same publisher. 1933.

The Economic History of India, from The Rise of the British Power in 1757 to the Accession of Queen Victoria in 1837. By Romesh C. Dutt. Pp. 459. London. Kegan Paul. 1902.

India in the Victorian Age. A continuation of the preceding. Pp. 628. Same author, same publisher. 1904.

thing that she sends out is accepted as true. On the other hand, India has control of no means of communication. Whenever anything reaches the world from her, it bears on it the stigma of a subject and therefore supposedly inferior people. Who could believe their word as opposed to that of the ruling and of course superior English people?

The British rulers of the country have flooded the world with books, as also with articles in the leading periodicals of all nations, giving their side of the Indian situation. The libraries of all countries have been, and are, full of these.

Of course, readers everywhere finding these, and finding practically nothing on the other side, have taken it for granted that the British picture is true, that India is not in bondage at all, but that British rule is a great boon to the Indian people, a great blessing, something which is lifting them up and gradually "civilizing" them, and, with all the rest, something which they like.

If readers in libraries and elsewhere could have had India's side put before them, they would have obtained a different picture.

These British presentations of conditions in India would not be so bad if they stopped with British writings—with British books and periodicals. But they do not. Britain's great influence in the world carries them everywhere. And the fact that they are not contradicted tends to make everybody accept them as true. Edmund Burke once said in the British House of Commons: "If an idiot told me the same thing every day for a year, no matter how foolish or false it might be, and I heard nothing to the contrary, I suppose I should end by believing him."

The world believes these British presentations because it has always been hearing them and has never heard them disputed.

I find these present, more or less fully, in nearly all our American literature regarding India. They are in our popular writings and general histories; they are in our college and school histories; worst of all, they are in our cyclopaedias. I have examined them all, and have not found one that is free from serious British bias. The great and honoured Encyclopaedia Britannica leads off, and our writers follow essentially in its track, even if not always consciously so. That is to say, every article on India, or on Britain's relations to India, even if stating individual facts accurately, is written from Britain's side, does not recognize that there is any other, and portrays everything from that standpoint.

It is as if all the information we were able to obtain (through histories and cyclopaedias) of the conquest of Italy by Austria and of Poland by Austria, Germany and Russia, came to us through authors belonging to the conquering nations. It is as if all the histories (and cyclopaedia articles) possessed by the world, of the American Revolutionary War, were written from the British side to show that the British were right and the Americans wrong.

Of course, the fact that from the beginning of their career in India the British, as has been said, have had the ear of all nations, and have been able, through a hundred, a thousand, channels, to justify themselves, while the Indian people have had practically all avenues of utterance closed against them, making it impossible for their voice to be heard by many, if by any, beyond their fellow-sufferers by their side—of course these facts add much to the bitterness as well as the wrong of India's subjection.

Fortunately, as said in the beginning of this article, at last something better is appearing; at last we are getting histories which tell the story from the side of "*the toad under the harrow*".

The appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the scene has done much. His extraordinary genius and character, the unprecedented hold he has obtained on the imagination, the love and the veneration of the Indian people, and the enormous following he has attracted in his daring and ethically noble movement to secure India's freedom by non-violent non-cooperation with the British govenment—these have called the attention of the world to India and its government by Great Britain, as it was never called before.

All this is very important. And yet, it is coming to be widely seen that it has not been enough. It has created very great admiration of Mahatma Gandhi, and profound sympathy with him in his self-sacrificing and unparalleled efforts to help his people. But, unfortunately, it has left almost wholly unanswered some of the deep questions, some of the vital questions, which arise in the discussion of whether or not Britain should grant India self-rule—questions which are constantly emphasized by British writers—namely: Are the Indian people ready for self-government? Do they not need training for it, and is not England giving them exactly the training they require? With all its faults, is not British rule better than any they could give themselves? It is claimed that British rule has impoverished the Indian people. On the contrary, has it not increased their wealth? However imperfect that rule may have been in this particular or that, has it not been a great benefit to India, and will it not be a great benefit if continued for an indefinite future?

I say, these and such as these are the questions that Great Britain keeps constantly before the world, which thoughtful minds in America and all other nations want to find answers for, but which Mahatma Gandhi, with all his noble qualities, does not seem, to many minds, to have answered. Can they be answered?

India replies with practically a united voice, Yes! they not only *can be*, but they *are* answered, every one, and beyond denial or rebuttal *by the whole story of British rule whenever that story is truthfully and daringly told, from the side of the Indian people.*

Is the story anywhere told? Yes, at last! The four books named at the beginning of this article tell it.

Let us look briefly at the books—first at those of Mr. Dutt, because his were the earliest in time. Mr. Romesh C. Dutt was a distinguished Indian statesman and scholar, living and doing his work late in the nineteenth century. Besides other high positions held by him, he was a member of the Legislative Council of the Province of Bengal, Finance Minister of the State of Baroda and Lecturer of University College, London. He wrote other works on Indian subjects, but the most important for our purpose are the two already mentioned, namely, his *Economic History of India*—from the Rise of the British Power in 1757 to the Accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, and his *India in the Victorian Age*.

It should be clearly understood that these books are *economic* histories, *not political*. Of course, therefore, they do not cover the whole ground. But in their sphere they are in the highest degree important. They are luminous expositions of the effects of British rule on India's finances and industries, and on her extensive manufactures. They cannot

be too highly praised for their accuracy and the fairness of their spirit.

But, as already suggested, economic history is not sufficient; the political history of India under British rule is even more important, indeed it is absolutely necessary for a full understanding of the economic history itself.

For this we must turn to the masterly historical work of the late Major B. D. Basu,* also mentioned at the beginning of this article. Major Basu, long connected with the British-Indian Medical Service, was a scholar of extraordinary attainments, who for more than forty years had devoted himself to the study of his country's political history since the coming of the British, under conditions which gave him full access to public records and documents, as well as much important assistance from other scholars.

His history is in two large volumes. The first entitled *Rise of the Christian power in India* a book of more than 1,000 pages, richly illustrated was published in 1931. It tells the story of the conquest of India and its administration by the British East India Company, from the company's organization in 1600 down to the surrender of its charter, and the transference of its vast Indian possessions to the direct government of the British Parliament, in 1858, at the close of the "Indian Mutiny". Major Basu's second volume, entitled, *India Under the British Crown*, a book of nearly 600 large pages, also richly illustrated, appeared at the beginning of 1933. It takes up the story where the earlier volume leaves off and brings it down to essentially the present time. Thus it covers the story of the *later* administration of India, *by the British Government itself*, through *Viceroys* appointed by *Parliament* and responsible to *Parliament*, as distinguished from the *earlier* administration of the country through *Governor Generals* appointed by and responsible only to the *East India Company*. In other words, the volume begins with the administration of Lord Canning, the Governor-General, who found himself confronted with the difficult task of restoring tranquillity after the Sepoy Mutiny, and traces the history of India, as seen and experienced by the Indian people, through the administrations of fourteen viceroys, down to and including that of Lord Reading, which terminated in 1926.

Both these volumes of Major Basu, not only reveal in every part a care, patience and thoroughness of research that leave little or nothing to be desired and a spirit of fairness and candour that everywhere impresses the reader, but they tell their story with a graphic clearness, a simple picturesqueness of style, and a forcefulness that grip and fascinate.

It was hoped by many that the transference of the Government of India from the British East India Company to Great Britain itself would result in closer and more sympathetic relations between England and India, and more freedom and justice to the Indian people. But the hope was not realized. The change in the *form* of the Government proved to be little more than a *mere* change of *form*. The spirit of the government remained essentially the same as under the East India Company, and the practical administration of affairs in India was carried on almost exactly as before. Indeed, in some respects conditions became worse as the result of this change of government from the East India Company. Under the former regime, the charter of the Company had to be renewed every twenty years. This meant that once in two decades the Indian situation came before Parliament and the entire country for careful investigation. Under the new form of government, all this passed away. No provisions were made for future investigations, and, as a consequence, none was ever made except at very rare intervals when some alarming crisis arose. The Government of India became more and more a cold, hard, self-centered and self-managing bureaucracy, removed farther and farther from the knowledge or real interest of the British people—as a fact their interest becoming less and less in the Indian people, and more and more confined to the one matter of holding India securely under British control, for Britain's advantage. Although the Indian people today are granted a considerable number of minor liberties and privileges of kinds that do not interfere with British interests, as a matter of fact the exploitation of the country goes on as at any time in the past. The story of all this is told by Dutt and especially by Basu, with a clearness, a fairness and a fullness of documentation which puts it beyond refutation.

Since the publication of the works of these two scholars, there can be no excuse whatever for writers on India, whether of histories or cyclopaedia articles, for not giving the story of British rule *intelligently* and *justly*, from the *side of the Indian people* as well as from that of their *foreign rulers*.

* Died on September 23, 1930.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BENGAL

By BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

THE list of students who have been awarded scholarships on the results of this year's Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University has just been published. It shows the schools in their true colour to a great extent.

The University is not responsible for the actual teaching in the schools recognized by it. This august body has a prescribed syllabus on each subject for examination. It selects and recommends text books and once a year it sets common questions for all examinees who sit for the examination in numerous centres throughout the area under its jurisdiction. This year the number of examinees exceeded twenty three thousands.

The actual teaching is conducted by two different classes of schools, *viz.*,

(1) Government schools, *i. e.*, schools maintained by the Government with funds out of public revenue. They are under the direct control of the Education Department. The teaching staff consists of the members of the Provincal and Subordinate Educational Services.

(2) Non-Government Schools of two different groups :

(*a*) Aided-Schools, *i. e.*, schools which are fortunate enough to secure grants-in-aid from the Government.

(*b*) Unaided schools, *i. e.*, schools which do not receive any aid from the Government.

The annual expenditure in these school shown in the following table made out from the *Report on the Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1932-33.*

Class of Schools	Number of Students	...ture (in rupees) from				Total
		Government fund	Fees	Board and Municipal fund	Other sources	
For Males						
Government	13,663	6,95,511	4,35,587	--	5,382	11,36,182
Aided	124,167	9,98,989	35,87,266	26,351	7,86,602	53,99,208
Unaided	1296,45	—	31,00,027	—	6,11,166	37,41,466
Board & Municipal	1,834	9,930	50,751	4,172	-	64,856
For Females						
Government	1,791	1,65,041	89,131	--	—	2,54,475
Aided	13,492	3,60,072	4,96,769	67,766	1,67,306	10,91,913
Unaided	1,002	—	28,350		3,312	31,662

Calculating from the above table we find the cost per student to be as follows (in rupees):

	Male	Female
Government school	83	142
Aided school	11	82
Unaided school	20	31

Of the nine First Grade scholarships of Rs. 20 a month, only one has been secured by a Government school,—a Calcutta school—while the rest have all been carried off by non-Government schools, two belonging to Calcutta, both unaided, and six to the moffussil. Be it noted here that the boy who secured the highest total marks was sent up by a non-Government unaided school.

Out of six Second Grade scholarships of Rs. 15 for the city of Calcutta a Government school has secured only one, Non-Government unaided four, and aided the remaining one.

Of the twelve Third Grade scholarships of Rs. 10 for the city of Calcutta, the Government schools have failed to secure a single one, non-Government unaided schools have secured nine leaving one for an aided one.

The following table shows the distribution of scholarships :

	Number of scholarships	Secured by Government schools
First Grade Scholarships of Rs. 20 only	9	1
Second Grade Scholarships of Rs. 15 only		
Calcutta		
Presidency Division	6	
Burdwan ,,	6	
Dacca ,,	5	
Rajshahi ,,	6	
Chittagong ,,	1	
Third Grade Scholarships of Rs. 10 only		
Calcutta	12	
24-Parganas	3	
Jessore	2	0
Khulna	3	1
Murshidabad	2	1
Nadia	2	0
Bankura	1	0
Birbhum	1	0
Burdwan	3	0
Hooghly	2	1
Howrah	2	0
Midnapore	2	0
Bakargung	2	0
Dacca	3	*
Faridpur	2	0
Mymensing	3	0
Bogra	1	0
Darjeeling	1	1
Jalpaiguri	1	1
Dinajpur	1	0
Malda	1	1
Pabna	2	0
Rajshahi	1	0
Rangpur	2	1
Chittagong Hill Tracts	1	1†
Chittagong	2	1
Noakhali	1	1
Tipperah	3	0

Are the Government schools still to be classed as model ones? Are they still to be maintained at an enormous cost, when really good schools struggle for their very existence with a band of hardworking and painstaking teachers on starvation wages? The lamentable failure of Government schools should not be overlooked, specially when we see that they recruit boys from that grade of society where the very environment and heredity go a long way to push a boy onward and that their cost of education is much higher than that of other schools

The Government schools for girls fare no better than those for boys. The two scholarships of Rs. 20 have both been secured by two non-Government schools - moffussil schools to boot. The five scholarships of Rs. 15 have been shared among two Calcutta and three moffussil non-Government schools. Of the ten scholarships of Rs. 10 only three have been secured by Government schools, three Calcutta and four moffussil non-Government schools securing the rest.

It is really gratifying that the special scholarship for aboriginal student goes to a girl and that of a non-Government moffussil school.

* There is no Government school in the District of Dacca within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University.

† There is no other High school except a Government one in this district.

No Muhammadan boy has been successful in securing a scholarship of Rs. 20. As far as second grade scholarships are considerd, we are sadly disappointed in Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, where the Muhammadans greatly outnumber the Hindus. It is in the Rajshahi Division that we find the names of two Muhammadan boys in the list—one from a Government school and the other from a non-Government. Of sixty two third grade scholarships of Rs. 10 Muhammadan boys have been able to secure only six—one from a Government school and five from non-Government ones.

The picture as shown in the Scholarship list is really deplorable. What is the remedy? Secondary education requires overhauling. The Government Schools have forefited their right to exist as a privileged class. The granting of aid at the whims of the Inspector of Schools is too old a procedure to suit the present state of affairs. One hundred and eighteen scholarships open to twenty thousand candidates (leaving out as many as three thousands for Assam province) is simply ridiculous.

INSURANCE NOTES

Foreign Insurance

British Insurance in 1933

"There was some general improvement in 1933 and although there is a time lag in the effect of general conditions on insurance results, the improvement was reflected in 1933 insurance reports," writes the *Statist* in summing up the working of the British Insurance Companies in 1933. In some branches there was a "look-up" and more is expected in the future.

Life Assurance new business figures showed a very satisfactory advance, having increased from £161 million in 1932 to about £180 million. The chief problem of the life-offices was, as before, the earning of high rates of interest on the funds, for during 1933 prices of nearly all investments suitable for life-office funds advanced, and the interest which it was possible to earn on existing or new funds fell. It is estimated that at the end of 1933, British Life Offices had a premium income of more than £75 million, paid away £58 million in claims and annuities and had a fund of £816 million, the ratio of expenses to premium income being as low as 14.3 per cent.

The results of the British Fire Offices were not altogether bad. There was a slight reduction in the premium income owing partly to deterioration of foreign exchange and partly to the adjustment of insurance rates at a lower level. The effects of Government restrictions, growth of nationalism and of other such factors are also being felt abroad by the British Companies. In the Accident and Marine Departments there was a decline in premium income, but Aviation Insurance gained in popularity.

What a vast influence is exercised by Insurance Offices on national finance will be apparent from the fact that at the end of 1933, their assets amounted to £1420 million distributed over mortgages, loans, Government and Municipal Securities, Debentures, Stock, Shares, etc.

Earthquake Insurance In Japan

The recent earthquake at Hokodate in Japan has brought about disastrous effects. The losses of life and property have been immense, and the losses of the insurance companies have provisionally been estimated at over 28 million Yen. The Earthquate of 1923 brought still larger havoc and resulted in a loss of 100,000 lives and ten billion Yen worth of properties. To provide against this terrible casualty even to the small extent that may be possible, the Japanese Government, who performed magnificent relief work during the 1923 disasters, now contemplate to introduce a scheme of compulsory earthquake insurance. The details of the scheme are yet under consideration. But the broad principles on which the scheme is likely to be based are that (*i*) the business will be handled by companies as Agents for the Government; (*ii*) the rate of premium will tentatively be about 2 Yen per thousand; and (*iii*) no single earthquake policy shall be more than 300 Yen. Such compulsory earthquake insurance is unique of its kind and is yet another evidence of the solicitude of the Japanese Government for the welfare and well-being of the people.

Group Life Insurance

The history of group life insurance affords interesting reading. An American Insurance man, as a result of patient research, has propounded the theory that the germ of group life business was contained in the slave insurance business which was introduced in 1823. Slave insurance which was an important branch of the business in the forties and fifties of the last century included the safe conveyance, from one place to another, of the slaves whose lives were insured in a group.

The modern system of group life insurance dates from 1912 when a policy was issued to the Montgomery Ward & Co. of Chicago covering several thousands of its employees. This may truly be said to be the beginning of present-day

group-life business, for the premium was to be paid by the employer, and the coverage was offered without medical examination on a yearly term basis—the main factors that form the basis of group insurance as we understand it today

The National Industrial Conference Board recently made an enquiry of a large number of manufacturing and other companies asking them the reasons for adopting group schemes. It appears from their replies that most employees are conscious of the fact that an effective elimination of the financial worries of the machine operator decreases labour waste by increasing morale and good-will and this is the main reason for their adopting group insurance for their employees. It is no exaggeration to say that Group Insurance "makes the business relations between employer and employed closer and more permanent and it is the one form of co-operative effort whereby the employer may be of real benefit to the employee and his family.

Indian Insurance

Oriental Valuation Results

The results of the valuation of the assets and liabilities of an insurance office afford the best criterion by which to judge of its progress and solvency. The twentieth Triennial Valuation of the Oriental, the report of which has just been published, adds one more feather to the cap of this great Indian life office. The period covered by the Report has been a period of "going ahead and gaining strength." The New Business has aggregated Rs. 18¾ crores during the period compared to Rs. 17¼ crores in the period preceding. The income from premiums at Rs. 605¾ lakhs showed an increase of 26 per cent on the Premium Income of the previous triennium, and the Net Interest Income at Rs. 182¾ lakhs recorded an increase of 29 per cent. The rate of mortality continued to be favourable, the ratio of actual to expected claims being only 53 per cent as compared to 61 per cent in the previous triennium. The "death-strain", measured by the difference of the amount that the company is called upon to pay under policies becoming claims and the amount held in reserve under such policies disclosed handsome profits. The net rate of interest earned has, however, moved downwards from 5·56 per cent in 1931 to 5·20 per cent in 1933, owing to the investment of new funds at higher market values during the triennium. But on the other hand, the market value of company's investments in Stock Exchange Securities exceeded the Book values by over Rs. 266 lakhs, exclusive of the Investment Reserve of Rs. 25 lakhs. A revaluation of these securities, which was made on the basis of gross interest yield of 5 per cent, resulted in an appreciation of Rs. 52 lakhs which was taken credit for in the accounts on the express condition that the whole amount should be utilized to strengthen reserves. After this operation, the Market values were still in excess of Book values by Rs. 24 lakhs which is a sufficient guarantee for the company's continued financial stability. By so strengthening the reserves, it was possible to pass from a 3¾ per cent to a 3¼ per cent valuation basis, and a Special Contingencies Reserve of Rs. 28 lakhs could moreover be set up to maintain the present rate of bonus in the near future. Interim bonus has been declared at full rates, namely Rs. 25 per Rs. 1000 per annum on Whole Life Policies, Rs. 20 per Rs. 1000 per annum on Endowment Assurances. It is much to be appreciated that in spite of its expansion in business, the expense-ratio is being systematically brought down so that in the triennium under review, it averaged 21·36 per cent against 23·36 per cent in the triennium preceding.

A Timely Legislation

I have had occasion to refer to the growing menace of Provident Societies in India which has been proving immensely harmful and highly prejudicial to the development of true and scientific life insurance business. No effective legislation has yet been passed to check the mushroom growth of the Provident Societies which go under the flamboyant name of Insurance companies. These societies need not put up any deposit with the Government so long as they issue policies for fixed sums assured not exceeding Rs 500, with certain other restrictions as to the maximum amount of yearly premiums; nor they are required to have their affairs subjected to periodical actuarial investigations. In absence of these legal restrictions, the Provident Societies, most of them, have their own way in carrying on their business and playfully handle the savings of the unsuspecting public who soon find themselves victims of foul play. It is high time that the public should be afforded protection by bringing these societies under the purview of the Indian Life companies Act or some such legislation as may be considered adequate to deal with their activities. It may be noted in this connexion that the Jodhpur State has recently passed the Provident Societies Act which requires every Provident Society, which intends to carry on the business of life insurance within the State, to deposit Rs. 5000 as security with the State Auditor, the deposit being liable to a maximum increase of Rs. 25,000 by annual instalments. It is reported that the legislation has already achieved the desired results in a large measure.

M. G.

THE PRESENT STAGE OF INDIANIZATION

BY NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

I

THE controversy in the Assembly over the status of the new Indian officers to be turned out by the Dehra Dun Military Academy shows once again the constancy of the Government's policy where the Army is concerned. One face of this policy is never to take Indian opinion and public men into confidence, never to discuss or explain fundamental principles and motives, never to face Indian objections squarely and straightforwardly, yet always to appeal to Indians to take everything on trust and believe that nothing is being left undone to bring close at hand the day when the British commanders of the Indian Army will be happy to make over their charge to the Indian officers of an Indian national army. The other face of this policy is always and almost punctiliously to seek the legislative or administrative assent of some prominent Indians to matters of detail and thus get them to sanction by implication broader principles and policies which Indian opinion would never tolerate if the full scope and effects of these details are plainly stated.

This is exactly what is happening with the new policy of Indianization to which the last legislative touches will be given if the Army Act amending bill, now before the Assembly, passes into law. But in order to see the process clearly at work it is necessary to go back three or four years when the new policy was announced by the Commander-in-Chief as a result of the discussions at the first session of the Round Table Conference.

As is well known, the Sub-Committee No. VII of the Conference went at some length into the question of Indianization, but could not arrive at a unanimous decision on the question of the pace of Indianization. While one section of the Sub-Committee was in favour of a strong affirmation to the effect that the complete Indianization of the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army should take place within a specified period, the majority considered it impossible to lay down any definite rate of Indianization or anything of a precise character that might in any way embarrass those responsible for the defence of India and fetter the judgment or discretion of the military authorities. The difference between the views of the two sections was thus fundamental. It was therefore decided to incorporate both in the report, and at the same time the chairman of the Sub-Committee, Mr. J. H. Thomas, undertook "that when, in pursuance of the resolutions of this Sub-Commitee, expert committees were appointed these expert committees would as a matter of course take into consideration the proceedings of previous Committees and in particular the proceedings of the Military Requirements Committee of 1921 and the Committee on the Indianization of the Indian Army of 1922."

This was definitely a promise to set up an expert committee to settle the question of the pace and extent of Indianization. Unfortunately, however, the resolution which was finally adopted by the Sub-Committee (only Mr. Jinnah dissenting and wishing for a clear indication of the pace of Indianization) was disconcertingly vague, and thus, when in pursuance of this resolution the Indian Military College Committee met in May, 1931, it was found that by the terms of its reference it was only a committee appointed "to work out the details of the establishment of a college in India to train candidates for commissions in all arms of the Indian defence services," the question of the pace, extent and method of Indianization being placed entirely outside the scope of its activities. This was neither a rational nor a comfortable position for some of the Indian members of the Committee, who felt they could not make even a beginning in their specific work without a clear preliminary understanding as to the number of trained Indian officers the college would be

called on to supply, which in its turn would necessarily depend upon the pace and extent of Indianization. In the circumstances, two possible courses were open to the Committee. It could either postpone its work till another committee appointed for the purpose decided the question of the pace or discuss the wider question itself. What took place in actual fact was, however, quite different. The appointment of another committee to discuss the policy of Indianization as hinted in the Defence Sub-Committee's report ;was not contemplated. At the same time the Committee was not allowed to discuss the question. As the Commander-in-Chief argued in a minute: "the decision of all such questions rests with those responsible for the defence and safety of India, namely, His Majesty's Government on the advice of the Committee of Imperial Defence, and the Government of India on the advice of the Commander-in-Chief. These questions are not within the terms of reference, and have accordingly not been discussed by the Committee, nor dealt with in the Report." Yet inconsistently enough the leaders of Indian opinion were asked to settle the details of a scheme which when carried out into effect would commit themselves and the country to a policy of Indianization wholly unacceptable to both.

The same manœuvre is being repeated three years later. The "Bill further to amend the Indian Army Act, 1911, for certain purposes," to give it its official title, is a measure dealing with minutae of military discipline. Its full meaning would be unintelligible to any one who is not an expert on military law. But lying at the back of the whole measure is the same unsatisfactory policy of Indianization put forward by the Commander-in-Chief and forced upon the Military College Committee in 1931. The inocuous looking details of the bill are based upon principles wholly unacceptable to every shade of independent opinion in the country, and if passed into law will perpetuate trends extremely dangerous to Indian self-government. It is, therefore, perfectly legitimate to bring into the discussion the whole policy of Indianization adopted by the Government. Here again the attitude taken up by the military authorities is characteristic and illuminating. In replying to the debate on the motion to refer the bill to a select committee on July 16, Lt.-Colonel A. F. R. Lumby, the Army Secretary, said:

"If in my speech this morning I gave the impression that this Bill dealt with the policy of army administration, I must apologize to the House. What I wished to convey was that it dealt wholly and solely with discipline. The Indian Army Act is the Act which at present governs the discipline of the Viceroy's Commissioned officers, warrant officers, non-commissioned officers and other ranks of the Indian Army, and now it is proposed to include the new type of officer coming out of the Dehra Dun Academy in the Act as well. The first batch of these Indian commissioned officers will be leaving Dehra Dun at the end of the year, and it is essential that some arrangement should be made for their status and discipline."

One only wonders why the legislature which is to have no say as regards the policy of army administration, should be asked to endorse measures which will give practical effect to it.

II

Enough has been said to prove that while the Government is always seeking the co-operation of the legislature where it is compelled to do so by statutory rules, there has never been any disposition on its part to take Indians into confidence where questions of military policy are concerned. It is now time to discuss the short-comings of the scheme of Indianization adopted by the Government and the disabilities which the Indian officers will suffer under it. In doing so it would be the wiser course not to confine oneself solely to the specific provisions of the bill now under consideration but take up the policy of Indianization in force since 1931 as a whole. For, as has been explained above, the bill is a more or less restricted measure, dealing with discipline. The fundamental principles underlying it have already been decided upon by the executive authorities, and its future application to the detriment or otherwise of Indian aspirations will also depend on the wishes of the executive authorities. The real object of Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment is to limit this untrammelled freedom of the army authorities by inserting a statutory provision guaranteeing the status of the future officers of the Indian Army and thus recover some of the ground lost at the time of the discussions at the Round Table Conference and the discussions in the Indian Military College

Committee. It is therefore essential to look at the whole question from a stand-point broader than that of the amending bill now under discussion.

It is, of course, true that the plan of Indianization now being carried out by the military authorities is an advance on what went before. Even since the Mutiny, it has been one of the cardinal principles of British military policy in India that not only should Indians never be allowed to occupy positions of responsibility and power in the Army but that they should never also be taken into all its arms so that they might be able to constitute a self-contained fighting formation by themselves. The present scheme is certainly a partial abandonment of this principle inasmuch as it is now proposed to create at least one complete and self-contained Indian fighting formation. But in every other respect it falls far short of what is claimed by Indian opinion; and what is perhaps more important the scheme of Indianization now being tried would not lay the foundations for future development on the soundest and the most desirable lines.

In the first place, the pace of Indianization remains very unsatisfactory. The scheme, if fully worked out, will affect, at the end of half-a generation, only one of the four divisions constituting the Field Army in India, which in its turn comprises less than half of the total strength of the fighting troops. If the process be extended to the whole of the Indian Army, its transformation from British to Indian footing would take more than a century. But at present there is no intention of making even this fairly cautious experiment on the whole of the Army. It is confined to a small section, numbering about sixteen to seventeen thousand men.

Secondly, the scheme continues the principle of segregating the Indian officers in certain specified units and formations which was one of the worst and most unpopular features of Lord Rawlinson's proposals. This principle which has been recently condemned by so eminent an Indian soldier as General Sir George MacMunn who can by no means be described as over-sympathetic to Indian aspirations, was hit upon to avoid the difficulty of making British officers under Indians. From the very inception of the idea of Indianization about sixty years ago it was frankly recognized that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of giving commissions in the Army to Indians was what Lord Kitchener described as "the deep-seated racial repugnance to any step which brings nearer the day when Englishmen in the Army may have to take orders from Indians." The only way to avoid this eventuality was to create a separate corps for the Indian commissioned officers. As Sir George Chesney, one of the earliest advocates of giving commissions to Indians, wrote in 1868:

> "In the beginning no doubt, all that could be done is the appointment of a native, here and there, to the effective establishment of the officers of a regiment; but, in course of time, it might be expected that some regiments would be wholly officered in this way:... Let me add, in order to guard against being misunderstood, that it is not contemplated that Europeans should be called upon to serve under natives. To do so would be to create a perfectly needless difficulty."

The idea apparently took root. In 1907, Lord Morley also suggested to Lord Kitchener that a certain number of regiments should be officered chiefly by natives. But the most outspoken admission of this difficulty and a suggestion as to how to get over it, is to be found in a letter written by Lord Rawlinson just before he came out to India as Commander-in-Chief in 1920:

> "People here are frightened by this talk of 'Indianization,' and old officers say they won't send their sons out to serve under natives. I agree that the new system must be allowed to take its course, but it will require very careful watching and cannot be hurried. The only way to begin is to have certain regiments with native officers only."

There is no denying that the divisional scheme of the present Commander-in-Chief stands in line with previous policy, and that the cloven hoof of racial prejudice is still there, even if it is not wholly at the bottom of the scheme. So, it is not absolutely unwarrantable to fear that when the completely Indianized division comes into being, it will be looked upon as a poor relation, as a formation commanded by officers of an inferior caste and professional competence.

III

This impression is deepened when one takes into account two features of the scheme, connected with the principle of segregation.

They are, first, the lower rate of pay proposed to be given to the new officers, and, secondly, their relatively restriced powers of command. Both of these points deserve a few words.

As regards pay, theoretically speaking, there is no reason why a lower scale based upon a less expensive but not a less rigorous standard of education should carry with it any suggestion of inferiority. But in practice its effects are certain to be so. Money enters a good deal into the standard of values of an Englishman. For him are not the beauties of plain living and high thinking, above all when he is living in India. As an acute observer of English social life has observed, every Englishman who strives after social recognition, displays a luxurious standard of dress, diet, travelling, amusements and personal services, whether he can afford it or no, and the very first thing a social upstart can do in England is to show by an affectation of luxury that he wants to be classed as a gentleman. To deny the means of indulging in them on an equal—and possibly irrational—scale to an Indian would be to draw upon him the condescension, if not actually the contempt, of his English colleagues.

The distinction in respect of the powers of command is even more serious. Under the present scheme of Indianization and the bill which is meant to give legal sanction to it, the Indian commissioned officers will not automatically have the same powers of command over the personnel of the British Army in India such as are possessed by the British officers, but it will be left by regulations (and not by law) to the commanders to appoint the occasions on which the Indian officers may exercise these powers. This is only an application of the principle of confining Indianization to one division. But the divisional scheme when fully worked out would still have involved a serious limitation of the Indian officer's status and curtailment of his usefulness. In the existing conditions his position would be still worse. At present all the formations, *i.e.*, divisions, brigades, etc. in India are composed of British as well as Indian troops. The stations and areas of command also have an assemblage of soldiers both Indian and British. Any officer who is [illegible] by his rank to do so can now command these formations, areas or stations irrespective of the fact whether they contain Indian or British troops. But under the provisions now contemplated, the Indian officer will not be entitled to command by virtue of his rank alone and without special executive sanction any formation, area or station which may, by any chance, contain British troops. It is a serious limitation of the powers of the Indian commissioned officer, and under the stress of war when it may not prove practicable always to group Indian or British troops in exclusive formations the handicap would be still worse.

It has been sought to justify this arrangement by the argument that the Indian and British troops of the Army in India belong to two different legally constituted bodies, the British Army and the Indian Army, and therefore the laws enacted for the one cannot affect the other. This is a purely legal objection without any practical significance. Even now there are in the Army in India two bodies of officers distinguished from a technical point of view, *viz.*, Indian Army officers, and officers of the British service. They, however, equally take their chances for regimental, staff, or administrative appointments, because though distinct as regards the terms of their service, they are one from the purely military point of view. The Army in India today constitutes one unit as an instrument of war. No hard and fast distinction can be made in the powers of command of the bodies of officers who lead it without destroying this unity and giving to India two armies instead of one it has today.

This, however, seems exactly to be the end contemplated by the policy of Indianization now being followed by the military authorities. The deliberateness with which a distinct status is being conferred on the Indian commissioned officers, and the unwillingness which the Government spokesmen display to state their real motives show the bill to be the part of a well-considered and far-reaching plan of whose goal the army authorities are perfectly conscious. This end is, as has been already stated, to create two distinct armies in India, one to be composed solely of Indians commanded by Indians, and the other consisting of both British and Indian personnel to be absolutely under the control of Imperial military authorities.

Everything in the recent trends of army organization both in England and India points towards such a splitting up of the Army in India. The segregation of Indian officers in one particular formation, which was originally advocated as a solution of the difficulty of placing British officers under Indians, has now become necessary in the interests of Imperial strategy. The altered defensive requirements of the British Empire after the War imperatively demanded that an efficient and powerful military force should be stationed in the East to protect British interests and to serve, if necessary, as an expeditionery force, and also that it should be under the absolute control of the Imperial military authorities without any constitutional limitations which might possibly restrict its unfettered employment. Neither the constitutional position nor the resources of the Dominions of Australia and New Zealand permitted their use for this object. The choice, therefore, fell on India, in whose favour it was an additional argument that the cost of maintaining such an army would not fall on the British tax-payer.

This in itself would have been an absolute bar to the Indianization of any part of the Army in India, had not insistent claims and previous political undertakings made the position of the military authorities extremely uncomfortable. So, they have obviously hit upon a device to solve the problem by dividing the Army in India into two parts—one to be composed entirely of Indians and employed for local defence, the other to be an Imperial army under even stricter Imperial control. The scheme of transforming one complete division to Indian footing and the Imperial contribution to the cost of Indian defence, both of which have been offered to India, and are acclaimed by some, as great concessions, are only steps towards that end. Though it is by no means possible that Indian resistance would have effectively killed them, both these proposals should have been opposed by Indian opinion long ago. Now, the policy underlying them is in full swing and makes the rejection of Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment inevitable.

NOTE—For the convenience of readers a portion of the note of dissent of Sir Abdur Rahim and four of his colleagues on the Select Committee is reproduced below:

"It has been made clear in the Note under clause 12 that, so far as command of the Indian Army personnel is concerned, the status and opportunities of the Indian commissioned officers will in no way be inferior to that of "British" officers....But in respect of command of mixed formations and in relation to British personnel of the British Army in India, there will be a difference in the prospects of the two classes of officers as pointed out in the Report. The Indian commissioned officer will not automatically have the same powers of command in relation to the British personnel of the British Army in India such as are possessed by "British" officers, but it will be left to the commanders "to appoint the occasions" in which Indian commissioned officers may exercise such powers of command. This distinction has, in our opinion, a serious significance in the Defence Policy of India, apart from the practical difficulties which it is likely to give rise to in the Army administration as well as in actual operations. If this be the inevitable result of an Indian commission, it only tends to confirm the belief which is widely prevalent in the country that the position of Indian commissioned officers will be something intermediate between the Viceroy's commissioned officers and the "British" officers and more or less analogous to that of the officers of the Provincial Civil Service in the civil administration, their chance of attaining a higher command will be like the prospect of a Provincial officer obtaining a District charge, or rather will be confined to occasions. Another anomally in the position of this new class of officers which, we happened to discover in the course of discussion in the Select Committee, is that even if they are in command, they will not be eligible to sit in a Court Martial on a British soldier.

Granted the necessity of a self-contained Indian Army Act, with the necessary regulations and rules, we fail to see why an Indian commission should necessarily be of a more limited scope than the commission which an officer from Sandhurst or Woolwich holds. The assumption throughout has been that the Military College in India would be a replica of Sandhurst and Woolwich and it will be a great disappointment to the Indian public if the graduates of the Dehra Dun Academy are accorded a status inferior in any way to that of the graduates of the British Military Colleges.

We suggest that a statutory provision be inserted in the Indian Army Act laying down the general principle that the status and opportunities for promotion, the powers of command, rank and precedence of Indian commissioned officers in the Indian Army will be the same as those of "British" officers in the Indian Army in all units and formations."

August 27, 1934.

ART IN ORISSA

The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts of August 17, 1934 contains a detailed account of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda's lecture on "Art in Orissa" delivered in a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts. In introducing the lecturer Sir Edward Gait, the Chairman of the meeting, said that

"the Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda was for many years a member of the Archaeological Survey of India and had taken part in the excavation of Taxila and other ancient sites. About 12 years ago he was deputed to explore Khiching and other little-known sites in Mayurbhanj, and this afternoon he was going to speak about the art of the mediæval temples of Orissa on the basis of his experience there and in other parts of the Province."



Vajrapani from Nalatigiri
Indian Museum, Calcutta

The lecture was illuminating, and highly appreciated by the distinguished audience present. In it Mr. Chanda gave a detailed comparative critique of the sculptural groups in Orissa of which the following summary is given:

THE INDO-ARYAN SCHOOL OF BRAHMANIC ART

In mediæval India, that is to say, in India in the period beginning from the fifth century to the thirteenth century A.D., there flourished two great schools of sculpture. From the beginning of the Christian era, or from a time a little earlier, the sculptors of Mathura and Gandhara began to carve images of the Buddha and the Jinas.···The images of the Buddha and the Jinas produced in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era at Mathura in the posture of *yoga* are blank in expression.···From about the beginning of the second century A.D. the Buddhists, and probably also the Jains, of Central and Eastern India, began to import images of Gautama Buddha and the Jinas from Mathura, and from the fourth century local artists of these areas began to carve such images themselves. By the fifth century A.D. the Buddhist art reached its culmination, not only at Mathura, but also in other parts of Northern India. Indian sculptors began to carve Brahmanic images about the same time. The most typical among the surviving Brahmanic sculptures of the Gupta period are the three sculptured panels of a temple at Deogarh (about 600 A.D.) in the Jhansi district in the United Provinces.···These three panels are the works of a master who had not only clear conception of forms in the round but also of co-ordination of forms. . . .

JAJPUR MOTHERS

In the post-Gupta period the Indo-Aryan artists appear to have undertaken the task of restoring balance between the spiritual and the formal elements. Among the provincial schools of sculpture that gradually emerged in different parts of the Northern India in the eighth century A.D. perhaps the most vigorous was the school of Orissa. As Orissa is cut up in smaller divisions, more or less isolated by intervening hills and forests, there arose in course of time minor local schools of art with distinct individual traits. Four such schools, one at Jajpur, a second in the Cuttack hill tracts, the third in Southern Orissa including Bhuvanesvar, Puri and Konarak, and a fourth in Mayurbhanj, may be clearly distinguished. . . .

As becomes a holy place dedicated to Durga, the most remarkable among these sculptures are the images of the mother goddesses. The mother goddesses are seven in number. Two of these are animal-headed—one having the head of a pig and the other that of a lioness. The other five mothers have regular female form; one of these is four-headed, and each of the rest has one head only. At present relics of two sets

of seven mothers survive at Jajpur. Of the first set, consisting of colossal figures, only two, Vārāhi and Indrāni, survive. There was another set of life-size figures of the mothers, five of which are now installed in a modern shrine on the Baitarani. All these images are carved of chlorite schist, a material that lends itself to delicate treatment of the surface.···

The Mahayana Remains of the Cuttack Hills

In the eighth century A. D. a line of Buddhist kings belonging to the Bhauma dynasty, which probably originated in Kamrupa (Assam), ruled over Utkala (Northern Orissa). Extensive Mahāyāna Buddhist remains dating from the same century are found on three of the hills in the Cuttack District—the Nalatigiri, the Udayagiri and the Ratanagiri. The absence of carved building stones on the ruins indicates that the temples were simple in design with otherwise bare walls decorated by superb images of the Mahāyāna gods and goddesses fixed in niches. An unfinished temple on the Nalatigiri rebuilt with old materials later on enables us to form an idea of the original position of the sculptures. The most notable remains on the three hills are the over life-size images of the Mahayāna Buddhist gods and goddesses. . . .

Bhuvanesvar and Konarak

At Bhuvanesvar there are still in existence a large group of magnificent temples of Siva, including a few dedicated to Vishnu, that date from the ninth to the twelfth century A. D. These temples are richly decorated with pilasters, geometrical designs and scroll works animated by figures of animals and human and divine beings. These sculptures are subordinated to the scheme of decoration, and, in most cases, carved on the building stones after the erection of the structure of the building. The Lingaraja, dating from about 1000 A.D., is the largest of these temples, and bas-reliefs in its panels are of considerable size. These reliefs show vitality and comprehension of plastic form. . . .

The Southern school of Orissan art survived till about the middle of the thirteenth century when King Narasimha I caused the great temple of the sun-god to be erected at Konarak. As the existing remains, including the *mandapa* (porch), show, the temple was much larger than even the Lingaraj, and the decorative sculptures were on a larger scale. Purely decorative sculptures, including male and female figures and animals, are of decomposed khondalite and show dramatic vigour...

The Great Temple of Khiching

Like the temples of Orissa proper, this great temple of Khiching was Indo-Aryan (Nagara) in style ; the sculptures that embellished it were Indo-Aryan in spirit ; and the carvings on its stones were Orissan in pattern. But the donor (whom I should like to identify with Satrubhanja) who dedicated the temple, and the sculptor who designed the scheme of decoration and carved the images, followed independent lines in all other respects. Unlike the temples of Siva at Bhuvanesvara, probably unlike all other temples of Siva at Khiching, this great temple enshrined an over life-size image of Siva, and not the



Siva at Khiching

phallic emblem of that deity. Some fragments of this cult image have been recovered from the debris and pieced together and installed in the local museum established by the present Mahārājā of Mayurbhanj. The main figure of this composition, the cult image of Siva, is not very satisfactory as a work of art. But the pair of attendant female figures show superior workmanship. Though bending a plant with one hand and plucking a flower with another, they are both absorbed in meditation. Their graceful bodies are suggestive of feeling for the round. The bull on the base, though in relief, is

conceived in the round and his body is palpitating with life. Indian convention required that in carving images consisting of the god or goddess with attendant figures the subordinate position of the latter in the composition should be indicated by their smaller size. In such compositions usually little freedom of movement is allowed to the subordinate figures. But in this image of Siva the two attendant females and the bull show considerable freedom of movement.

Images of different forms of Siva in standing posture were installed in the main niches of the great temple of Khiching instead of the images of Durgī, Kārttikeya and Ganesha, invariably found in the niches of the temples of Siva at Bhuvanesvar. ...

The images of the dancing Siva and of Durgā were installed in the smaller niches of the temple. The dancing Siva of Khiching, even in its present mutilated condition, appears to be one of the best specimens of the type that has come down to us in the Indo-Aryan world including the colossal dancing Siva in a niche of the great cave temple of Elephanta. . . .

So far, I have dealt with the formal meaning of some of the mediaeval Brahmanic and Mahayana Buddhist sculptures from Orissa. But it is their striking psychological meaning that gives Indo-Aryan sculptures a very prominent place among the works of man. I have repeatedly pointed out the lack of harmony between the facial expression and the gesture and movement of the limbs of these sculptures. But this facial expression has a deep psychological meaning. It rouses our spirit of dispassionate contemplation, *dhyāna*, and nothing can promote peace and equanimity better than *dhyāna* or *jhāna*.

In the discussion that followed Mr. R. L. Hobson (British Museum) said :

"It must be a very rare occurrance to have a lecture on Indian sculpture by such a pioneer of excavation, and the Society were to be congratulated on obtaining the Rai Bahadur while in this country. Also he would like to add a personal word of thanks to him for the work which he had done at the British Museum. He had been spending his time in the Indian Gallery working through the sculptures very thoroughly and had left behind his notes, which would be very useful. He was sure the audience would be interested to know that the Rai Bahadur contemplated publishing an illustrated monograph on the Indian sculptures in the British Museum quite soon."

Regarding the subject-matter of the lecture Mr. Hargreaves (late Director-General of Archæology in India) remarked :

"Hitherto archæologists had devoted their attention principally to the identification of images and their classification into schools, but that the Rai Bahadur had in this lecture drawn attention to their artistic qualities."



THE HEAD OF SHIVA

This is a novel fountain design done by Mr. Sudhir R. Khastgir, the young sculptor-artist of Bengal. This fountain design is erected in the front garden of Scindia (public) School. Fort. Gowalior.

NOTES

The Congress Nationalist Party

In previous issues, before the announcement of the Nationalist Conference, we have commented upon the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the White Paper and the Communal Decision. We have shown that the Committee, by neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Decision while at the same time condemning it, has adopted an illogical, inconsistent, un-national, if not anti-national, and undemocratic attitude. It has been a departure from the principles for which the Congress has all along stood. Therefore, a party was required which would stand for those principles. Such a party has come into existence under the name of the Congress Nationalist Party.

The need of such a party was felt by many distinguished men. Sir P. C. Ray has never been an active politician, though he has been known to be an ardent patriot and a thorough-going nationalist. As chairman of the reception committee of the Nationalist Conference he said that "when the very foundations of nationalism were being threatened by surrender to diplomatic opportunism, Bengal would not shirk her opportunity." He proceeded to observe :

> Friends, there will be men here and there who may go about misleading our people and telling them that the present move is a revolt against the Congress organization. Let me assure you, and here I have the backing of a solid majority of Bengal Congressmen, that it is nothing of the kind, and it is rather a move for the rehabilitation of Congress principles and the restoration of Congress prestige. The Working Committee of the Congress raises its battle-cry against the reactionary constitution outlined in the White Paper but adopts an attitude of neutrality in a matter like the so-called Communal 'Award—a decision of the British Government which is calculated to divide India into perpetually warring communal camps. The resolution of the Congress Working Committee on this point marks a striking departure from the principles laid down by the Congress in 1931 and is nothing but a surrender to a short-sighted policy of expediency. And I have very grave doubts in my mind as to whether this resolution can be justified even on the ground of expediency. If we are to be true to ourselves, we cannot give the go-by to the principle of joint electorates, which alone can unite India and raise her to real nationhood. The number of seats allotted to a community is, to my mind, a matter of secondary importance and I would urge you to avoid a clouding of issues by raising a controversy over this question.

The speaker wanted the new organization to be a party within the Congress, and hence said :

> Friends, I should be failing in my duty if I were not to remind you that this Conference has been convened by tried Congressmen and that it ought not to make any move which may split the great organization built up by the life-blood and the heroic sacrifices and sufferings of our countrymen. And I do hope and trust the Nationalist Party which is going to be formed today will be a party within the sheltering bosom of the Indian National Congress, a party which by its fiery zeal and enthusiasm, by its fearless championing of truth, by its uncompromising rejection of weak-kneed compromises, purge the Congress of all wavering and half-hearted tactics and raise once more the National Institution to its position of undisputed authority in the country.

According to the desire expressed by Sir P. C. Ray and by all those Congressmen who wanted to become members of the new party, it has been made an organization within the Congress and named the Congress Nationalist Party. We would have preferred the name "Nationalist Party." But we are not sticklers for names. The object and principles of a party are what matter most.

In his reasoned speech Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also, like Acharya Ray, said :

It has now become necessary to organise a party in order that the Congress may be placed on its pristine glory and its former strength and serve the country on all the nationalistic lines it had indicated.

Messrs. Malaviya and Aney had tried to avoid a split. But their attempt was unsuccessful. The Pandit said :—

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the question of the so-called Communal Award was the cause of this dissension. When that resolution was framed Mr. Aney and he objected to certain portions of it. They had failed to convince their colleagues in the Working Committee of the force of their objections. About a month and a half passed in considering the matter as to whether it would be possible to come to an understanding. But they had failed. He and Mr. Aney wanted that the Congressmen should be allowed to vote on the Communal Award according to the mandate of their constituency. They suggested that freedom might be given to candidates who were elected on Congress tickets to vote on the Communal Award in this manner. But that was not done. Next they suggested that every one elected on Congress ticket should be given freedom to vote according to his own conviction. These were the proposals they put forward before the Working Committee for their consideration. Were these proposals unreasonable ? But these were not accepted. Of course the members of the Working Committee were good enough to allow him and Mr. Aney the freedom to vote according to their own conviction. The members of the Working Committee said that others might also be given the same freedom, if the Committee were satisfied that those people had genuine grievance against the Communal Award. But they did not consider this proposal of the Committee to be fair, because they felt that to put a ban on the Congressmen not to speak against the Communal Award, when they felt very strongly against it was wholly unfair.

What was wanted was, *not* that a few *select* persons should be *conceded* the right to vote according to their convictions against the Communal Decision which the Committee itself has condemned, but that all Congressmen should have freedom to work against it both within and outside the legislature. That freedom the Committee did not and would not give. Hence the formation of the new party.

The Congress and The Congress Nationalist Party

It has been pointed out in the manifesto of the Congress Nationalist Party that the object of the party is the same as that of the Indian National Congress, namely, the attainment of complete independence by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means. In the pursuit of this object, it will strive its utmost to strengthen among the people of India—

(1) the habit of looking at and deciding public questions from the point of view of true nationalism which would serve the best and the largest interests of the country as a whole ;

(2) an active desire for communal unity, based on reason and justice, with a view to arrive at a communal settlement between the various communities on the basis of joint electorates which the best and the most far-sighted leaders of Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Christians, Parsees, etc., have advocated and pressed for ;

(3) a determination to fight the most retrograde and obnoxious proposals for constitutional reform contained in the White Paper including the Communal Award, and

(4) to prepare the people for a country-wide movement for the establishment of Swaraj at the earliest possible date ; also

(5) to help to convene at an early date a National Convention which will draw up a constitution for the country based on an agreed solution of the communal problem.

Inside the legislature also the Party will work for the fulfilment of this programme, and, besides opposing the White Paper and the Communal Decision, will take every step possible to expedite the establishment of Swaraj or full responsible government. The Party will promote every measure calculated to advance the interests of the people in all the departments of national life and activity and will oppose every measure designed to injure these interests in any manner whatsoever.

The question before the voters, therefore, will be quite a simple one. As between the candidates set up by the Congress Parliamentary Board and those set up by the Nationalist Party, the only difference will be that while both will generally press and fight for the same political programme, the former will be compelled by the decision of the Working Committee to remain neutral regarding the Communal Decision while the latter, *i. e.*, members of the Congress Nationalist Party, will oppose it tooth and nail. The success of a Nationalist Party candidate will mean that the electors are opposed to the provisions of the Communal Award and that they support the principles and policy pursued by the Congress until that policy was unfortunately departed from by the present Working Committee in June last at Bombay.

It has been contended, therefore, that the difference between the Indian National Congress as represented by its official executive body, the Working Committee, and the new party, lies only in their respective attitudes towards the Communal Decision.

It is perhaps not yet possible to say definitely whether between the two there is any difference as regards their attitudes towards untouchability and legislation in relation to what are called religious and socio-religious matters. In the course of his concluding speech at the Conference on the 19th August

last, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is reported to have stated :

> Personally he was of opinion, that there should be no legislative interference in religious matters though he had every sympathy with his friends of the depressed classes in the matter of having free entrance into the temples for 'darshan.' But there were others in the Conference who thought otherwise and wanted to change that portion of the manifesto. They had discussed the matter but had not been able to come to any final conclusion.

Probably Mahatma Gandhi and his strict followers also do not want legislative interference in *all* "religious" matters. And nobody has strictly defined the full import of the word "religious" in this connection. We are not aware whether Mahatmaji (who *is* the 'official' Congress in a sense) and his followers mean by the right of temple-entry anything more than 'free entrance into temples for *darshan*.' In Bengal, in various places, in *sarvajanin* (*i. e*, practically, all-caste) Durga-puja, Sarasvati-puja, etc , persons of all castes worship the goddesses and cook the food to be offered to them just as the Brahmin priests do, and all take part in serving the dinner and dine together. We do not know whether Mahatmaji is for giving the Harijans the same rights of touching and worshipping the idols as the Brahmins possess. As regards inter-dining he has said that it does not form part of the anti-untouchability movement. Inter-caste marriage also does not form part of the movement. Personally, of course, he "inter-dines" and has also taken part in inter-caste marriages. Malaviyaji is not in favour of inter-dining or of inter-marriage. But the Congress Nationalist Party is not bound by the Pandit's personal opinions. As regards the use of public schools, roads, etc., he is fully in favour of Harijans having the same rights as "caste-Hindus." He would not also oppose legislation against the *devadasi* system and other such immoral and pernicious customs. But as regards the Congress Nationalist Party one must not think that the opinions of Malaviyaji are those of the party as a whole in all matters, though in the *official* Congress organization the opinions of Mahatmaji are considered sacred and it is regarded as almost sacrilegious not to accept them. To illustrate the difference between the leaders and followers of the two parties, we may say that the original intention of Malaviyaji was to form a party independent of the Congress, though certainly including Congressmen as perhaps the majority of its members. But he agreed to call the party the Congress Nationalist Party, because he found that to be the prevailing opinion among those who intended to join and have actually joined the party.

Untouchability and various other socio-religious matters have a very important bearing on our politics, but they are not *political* matters in the strict sense of that expression. And even Mahatmaji did not of his own motion include untouchability in the Congress programme from the beginning of his connection with and leadership of the Congress. When he did it, he did so at the instance of Mr. V. R. Shinde, a religious worker and social reformer of Bombay.

So it may be said that, so far as politics in the strict sense are concerned, the object and position of the two bodies are the same.

Rabindranath Tagore on the Communal Problem

On the occasion of the Congress Nationalist Conference the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, sent Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya a telegram and a letter. Both were read at the meeting and published in Calcutta. But in the dailies published in provinces other than Bengal that we have seen, only the letter has been published, not the telegram. We do not know how this omission has occurred. The telegram is printed below.

> You all know that I have always disapproved of the Communal Award. I hope our leaders will join their forces to save from its paralysing grip the political integrity of the nation.

The letter runs :

> My dear Panditji,
>
> I address this to Mahomedans as well as Hindus with the most sincere desire for the good of all sections of the community. I urge that Hindus and Mahommedans should sit together dispassionately to consider the Communal Award and its implications to arrive at an agreed solution of the communal problem. It is needless to point out that self-government cannot be based on communal divisions, and separate electorate. No responsible system of government can be possible without mutual understanding of our communities

and united representations at legislatures. We must concentrate all our forces to evolve a better understanding and co-operation between different sections of our people and thus lay a solid foundation for social and political reconstruction of our Motherland. I deprecate all expressions of angry feelings and most strongly appeal to Hindus and Musalmans to avoid saying and doing anything that may increase communal tension and further postpone the understanding between our communities without which there can be no peaceful progress in our country.

Congress Nationalist Party and Non-Congressmen

Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt moved the following resolution at the Conference :

> That a party to be called the Congress Nationalist Party be constituted with the object of carrying on agitation against the Communal Award and the White Paper both in the legislature and outside and of setting up candidates for election to the Legislative Assembly for the promotion of that object.
>
> That every Congressman who subscribes to that object of the party as defined above shall be eligible as a member of the Party.
>
> Candidates for election to the legislature shall be selected from among Congressmen, who are members of the party. In special cases the Party may support a nationalist as a candidate for election to the legislature who subscribes to the object of the Party and agrees to abide by its rules in the legislature.

The last sentence in the resolution has been adversely commented upon by critics of the Congress Nationalist Party. They obviously appear to think that a party which prefixes the word "Congress" to its name ought not to back candidates who have not hitherto been Congressmen. Not being habituated to think along party lines, we do not attach extreme importance to the party-names by which men may be known ; we think it is better to judge them by their principles and opinions. If a person subscribes to the object of the party, which is the same in the main as that of the Congress, and agrees to abide by its rules in the legislature, he becomes really, if not in name, as much a Congressman as members of the Congress Nationalist Party are. Besides, if the Congress can enlist new members, why cannot the new party do so in this way ? Moreover, it should be remembered that Messrs. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Nalini Ranjan Sarker and Akhil Chandra Dutt were backed up in their candidature for the Bengal Council by the Swarajya Party leader Mr. C. R. Das before they had become Congressmen—they became Congressmen afterwards.

Right to Use "Congress" Name

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has objected that the new party is not entitled to use the name *Congress* Nationalist Party. But the name "Congress" is not like names that are registered as trade-marks, patented inventions, etc. If some Congressmen who are now in possession of the machinery of the Congress can use it, other Congressmen certainly have the right to use the word Congress in combination with other words in order to clearly show that they are not the official body known as the Congress. No one can or will mistake the one for the other. The party popularly known as the Swarajya Party was named the Congress Khilafat Swarajya Party without any objection being raised. There is a Congress Socialist Party. No objection was raised to this name either. Sardar Patel suggests that the new party may call itself the Nationalist Party of Congressmen. But we do not find any substantial difference between the two names.

If the Roman Catholics, who were perhaps the earliest organized body of Christians, said that the Protestants had no right to call themselves Protestant Christians or Christian Protestants, if Trinitarian Christians objected to Unitarian Christians calling themselves by that name, if Sanatanists objected to Hindu Mahasabhaites calling themselves Hindus, if Sunnis objected to Shiahs calling themselves Muslims—all these objections would be somewhat similar to Sardar Patel's objection.

"Agreed Solution" and "Government Interference"

It has been said that whereas the Congress wants to replace the Communal Decision by an agreed solution, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his party want to get rid of the Communal Decision by appealing to the British Government or through its instrumentality. This is not a correct description of the position. By its attitude of non-acceptance and non-rejection of the Communal Decision of the British Government, the

Congress gives it some quarter. The new party, by its programme of fighting the Decision in and outside the legislature, does not give it any quarter at all.

Both by deed and word, before and after the holding of the Conference, Pandit Malaviya has shown that he is at least as much for an agreed solution of the communal problem as anybody else. We do not know that anybody has worked harder than or as hard as he, more earnestly than or as earnestly as he, in connection with the Unity Conferences in recent years. The failure of the conferences was due to Sir Samuel Hoare's making higher bids for Muslims' allegiance. The Nationalist Party's programme includes the arriving at a communal settlement as one of the items.

As regards Government's possible final rôle in the Communal settlement, neither the Congress nor the Congress Nationalist Party are likely to be able to effect the settlement without the agency or instrumentality of the Government. Neither the Congress nor the Congress Nationalist Party have at present any revolutionary aims. Neither can or do say, "When we arrive at an agreed solution, we will give effect to it ourselves, because then the Government will be *non est*, or paralysed, or superseded." When either or both have arrived at an agreed solution, they will have to say to the British Government in effect : "You said that the Communal Decision could be replaced only by an agreed solution. Here is the agreed solution. Accept it and give effect to it." If then that Government does not honour its pledge, the people of India must think of some other means of giving effect to its will.

So far as we are concerned, we could not live if we had no hopes of India's ultimate freedom. But we must say that we do not believe that there can be any agreed settlement of the communal problem so long as there is selfish British domination, so long as there exists its effective power to bestow "favours" (let us call them such), and so long as there are major parties or there is a major party to accept these "favours" and refrain from taking part in a united national struggle for freedom.

Constituent Assembly and National Convention

Congressmen are saying that their proposed constituent assembly is a better means of registering the people's will and obtaining a desirable constitution framed by the people than the Congress Nationalist Party's proposed national convention. As the object of both the gatherings is the same and as we care more for realities than for mere names, we cannot give preference to either as a nostrum for curing the National Malady. Both the parties seem to take it for granted that the British Government will be very obliging, will give them all facilities for calling a thoroughly representative popular gathering, and then immolate itself at the altar of the Indian National Will. But, perhaps because we are arm-chair politicians, we are unable to make any such assumption.

A Hope and A Resolution

We should rejoice if all Congressmen were united on one common platform and worked together in harmony for the liberation of India. The Congress brought to the nation new hope, new faith, new courage to dare and suffer and sacrifice. May it do so again.

If the All-India Congress Committee met early and revised and reversed the decision of the Working Committee on the so-called Communal Award, the two parties could then coalesce at once. The Congress Nationalist Conference has adopted a resolution requesting the Congress Working Committee to convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee with a view to revising its decision on the so-called Communal Award. Will it do so? If it does not, or if after it has done so, the All-India Congress Committee refuses to interfere, there will be left the last hope of the Indian National Congress in full session assembled in Bombay reversing the decision of the Working Committee. As Malaviyaji has said, "If the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Communal Award was reconsidered at the coming session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay, it would be a happy day for India."

Hindu Mahasabha and the New Party

The Congress Nationalist Party, as the very name indicates, is not a party which takes members only from any particular religious community. It has nothing to do with the Hindu Mahasabha. Bhai Parmanand, the president of the Hindu Mahasabha, attended the conference, as some leading Liberals also did, but has not become a member of the party. Maulvi Abdus Samad, M. L. C., the genuine and staunch nationalist of Murshidabad, who seconded the Conference resolution on the Communal Decision, has become a member of the party and has agreed to serve on its working committee. Its selection board will have Christian and Sikh members also.

Congress Working Committee's Hope

The Congress Working Committee's attitude of neutrality towards the Communal Decision was evidently due to its hope that that will make Muslims friendly to the Congress and lead many of them to join it and also lead Muslim voters to cast their votes in favour of Muslim candidates who are Congressmen. As regards the hope concerning voting, the time has not yet come to judge whether it has been fulfilled. But judging by the pronouncements of Muslim leaders and rank and file, it does not appear that they at all like the Congress Working Committee's resolution. It is quite clear that, barring a very few exceptions (big "Nationalists" like Dr. Ansari not being among them), all articulate Muslims like the Communal Decision. So they laugh at the Congress condemnation of it *cum* neutrality about it *cum* the desire to replace and get rid of it by an agreed solution to be arrived at by means of a Constituent Assembly. If the Congress Working Committee had not pronounced any opinion against the communal decision, had not spoken of neither accepting nor rejecting it, but had accepted it, and had not expressed a desire to replace it by an agreed solution, then the Moslem public might have praised the Congress. But even then, we are afraid, the Congress would not have been able to enlist an appreciable number of Muslim fighters for the country's freedom under the Congress banner. If the Congress Working Committee rescinds that part of its resolution which relates to the Communal Decision and inserts in its place a full-throated approval of the Decision, and can thereby get good Muslim fighters for freedom under the Congress flag, we shall unreservedly admit our mistake. Let the Congress make the experiment.

We do believe that there are genuine Muslim nationalists, though their number is small. Their adherence to the cause of freedom is worth more than the adherence to the Congress of those who at one time outdid the Hindus in condemnation of the Communal Decision but who later became and prevailed upon the Congress to become non-acceptance- and non-rejection-walas.

Adherence to Principles, or Partisanship

It has been said that if the Congress had rejected the Communal Decision, it would have been partisanship; for Muslims in general seem to like it. Now, in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee the Communal Decision is a bad thing—it goes against Congress principles. So it comes to this that it is partisanship to reject a bad thing, if some people like that bad thing!

But let it be granted. Is it only the rejection that would have amounted to partisanship? The condemnation of the bad thing—we mean the communal decision—is not partisanship!

What Led to Congress Decision on Communal "Award"

The Mahratta (August 19, 1934) writes:—

What made the Working Committee of the Congress and the Parliamentary Board to adopt the illogical, indecisive and anti-national attitude towards the Communal Award?

From private advices received from London, we are in a position to state that H. H. the Aga Khan has a great deal to do with it.

It was known in England and on the Continent that the Joint Parliamentary Committee, at any rate, some members of it, appreciated the injustice done to Hindus and Sikhs by an undue pampering of the Muslims and Sir Samuel Hoare informed the Aga Khan that in order to save the Award for the Muslims as it is, he must see that even Congress did not adopt an adverse attitude towards it.

The Aga Khan communicated to Dr. Ansari these developments and, it would appear, succeeded in persuading him to give up his former position of complete opposition to the Communal Award and

adopt the nebulous formula of neither accepting nor rejecting the Award. This explains Dr. Ansari's inspiring the present attitude of the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board.

We have seen that despite the lukewarm attitude of Congress, the non-Nationalist Muslims have not been won over and they are going to contest Assembly Elections in opposition to Congress.

If the story is true, what a light it throws on Muslim Nationalism and the Congress leaders who are wooing it!

The London Correspondent of the Daily *Sun* wired to that paper on August 16, that frequent conferences between the Aga Khan and Mr. Jinnah, who is in Europe, were taking place.

The subject-matter of these conferences was of course the fear that the Joint Parliamentary Committee might say something by way of modifying the Communal Award so as to disfavour the Muslims unless the Muslims stood by the White Paper intact.

Sir Samuel Hoare's threat to this effect is said to be accompanied with the offer of two Governorships one to Mr. Jinnah and another to a Hindu.

It may be mentioned here that there is still no candidate for the Muslim seat from Bombay Mr. Jinnah is still undecided and until Mr. Jinnah decides, the Congress Parliamentary Board also will remain undecided as he must be accommodated to please Nationalist Muslims!

The italics are *The Mahratta's* throughout. We do not, of course, know what its source of information is.

Muslim Parties, and White Paper and Communal Decision

The All-India Muslim League and All-India Muslim Conference are high-sounding names. But there have been occasions when this big-sounding body or that could not bring together even 75 Muslims out of as many millions of them in India. It is not known how many of them have been speaking in the name of Muslim All-India on recent occasions. But both the above bodies have of late combined to support the White Paper and the so-called communal award. That perhaps represents the sincere opinion of the Moslem public. But no. Here comes the All-India Muslim Unity Board, which at its Lucknow meeting last month (August 21, 1934) passed certain resolutions. It is not known whom this Unity Board has united, nor whether it is more representative in character than the All-India Muslim League and All-India Muslim Conference. The following message, published in *The Mussalman* of August 24, gives the gist of its resolutions :—

Lucknow, Aug. 21.

After three days' protracted deliberations the Muslim Unity Board passed resolutions rejecting the White Paper *in toto*. As regards the Communal Award the Board reiterated that it can be substituted only by an agreed settlement amongst different communities. It also declared the names of Assembly candidates from various provinces and drafted the election manifesto.

"Rejecting the White Paper *in toto*" means rejection of the so-called communal award also, for part of the White Paper is based upon and includes that "award." But the Unity Board has a very soft corner in its heart for that "award," and pleads that "it can be substituted only by an agreed settlement amongst different communities." That is the Unity Board's *fatwa* for its *substitution*, but for its temporary-permanent *acceptance* evidently no "agreed settlement amongst different communities" is necessary. That the Muslims have agreed to accept it temporarily-permanently is enough, it being of no importance at all that the Hindus and the Sikhs, for example, have condemned it in unequivocal language.

There is another Muslim organization, called the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Delhi. We do not know whom it represents.

Maulana Ahmad Saeed, Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Delhi, says, "The Jamiat at first decided not to contest the elections. But receiving invitation from the Board to join its forces for fighting the ensuing election, its Council met at Muradabad where it decided to co-operate with the Board, subject to the Board's incorporating certain conditions in the election manifesto. The Board has failed to satisfy the condition, and so the Jamiat will not co-operate with the Board in the election issue only."—*The Mussalman.*

The support given by the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference to the White Paper and the Communal Decision has been referred to above. The relevant resolution passed at Simla by the working committee of the latter and agreed to in substance by the council of the former is given below.

As in fact certain public bodies and persons are seeking to reject the communal award directly or indirectly, this meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference reiterates its conviction that, although such of the Muslim demands as are embodied in the communal award and the White Paper are inadequate to afford that measure of protection to the Muslim community which the existing condition of the country warrants and which had been urged by the Conference from time to time, any modification in the

provisions thereof affecting these Muslim safe-guards, without the consent of the Mussalmans, will render any constitution wholly unacceptable to the Muslim community.

The joint election manifesto of the Muslim Conference and the Muslim League, the major portion of which is printed below, makes their opinions clearer still.

On the one hand, the Hindu Mahasabha is bent upon destroying the Communal Award and is leaving no stone unturned to attain that object. On the other hand, the Congress, in order to enlist the sympathy of the Muslim community, professes neither to accept nor reject the Communal Award. Yet it is trying to destroy it by having the White Paper rejected *in toto*, as it claims that with the rejection of the White Paper the Communal Award must automatically lapse.

Therefore, the Muslim electorates should vote only for such candidates as subscribe to the principles and policy of the All-India Muslim Conference or the All-India Muslim League and have won the community's confidence by consistently supporting in the past the principles and policy mentioned above, including in particular (a) the Communal Award and separate electorates (b) the safe-guards demanded by the Muslims in the new constitution; and (c) adequate representation of Muslims in the services by special reservations for them.

Each candidate should sign the pledge given below. Any candidate who signs the pledge should be supported in preference to any candidate who has not signed it, whether set up by any other organization or not. For maintaining our solidarity it is in the highest degree essential that the Muslim public should strongly oppose any candidate who does not comply with the conditions mentioned above.

We appeal to the Muslim voters throughout India to send to the legislatures only such representatives as comply with the above conditions.

The pledge is as follows:--

"I do hereby pledge myself to (a) accept the creed, aims and objects of the All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Muslim League; (b) to stand by the Communal Award and separate electorates, as well as by the safe-guards demanded by the Muslim community and the adequate representation of Muslims in the services; (c) to vote with the majority of the elected Muslim members in the legislatures in all matters affecting the interests of the Muslim community, (d) to work for the modification and improvement of the proposed constitution with a view to securing responsible government suitable for India."

Clause (d) of the pledge shows that the Conference and the League have perceived that the White Paper constitution is a sort of invitation to the people of India to a Barmecide feast in which there is everything else but the food—plenty of checks, counter-checks, safe-guards and officers and parliamentary paraphernalia, but no transference of real power to the people. And as unfortunately the Mussalman Indians *are* Indians, they also get no power, though they get plenty of seats in the legislatures. So the League and the Conference want responsible government, *i.e.*, a government in which the bureaucracy from top to bottom must be responsible to the people. But they are careful to add that this responsible government must be "suitable for India," that is, it must give the Mussalmans far more power and far more jobs than they are entitled to on the strength of their numbers or their education, ability, public spirit, spirit of independence, etc. Perhaps the Muslim Unity Board has voted for the rejection of the White Paper on the ground that it does not give India "responsible government suitable for India," the stress being laid specially on the last three words.

Following the example of the All-India Muslim Unity Board, the Bengal Muslim Nationalist Party has passed the following resolution:—

The meeting further appreciates the opinion of the Muslim Unity Board that the only alternative to the Communal Award is an agreed settlement between communities and this meeting, therefore, deprecates all attempts that are being made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his party to get the Award modified by the British Government in the absence of an agreed settlement.

We have already commented upon the professed desire of the Muslims for an agreed settlement. We have also shown that Pandit Malaviya yields to nobody in his desire and efforts to arrive at an agreed solution of the communal problem. We do not know why the Bengal Muslim Nationalist Party has affected the absurd pose of being greater nationalists than Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, as also the pose of repugnance to get anything done by or with the help of the Government. When has the Pandit's party clamoured for and received from the Government weightage in Councils and jobs? The communal decision which Muslims hug is a favour bestowed *by the Government* If the Bengal Muslim Nationalist Party considers the Government untouchable, why does it accept that decision temporarily-permanently?

Some Congressmen also have accused Malaviyaji of seeking Governments' help to get the communal decision cancelled

or improved. All such critics should remember that, unless they can get up a successful revolution, they must all ultimately obtain results through Government machinery.

We do not in this connection wish to quote the previous opinions of the most famous Nationalist Muslim leaders condemning the communal decision, which will be found in our July number, pp. 123-124. They have all become practical supporters of it now. But it is necessary to remind the Bengal Nationalist Muslim Party of their former attitude.

The principal resolution passed at the All-Bengal Muslim Nationalist Conference at Faridpur (June 27-28, 1931) insisted on "joint electorate with adult suffrage." The principal resolution passed at a meeting of the executive committee of the Bengal Nationalist Muslim party, held in August 1932, recorded,

> "its emphatic protest against the communal award recently given by the Prime Minister in consultation with the British Cabinet on the following among other grounds: (a) It recognizes the principle of separate electorates, which is fundamentally opposed to responsible government . ..."

Muslim Representation in the Services

In all civilized countries the rule is to recruit the ablest men for the public services, irrespective of creed. In India Government has encouraged the notion that it is not ability that counts most but that Government jobs must be given by preference to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Muslim Indians, according to certain fixed minimum percentages, *in addition to* what they can get by competition. For the Muslims a minimum of 25 per cent has been fixed. But they now want 33⅓ per cent and "a temporary provision [of more than 33⅓ per cent] to make good the existing extreme inadequacy of Muslim representation" in the services! As the British Government is desperately in need of supporters for its imperialistic policy, Muslim Indians have seized the opportunity. But why do the All-India Muslim Conference and the All-India Muslim League use the words "justice and fair play" in the resolution in which unwarranted, unjust and selfish demands relating to the services are made? Perhaps we are wrong in asking this question. For even some highly educated Musalmans seem to think that their "due share" of the services means monopoly.

Mr. S. M. Hussain, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon), writing on 'Islamic Education in Bengal' in the *Islamic Culture* for July, 1934, says:

> With the object of turning out recruits for public service and for the legal profession, the Calcutta Madrassah was established by Warren Hastings in 1781. Muslim Law and Persian naturally formed the main course of study in it. The Madrassah splendidly fulfilled the object for which it was established and its alumni *monopolized* posts of trust and responsibility under the Government. The Musalmans thus continued to retain their *due share* in the administration of the country and its public life. (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

Editor of "The Modern Review" Does Not Belong to Any Party

In the course of an article on "The Nationalist Party" our able contemporary *The Servant of India* writes:

> There is one item in the Nationalist Party's programme to which strong exception must be taken even by those who are disposed to agree with its communal award policy. It declares its disapproval of legislative interference in matters of religion. It is true that Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Aney and Mr. Kelkar all stand for abstension from using the machinery of the legislature in socio-religious affairs. But there are others in the Party like Dr. Munje, Acharya Ray and Babu Ramananda Chatterjee who, we are certain, do not support this policy, but who have apparently joined the Party on the understanding that it will be regarded as a minor item, in regard to which freedom will be allowed to those who wish to join the party. No social reformer can ever afford to dispense with the possible support that he will receive from the legislature in carrying through any reform.

Perhaps by now our Poona contemporary has learned that the item referred to does not form part of the programme of the Party as fixed after the holding of the Conference.

It is necessary to inform our contemporary and the public that Babu Ramananda Chatterjee does not belong to the Congress Notionalist Party, or *any* other party, like the Congress, the Liberal Party, the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha, etc. There should and must be social legislation, whenever and wherever necessary, for putting down inhuman, cruel and immoral customs. If public opinion cannot put down customs making for race degeneracy, injustice to women, and the like, legislative aid should

be sought. But we cannot here go into further details—it is a large subject.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on African-Indian Problems

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has earned the gratitude of India by his earnest labours for the improvement of the condition of Indians in different parts of Africa and whom we welcome back to India, emphasized the seriousness of the situation in Zanzibar in an interview to the Associated Press on his arrival at Bombay on the 25th August last. Said he :

> I have just come direct from Zanzibar where the situation has become so seriously critical that the Indian leaders implored me by a wireless message to stay over for a fortnight longer in order to take up their cause But Mahatma Gandhi had already cabled me to come to Bombay not later than Aug. 25. Therefore, I had to hurry up in order to reach Bombay in time. The chief points at issue in Zanzibar are :
>
> (1) The right of holding agricultural lands being taken from Indians by the Land Alienation Act. Indians who were born in Zanzibar are not allowed to hold agricultural land but Arabs who were born in Arabia and are not even British subjects have been allowed to hold it.
>
> (2) The Government are taking the clove industry, whereon Zanzibar depends, out of the hands of Indians who had always acted as bankers and middlemen and making it a state monopoly. This will drive many Indians out of the country owing to unemployment.
>
> These two new Zanzibar ordinances are likely to weaken the Indian position all round. Their vested rights as British subjects are being taken away. If after seeing Mahatma Gandhi it is possible to return to Africa I hope to do so as the situation all down the coast is entirely critical. The Zanzibar Indians very earnestly desire me to return. I have given them promise to do so if circumstances in India permit.

As regards East Africa Mr. Andrews stated :

> All down the east coast of Africa I found the Indian position shaken owing to trade depression. The Indians in Kenya have been reduced during the last six years from 40,000 to 31,000 and the numbers are still decreasing. There are many more coming home by each ship than going out.

The situation in South Africa also continues to cause anxiety.

> In South Africa again the Indian community has pressed me to return as soon as possible. The division which has gone on for some time over the question of colonization is not quite healed. The colonization issue itself is now practically dead. No Indian from South Africa will ever go out in any colony. The report which the Government has published is entirely negative. There are no colonies suitable for Indians' colonization and every effort must now be made to wreck down the provincial barriers in South Africa itself, so that Indians may move about without restriction. But though this point is now practically dead the issue there is the differences which still need to be settled and reconciled and I have been very earnestly requested to return after seeing Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Andrews desires to go back to Africa, and he has given his reasons. Before he does so, however, he will have to see Mahatma Gandhi, go to Simla for seeing high Government officers to enlist their active sympathy on behalf of Zanzibar Indians, and visit Bihar and Orissa. Indians in Africa are willing and able to help their fellow-countrymen in distress owing to earthquake and inundations.

> Certainly, I feel I must go back if only I can be spared, for this has been my special duty for over 20 years past and it is impossible for me to resist such an appeal. A work of this kind cannot be done hurriedly. It needs the greatest sympathy and patience but it will be necessary to visit Simla about Zanziber and other matters and also there is a great need for visiting the earthquake area and if possible, Orissa. For, if I am able to return to South Africa, there is a golden opportunity of helping the earthquake relief fund. The Indians themselves all down the coast of Africa are prepared to make sacrifices and Johannesburg is now the most prosperous city in the world on account of high price of gold. Only two years ago gold stood at 84 shillings but today it is 136 to 138 The difference is a clear profit. I have been able to make a good beginning and collect about Rs 2,500 but I had no time to carry it through.

Mr. Andrews has contributed a series of articles on the Zanzibar crisis to the Press.

Devastating Floods in Bihar Again

We deeply sympathize with our afflicted sisters and brethren in Bihar. There have been devastating floods again in that province. The utmost that is possible should be done for the people in distress. We know the futility of these newspaper platitudes and are grieved and ashamed that we are not in a position to take an active part in the relief of distress.

There have been earthquake shocks again in some parts of Bihar.

Atul Prasad Sen

By the death of Mr. Atul Prasad Sen of Lucknow India has lost a true son. He

was born and educated in Bengal, and later went to England for legal education, and was called to the bar there. After practising at the Calcutta High Court for some years, he settled in Lucknow for the practice of his profession and rose to be the leader of the Oudh Bar. He was the president of the Oudh Bar Association. He took great interest in educational matters and was offered the Vice-Chancellorship of the Lucknow



Mr. Atul Prasad Sen

University but declined the office in favour of Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. In politics he was a Liberal of the stouter and more independent variety and presided over the last Liberal Conference of the Province which he had made his home. We were present when he delivered his outspoken address. A resumé of it was given in this Review. He presided over a session of the National Liberal Federation of India. He was a staunch Swadeshist.

Though he was a very successful lawyer, he was by nature a poet and a musician. People will remember him for his poems and songs long after his reputation as a lawyer has ceased to be remembered. When he sang, people were moved because he put his soul into his music. Many of his songs are very popular in and outside Bengal, wherever Bengalis live.

He was a warm-hearted friend. His charities were many.

He was a member of the Brahmo Samaj.

He was a dutiful and active citizen and a cultural leader of the Province where he lived. Withal his heart continued to yearn for his village home in Bengal and for Banga-desha. This yearning and devotion to the home of his boyhood and youth found touching expression in the address which he delivered at the last session, at Gorakhpur, of the Prabasi Banga-Sahitya Sammelan, an annual all-India cultural conference of Bengalis, of which he was one of the sponsors.

He is the author of some books of Bengali poems and songs. He was the founder and first editor of the Bengali monthly magazine *Uttara*, an organ of Bengalis domiciled in the Upper Provinces.

He was one of Bengal's foremost cultural ambassadors to the Ayodhya People's Durbar.

Mr. Brock on Bengal's Financial Condition

Mr. R. W. Brock, late Editor of *Capital*, Calcutta's oldest financial Anglo-Indian (old style) weekly, writing on "Bengal and its Jute Industry" in the July number of *The Asiatic Review*, says :

> Suffice it to say that, in a Province with a population numbering approximately fifty millions, the Provincial Government has a revenue not exceeding £10,000,000 to finance requirements so varied and comprehensive as Police, Education, General Administration, Civil Works, Justice, Medical, Jails, Excise, Public Health, Agriculture, Registration, Stationery and Printing, Forests, and last but not least, Industries. In other words -to quote only one illuminating comparison-- under the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution the Bengal Government was allotted, for all purposes, a smaller sum than the London County Council spends on education alone.

£10,000,000 at the present rate of exchange is equal to Rs. 133,333,333⅓. For years Bengal's revenue has been very much less than that sum. That is the only inaccuracy in Mr. Brock's statement.

His comparison of Bengal's total *provincial* revenue with the educational expenditure alone of the London County Council is very illuminating. The population of the Administrative County of London is 4,385,825 against Bengal's fifty millions. The London County Council's net educational expenditure in 1933-34 was, according to *Whitaker's Almanac*, £12,169,839. Its net total expenditure on all heads was £28,114,949. Including debt charges, the total was £30,086,394. These sums need not be converted into rupees. One pound sterling is equivalent to Rs. 13⅓.

Mr. Brock continues:

> In effect, under the Meston Settlement, all the expending revenues—such as Customs duties and income-tax were retained by the Government of India, while most of the Departments calling for larger expenditure were assigned to the Provincial Governments, and, in particular, to the Indian Ministers, such as health, education, agricultural improvements, etc. It was peculiarly unfortunate that in Bengal, as I have already noted, the ministers were left to face the Legislature with empty pockets: a position not conducive either to political popularity or constructive achievement. *Provincial taxation in Bengal was extended to the limits of tolerance and productivity*; but of the total revenues collected in the Province from all sources, about two-thirds were taken by the Central Government, *whose expenditure is mainly incurred outside the Province*, leaving the Provincial Administration only the exiguous income already mentioned. (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

Those who think that taxation in Bengal is lighter than in other provinces, relatively speaking, ought to reflect on Mr. Brock's words, "Provincial taxation in Bengal was extended to the limits of tolerance and productivity."

The significance of the fact that the Central Government takes away about two-thirds of Bengal's revenues and spends the amounts mainly outside Bengal should be clearly understood. The largest item of expenditure of the Central Government is that incurred on "Defence." As recruits for the army are not, generally speaking, taken from Bengal, nor camp-followers, therefore, for her big contribution to the Central Exchequer Bengal gets no return in the form of salaries paid to these persons. That is only one direction—there are others—in which some other regions are gainers, Bengal is not. Bengal is only made to pay.

Mr. Brock has explained himself more fully in the following paragraph:—

> Calcutta, that is to say, collects revenues which the Delhi Administration distributes mainly in Upper India. Perhaps the process I refer to can be illustrated most vividly by instancing the yield of the jute export duty. Jute is grown virtually only in Bengal, and in the rural areas is the principal source of income, while in Calcutta jute manufacture is the principal industry. In the last decade, however, the Central Government has collected between £30,000,000 and £40,000,000 by this form of taxation, and has retained the whole amount, *allowing* the provincial Government to finance, for example, even the Agricultural Department, to whose efforts, prior to the world depression, the progressive improvement in the outturn and quality of the jute crop was largely due. Analogously, while the extension of the mill industry in Calcutta threw additional expenditure on the Bengal Government, the Central Government monopolized the revenue from income-tax, which represents the principal method of securing for the state a reasonable percentage of the substantial profits this industry, until recently, has obtained. Here, again, therefore, Bengal was unable to retain any share of the taxation collected within its own borders. Very large sums flowed out: only insignificant rivulet flowed back.

There is quiet unconscious humour in the word "allowing," which we have italicized above. It is indeed very gracious on the part of the Central Government to take all the receipts from the sources mentioned and *allow* the Bengal Government to meet all the expenditure.

Sir N. N. Sircar's Friendliness

The Daily Sun of Bombay has reproduced the following paragraphs from *The National Call* of Delhi, in which last they appeared in "From the Qutab Minar" column:

> I learn that the late Deshabandhu actually died at the Darjeeling residence of the ex-Advocate-General called "Step Aside" and it was Sir Nripen who made all arrangements for conveying the 'cortege' of the deceased leader to Calcutta.
>
> The story of B. K. Lahiri, however, certainly merits to be told. It was the Law Member, then the Advocate-General, who was responsible for second prosecution of Mr. B. K. Lahiri. The Law Member built up his case effectively and argued so well that B. K. Lahiri was finally convicted. It was later brought to the notice of Sir Nripen that the wife and son of Lahiri would have to be on the streets for lack of any source of maintenance. Sir Nripen immediately undertook to pay Mrs. Lahiri Rs. 100 per mensem, and employed his son on Rs. 80 in his chambers. The allowance was

continued till the release of Lahiri while the son of Lahiri, I am told, is still in the employ of the Law Member.

RAISING A FUND

Recently Sir Nripen came to know that a prominent Congress leader who had been ailing in Europe was badly in need of money to carry on his treatment. People seemed reluctant to raise a fund for the leader openly. Sir Nripen, I am told, courageously approached the Governor, and after securing his consent, initiated the raising of a fund. He was able thus to send more than Rs. 13,000 to the patriot in exile, his own being the most substantial contribution.

President Roosevelt's Foreign Policy

In July last in connection with the summer session of the Catholic University of America, Dr. Taraknath Das, the newly appointed Lecturer on Far Eastern Affairs of the University, discussed the topic of "Present Tendencies of American Foreign Policy under President Franklin D. Roosevelt," before an audience of members of the faculty and the student-body. Prof. Dr. Herbert Wright, Head of the Department of Politics, presided on the occasion.

Regarding President Roosevelt's policy in Asia, Dr. Das said :

> In Asia, President Roosevelt, by promoting cause of Philippine Independence, has raised the prestige of American idealism and statesmanship, based upon Justice and Freedom. While professing friendship for China, President Roosevelt does not think it to be wise for the United States to espouse Chinese cause with such enthusiasm as may involve the United States in a war in the Pacific. Regarding American-Japanese relations, he advocates the positive policy of American-Japanese friendship and co-operation, which was the policy of the late President Theodore Roosevelt. He does not approve of a policy of Anglo-American-Chinese-Russian co-operation against Japan, which is advocated by many Chinese, Russian, British and even Americans who have very imperfect knowledge of genuine American interests in Asia. In short, President Roosevelt is determined to pursue a policy of friendship and economic and commercial co-operation with all peoples of Asia which would be of great advantage to the United States and be of substantial aid towards real progress and freedom in Asia.

Praful Chandra Som

Babu Pratul Chandra Som, who died last month in Calcutta in his 69th year, was not much known outside Brahmo-Samaj circles. But he rendered good service to the cause of religion and social reform as editor of *The Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. For years his life was one long struggle against poverty, illness and bereavement. He bore all his afflictions with patience and resignation. His knowledge of philosophy—particularly of theology, and of the evolution of the Brahmo Samaj and the



Pratul Chandra Som

religious opinions of Rammohun Roy, Debendranath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen stood him in good stead as a writer on those subjects.

The Bombay Devadasi Act

Originally the Devadasis were women attached to Hindu temples in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. They were supposed to have been married to the god whose idol was kept in the temples and could not therefore marry any human beings. They were carefully trained in music and dancing and were required to sing and dance in the temples before the idols for their entertainment. As time passed they fell from their ideal of purity and became no better than courtesans.

The late Maharani of Mysore abolished the immoral custom of attaching Devadasis to temples in that State but allowed them to keep their lands. A similar reform was afterwards effected by legislation in Madras by Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy. Last month the Bombay Council has passed Rao Bahadur Bole's Devadasi Bill.

The late Maharani of Mysore, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy and Rao Bahadur Bole will be

remembered by posterity as benefactors of Hindu society and promoters of social purity.

Calcutta Corporation's Publicity Department

Much good work is being done by the Calcutta Corporation's Publicity Department, which was established in 1932. Since its establishment it has undertaken different kinds of propaganda work to bring home to the inhabitants of Calcutta their civic responsibilities and duties. It publishes illustrated booklets, leaflets and posters. It possesses an efficient and trained staff of lecturers. Up to the end of March 1934 they delivered 533 lectures, illustrated with lantern slides. The lectures delivered are in Bengali, Hindi and Urdu, no charge being made for them. The Department possesses slides on 27 subjects, including the principal diseases. It has a cinema machine and three films on small-pox, cholera and malaria. On previous information being given to the Department, free cinema shows may be arranged in any public place. It also organizes peripatetic health exhibitions, with a large number of charts and models. In addition to organizing its own exhibitions, the Department has supplied charts and models to other exhibitions in Calcutta and arranged for their proper display and demonstrations. The total number of its illustrated posters is 30. The booklets and posters are supplied free. Besides all the above the Department publishes an illustrated monthly bulletin in Bengali named "Sree." It is supplied free to all institutions in Calcutta.

City of Birmingham Handbook, 1934

While noticing the activities of the Publicity Department of the Calcutta Municipality in the foregoing note, we were constantly reminded of the excellent Handbook for 1934 of the City of Birmingham which we have received for review and which has been noticed in this issue in the section devoted to reviews and notices of books.

Our notice of it does not give an adequate idea of this Handbook. We would ask all municipal authorities in India to get a copy of it from the City of Birmingham Information Bureau, Birmingham, England, in order to be able to set before themselves a model of what municipalities should and can do and in how many directions.

On Encouraging Sanskrit Studies

The Hon. Mr. Justice Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Acting Chief Justice of Bengal (till the 30th of August last), who by the by enjoys the unique distinction of being the only permanent or acting Chief Justice who was not knighted, presided at the annual convocation of the Bengal Sanskrit Association on the 26th August last. This body examined on the last occasion some 11,000 students of Sanskrit and conferred titles on those who were successful. There are more than 2,000 *tols* or Sanskrit seminaries. These facts make the Association somewhat like an examining university.

After tracing the history of the Association the president said :

> As a result of the grim financial outlook which faces the University graduates and the economic strain which they have to undergo in going through a full course of English education the number of 'tols' in the country has been gradually increasing. If this increase continues we would have an enormous population of Sanskrit students within a short time. It would be a matter of national economy if by a comparatively small help the large mass of students growing into manhood may be utilized by the society and the country.
>
> Unless and until the Sanskrit students can have at least the scope of earning a modest livelihood, it is reasonable to suppose that Sanskrit education will not attract the better class of students.
>
> We are often told that our examination standard should be high. We appreciate the criticism and have recommended the introduction of Mahacharyya title examination for the selected few who may compete for it. But at the same time it can again be said that the general body of students who are recruited from amongst the comparatively less brilliant sons of pandits cannot be expected to show much proficiency in the different paths of Sanskrit studies. If we scare away the unlucky and proverty-stricken students who have come to the Sanskrit line mostly or mainly because they are unable to meet the expenses of English education, the result will be disastrous.
>
> The educational grant of Government is far from sufficient to meet the real educational need of the country and it will probably remain so for a long time to come. But I desire to press on the attention of the Hon. Minister the question whether, under the circumstances, Sanskrit studies may not be encouraged and made fruitful by giving comparatively increased assistance.
>
> All the recommendations of the Sanskrit College Committee which involve financial assistance, are but just the minimum demand of the pandit section of the people who are extremely loyal to Government and who exert a stabilizing influence

so different from the modern spirit of students of the University who are brought up in the Western methods. I fervently urge upon Sanskrit scholars and students and upon the public in general to co-operate with us in convincing the Government that measures may be adopted for ameliorating the condition of the Sanskrit studies and of utilizing Sanskrit studies in the cause of the nation.

Concluding the president said :

I find great satisfaction in observing that a Brahmin girl attached to the research department of the Sanskrit College has been admitted to the Vedatirtha title for the first time. She is the first recipient of the Ghosh Travelling Fellowship [of the Calcutta University] and is proceeding to Oxford for D. Phil. degree. I am also very glad to have to tell you that a Mahomedan student has taken the highest degree in Kavya this year.



Miss Sakuntala Rao

The girl referred to is Miss Sakuntala Rao, M.A., of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, who was carefully brought up by the late Dr. and Mrs. Hem Chandra Sarkar, and has passed the M.A. examination of the Calcutta University in two subjects successively.

Principal Surendranath Dasgupta, M. A., Ph. D., of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, who is the Secretary of the Bengal Sanskrit Association, complained in the course of his address that their examination standards are not high enough.

"It is true," he said, "that the number of 'tol' students has been gradually increasing, but the quality of students is deplorably going down.

"The reasons for this are, (1) mostly the less intelligent sons are sent in for education in 'tols' and yet the acquirement of Sanskrit requires the keenest intellect, (2) pandits are busy in acquiring their livelihood by other means and have no time to teach their students properly, (3) the students, therefore, hardly come to the examination hall after having read the whole text and they are sent in by their teachers for the sake of the stipends granted to teachers when their students pass, (4) students are often picked up from schools and colleges and the important passages are marked for them and they are somehow dished up for the examinations.

"In such a condition it is idle to expect that they should have any wisdom or depth in the shastras which require powers of mature and keen thinking with a full command of the Sanskrit language."

It is to be hoped that steps will be taken to get a better class of students and to educate them more efficiently.

We have a suggestion to make in a different direction. The education given to students in the *tols* is entirely academic, perhaps fit for the world as it was in days gone by. We would earnestly request the Bengal Sanskrit Association to make it a little more modern. We suggest that the students be taught ordinary and mental arithmetic, geography and history of Bengal and India (Hindu-Buddhist period). Those who would go up for the highest, *i.e.*, the Mahacharya title examination, might be required to have a knowledge of the late Bhudeb Mukhopadhyaya's *Purabrittasar* (history of the world outside India in ancient times).

Sir N. N. Sircar on Untouchability in Bengal

SIMLA, Aug. 27

With reference to the report circulated by a news agency to the effect that the Law Member, in his speech on the Temple Entry Bill, said that "in the speaker's own province (Bengal) untouchability was rigorously and severely observed," the "United Press" has been authorized by Sir N. N. Sircar to state that the report was incorrect and misleading, as it was inconsistent with the views he had propounded in the Round Table Conference.

What he said was that untouchability was observed more rigorously between the untouchables themselves and as a case in point he cited a recent event at Jorhat in Assam where at a temple-opening ceremony some untouchables left the place as they

found other untouchables of a class lower than themselves coming to take part in the function. —(United Press.)

Freight-War Threatens Indian Shipping

In a well-reasoned statement Mr. Shariff Hussain, president of the Association of Small Steamship Companies of Bombay, describes the hardships of Indian shipping companies caused by the freight-war waged against them by some British companies. Says he :

> The war is becoming keener and keener day after day and rates from Bombay and Karachi have been reduced by 75 per cent. to 90 per cent and even more than that. The rate from Rangoon to Bhavnagar was Rs. 9-8-0 and the Conference is now carrying rice to that port at Rs. 2 per ton.

Owing to this terrible rate-cutting Indian shipping requires protection. But in answer to a question asked the other day in the Legislative Assembly the Government reply was that the matter was under consideration. But it is the duty of the Government to see that the consideration stage and the life of Indian shipping companies do not terminate simultaneously. As the Government is a government *of India*, the welfare of Indian shipping should receive its first and foremost attention, just as the interests of the shipping of other countries are looked after as one of their primary duties by their national governments.

That Communal Decision !

Like the poor, the communal decision bids fair to be always with us. For, like Goldsmith's village pedagogue, there are men who, "even though vanquished, could argue still." They say, as the decision given by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, known in India as Ramji MacDonald and Rahimji MacDonald among Muslims and Hindus respectively, was an arbitral award, neither Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya nor anybody else has the right to call it in question.

But the fact is, it has been shown conclusively again and again that it was not an arbitral award, it was a decision given by the Prime Minister on behalf of the British Government. That Government never calls it an award, but only a decision.

In his presidential address at the Bombay and Suburban Hindu Sabha Conference, held on the 23rd June last, Dr. B. S. Moonje dealt exhaustively with the matter. That address has been printed in pamphlet form. Dr. Moonje's discussion of the subject occupies about ten pages of the pamphlet and cannot, therefore, be reproduced here. But those who want to know all about it should read those pages.

They should also read Sir N. N. Sircar's pamphlet entitled, "Is the Communal Decision an Arbitral Award ?", included in the book, *Sir N. N. Sircar's Speeches and Pamphlets.*

Steel Protection Bill Passed

The Steel Protection Bill has been passed without a division. It is a remarkable achievement, as it protects British steel, while professing to protect Indian steel. It is an outcome of the imperial preference policy of the British Government. That policy is likely to provoke international commercial animosities and tariff wars.

The Tatas have another chance now of so running their gigantic concern as to be able to stand foreign competition without protection.

Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan and his Brother Released

Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan, originator and leader of the Red Coat movement in the N.-W. F. Province, and his elder brother Dr. Khan Saheb have been released from Hazaribagh jail, where they had been detained under Frontier Regulations. This is a commendable step on the part of the Government. But by ordering them not to proceed to the Panjab or to the Frontier Province Government has considerably spoiled the impression produced by their release.

Why Not Release Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was at no time at the head of any movement like the Red Coat movement in the Frontier Province. A question was asked in the Legislative Assembly as to whether it was true that when the papers against him were shown to the late Advocate-General of Bengal, now the Law Member, he said there was no case against him, but no reply was given from the side of

the Government. That implied a reply in the affirmative. The Home Member has, no doubt, repeatedly said that Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was deeply implicated in the terrorist movement. But where is the proof? A mere assertion without proof, repeated a million times, would not make it true. If he was *deeply* implicated, it should be easy to prove his guilt in a law-court.

All persons detained without trial are entitled to be considered innocent.

It has been often said in justification of their arrest and detention without trial that the evidence against them was examined by two judges. It does not matter to what category of judges they belonged. Even if Privy Council judges examine the evidence produced by one party against another, if they do not have the opportunity of examining the evidence on both sides, and if Counsel on both sides do not help the judges by cross-examination of witnesses, if any, and by discussion of the laws and legal principles involved, the decision of even such judges cannot be considered convincing. Hence, when it is alleged that the evidence against persons detained without trial has been examined by some judges, that is no proof of their guilt. On the contrary, any judge who agrees to give his opinion on *ex parte* evidence shows thereby that he is unfit for judicial work.

It has been sometimes said that persons kept under detention because of their being suspected to be terrorists cannot be brought to trial, as the lives of the witnesses against them would be in danger from the revengeful feelings of fellow-terrorists still at large. But there has been plenty of trials and convictions of terrorists and conspirators without any of the witnesses being killed or even attacked.

It may be fairly presumed that in criminal cases tried publicly the prosecutors are more careful in collecting evidence and starting prosecution than in the case of detenus and internees, in which the evidence, *if any*, can never be challenged. But even in the case of criminal cases tried openly by judges, there is no cent per cent conviction, but very much less. Hence it is not unfair to presume the innocence of at least the majority of those detained without trial. Let us quote from the Bengal Police Administration Report for 1932 (that for 1933 has not yet been received), page 15, to prove our point.

"27. **Convictions in cognizable cases and number of persons convicted.**(a) *In all cases decided.*—The total number of cognizable cases instituted before magistrates and the police under classes I to V, including cases pending from 1931, was 92,584 against 94,585 last year, a decrease of 2,001 cases. Of the total number of cases instituted, 28,425 or 30.7 per cent were tried in court, against 27,493 or 29 per cent in 1931, and convictions were obtained in 45.9 per cent, against 45.2 per cent.

"The number of persons brought to trial was 58,053, against 54,986 in 1931, of whom 23,637 or 40.7 per cent were convicted, against 21,572 or 39.2 per cent in the previous year."

Cases under Classes I to V are offences against the State, public tranquillity, safety and justice, serious offences against the person, serious offences against persons and property or against property only, and so on.

Indian Institute of Deutsche Akademie Scholarships

The Indian Institute of the Deutsche Akademie is glad to announce the award of 21 new scholarships for the academic year 1934-35 to the following Indian graduate students who are to carry on higher studies in various German universities :—

Dresden Engineering University.—Mr. A. K. Ghosh, M. SC., (chemistry).

Freiburg Mining University.—Mr. B. C. Roy, B. SC., (applied geology).

Hamburg University.—Mr. C. D. Dwarkanath, L. I. M. (medicine). Mr. S. G. Joshi, M. B. B. S., (medicine) ; and Mr S. K. Sharma, M. A., (Sanskrit).

Heidelberg University.—Mr. K. P. Mukhopadhyay, M. A., B. L., (political science and economy).

Hohenheim Agricultural University.—Mr. B. K. Kar, M. SC., (botany). T. V. G. Menon, B. A., B. SC., (Agriculture). Mr. Y. V. Sreenivasa Rao, M. SC., (plant physiology).

Jena University.—Miss P. B. Devi, B. SC., (physical culture). Mr. D. C. Lahiri, M. B. (medicine) ; Mr. T. R. Kannappan Naicker, M. A., L. T., (physics).

Marburg University.—Mr. S. Vahiduddin, B. A. (philosophy).

Munich University.—Mr. I. R. Barua, M. B. B. S., (medicine); Miss A. M. Jansz, B. A. (economics and political science) ; Mr. G. Kadambi, M. SC., (mathematics and statistics) ; Mr. A. K. Mittra, assistant at the anthropological laboratory, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Stuttgart Engineering University.—Mr. D. R. Mehta, B. SC., (pharmaceutical chemistry) ; Mr. R. Ramamohan Rao, B. E. (civil engineering).

Tubingen University.—Mr. A. S. Gupta, M. B., B. S., (medicine).

Allianz Scholarship (tenable at the University of Munich).—Mr. Satayaketu Vidyalankar, professor of history, Gurukul University, Hardwar.

Dr. Hira Lal

An appreciation of the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Hira Lal by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has been printed on another page in this issue. He was a distinguished scholar, archæologist and author. When he presided over the Oriental Conference at Patna in December, 1930. extracts from his address were printed in *The Modern Review* for January, 1931. It was a comprehensive survey of the entire field of oriental learning. As chairman of the reception committee of that session of the Oriental Conference, Mr. Jayaswal pronounced the following eulogy on Dr. Hira Lal :

> Mr. Hira Lal has been one of those workers whose results must go down to future generations. As today we cannot do without quoting Cunningham and Buhler, Kielhorn and Fleet, Bhagwan Lal and Bhandarkar. Rajendralala and Haraprasad Sastri, so in future scholars of Indian History must cite Rakhaldas Banerjee and Mr. Hira Lal. These two names stand out in the generation following that of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and Dr. Haraprasad Sastri. Mr. R. D. Banerjee and Mr. Hira Lal have filled up chapters of Indian History of which we knew mere outlines when we inherited Indology after Fleet and Kielhorn. There is not a single branch of Indology which Rai Bahadur Hira Lal has not enriched.

At a condolence meeting held in Allahabad under the presidency of Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha tributes were paid to the deceased.

> Dr. P. K. Acharya paid an eloquent tribute to the learning of the late Dr. Hira Lal, who. he said, had travelled in different European countries in connection with his researches. Dr. Babu Ram Saksena said that the late doctor was a great scholar of Prakrit. Pali and Sanskrit and he carried out researches specially in Prakrit and ancient Jain works.
>
> Dr. Jha. in the course of his brief presidential remarks, referred to the works of the late Dr. Hira Lal. which, he said, were of lasting value. He expressed the hope that young men would work on the lines laid down by the departed scholar.

Indian Footballers in Africa

In the course of an article on the Indian Footballers in South Africa which Mr. B. B. Sarkar has sent us from Mombasa but which reached us too late for publication, he writes :

"On their way back to India they landed at Mombasa and accepted a challenge from the Mombasa European football-players, who, let it be said to their credit, are free from the South African prejudiced mentality. The Indian Footballers played exceedingly well and defeated the European Team by 5 goals to nil. The match was highly enjoyed by a large crowd of about 8,000 spectators. The game being over, even the Africans of Mombasa, in profound appreciation, shook hands with them and congratulated them on their marvellous success. They were heard saying : '*Wema. wa kuteza vijana vya Bombay*,' which means, 'Well done, the youths of India, they have played exceedingly well.' Some of them were heard chattering with overjoy that the Indian Footballers have won through magic in the extraordinary process of their game."

We are glad that our footballers gave a good account of themselves in Africa.

Liberals' Condemnation of White Paper

At a meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India held in Allahabad on the 26th August last, it reiterated with special emphasis the resolution on the White Paper passed at the 14th session of the Federation held in Calcutta in 1933. Extracts from it are given below.

> The National Liberal Federation of India records its sense of profound disappointment at the 'Proposals of Indian Constitutional Reform' embodied in the White Paper of March 15, 1933. The proposals do not advance India to the status of a Dominion and nowhere is there even a mention of this as the objective. They are overweighted with safe-guards which are informed by distrust of Indians and which are not only not 'demonstrably in the interests of India during a transitional period', but are much more in the interests of the United Kingdom. These proposals make no real and substantial transference of power to responsible Indian Governments.
>
> The Federation desires to make it clear once again that no scheme of reforms can meet India's requirements or satisfy Indian national aspirations or allay political discontent which does not confer the full status and power of a dominion on India within a short period fixed by statute.
>
> While the Federation consents to the reservation for only a fixed transitional period of the subject of defence in the hands of the Governor-General, it cannot approve of the proposals in this behalf embodied in the White Paper, as they will retain complete control in the hands of the Secretary of State. It strongly disapproves of the non-acceptance of a clear policy regarding the complete transfer of the army to Indian control at the end of the period of transition.
>
> The Federation reiterates the resolution passed at its previous session against separate communal electorates and deeply regrets the further perpetua-

tion for the time being of such electorates not only as between Hindus and Mahomedans but also between different classes of the Hindus themselves under arrangements proposed for the new constitution. This Federation reaffirms the opinion that equitable representation of important minorities will best be secured by reservation of seats with reasonable weightage, wherever necessary, in joint electorates.

"Autonomy in the Field of the Fine Arts"

Those who are specialists, experts or enthusiasts in any sphere of life naturally attach greater importance to it than ordinary people who are not. It is natural for the former to think that before our people have proved their fitness in that particular sphere they cannot achieve success in some other sphere. We do not find fault with them for thinking in this way. If a nation contains all the necessary groups, each of which lays the utmost stress on some particular excellence, the nation as a whole is benefited by the exertions of the different groups. But there must be in the nation others also who appreciate the fact that different lines of advance are interdependent. There was a time, for example, when there were social reformers who thought that Indians cannot expect to have political power before they have thoroughly reformed Indian society. That is, no doubt, one side of the truth. But it is also true that many social evils cannot be combated unless the people have political power. Hence efforts for social advancement and political advancement must go on simultaneously. Cultural endeavours also must go on simultaneously with the fight for economic, political and social freedom.

With these prefatory words we wish to draw attention to what Mr. O. C. Gangoly said at the reception given on the 9th of August last to Mr. Timir Baran Bhattacharya, the musician, on his return from his tour in Europe and America "to vinidicate the claims of Indian music before the connoisseurs of the West." Mr. Gangoly said, in part :

> Personally, I whole-heartedly believe in the doctrine that before we can achieve autonomy in the field of the Fine Arts, we can never attain self-government in the realm of politics. A nation which is unable to honour the national artists, a nation which has lost the faculty of realizing the spiritual gifts of the national arts, cannot be said to have earned fitness for self-government. Swaraj is an idle dream to a people who have not developed all the phases of national life.
>
> From another point of view, only those amongst us are best fitted to present to the eyes of foreigners the highest products of Indian culture and civilization who are the custodians of Indian Art and culture. A nation's fitness and capacity can best be judged by the artistic talents of the people, by the efficiency of their poets, artists and musicians. I therefore believe that the Indian artists' missions to foreign countries are of much more value and significance than the undignified stampedes to the Round Tables, or the petty political pilgrimages to Europe and America. The mission of the artists like Mr. Timir Baran Bhattacharya and his associates cannot be said to be of any less value than the political missions of Subhas Chandra Bose or Sarojini Naidu.
>
> We are, therefore, personally grateful to Udaya Shankar, Timir Baran, and their associates, for the rich laurels that they have won for India in foreign countries. They have helped to heighten the values of our national culture, in the estimation of others. They have, therefore, richly deserved our cordial greetings and our grateful acknowledgment for this valuable national service.

These words of Mr. Gangoly contain much truth, though they are not the whole of the truth.

No Equality for Indian Officers

The Army Amendment Bill was passed in the Legislative Assembly by a majority of only three votes, 51 being for and 48 against it. Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment wanted a statutory provision to be inserted in it laying down the general principle that the status and opportunities for promotion, the powers of command, rank and precedence of Indian commissioned officers in the Indian army will be the same as those of "British" officers in the Indian Army in all units and formations. Forty-six members voted for and forty-nine against it. So it was lost. The Government could not have obtained even these narrow majorities if there had not been among the members seekers of re-nomination by Government, if there were not some who had no hope of being re-elected, if all elected members had been dutifully present, if all had voted inspired by a sense of national honour and sense of duty to the country, and if Sir Joseph Bhore had not threatened that Government would drop the Bill if Sir Abdur Rahim's amendment were carried. We do not know whether there were any members who were led to vote in favour

of the Bill by Sir Joseph Bhore's assurance that a provision would be made in the Regulations for complete reciprocity of powers and privileges within the Indian army as between Indian commissioned officers and British officers of the Indian army.

There is an evident desire among Englishmen that British military officers should not serve under Indian military officers, though some British civilians have served under some Indian civilians and some may be doing so still. It may be pointed out, however, that in pre-mutiny days, under the rule of the East India Company, British military officers used to serve under Indian commandants.

Our readers will be able to understand the true character and object of the Bill which has now been passed, if they read Mr. Nirad Chandra Chaudhuri's article in the present issue on "The Present Stage of Indianization."

The Saar Problem

According to a *Reuter's* telegram,

Berlin, Aug. 26.

Herr Hitler was tumultuously welcomed by Nazi crowds when, accompanied by Dr Goebbels he arrived by motor-boat from Cologne at the Fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, near Coblenz this afternoon to launch the German campaign for the return of the Saar in view of the plebiscite thereon on January 13, 1935.

Herr Hitler, in a broadcast speech, declared.

"If the world outside Germany attacks us, it is because we are defending the interest of our people. An international clique wants everything that harms us, but I tell the grumblers that nothing will ever force us down. In no circumstances shall we ever capitulate. The greater our distress, the greater our strength. The German people will survive the next thousand years as they have survived the past."

Addressing the Saar people, Herr Hitler assured them when the hour came that they would be welcomed into the Fatherland. The German policy with regard to the Saar would be reconciliation regardless of former Party-membership and improvement of the economic foundations of the Saar, which they would chain more closely to the German Reich.

The Saar question was the only one still open between Germany and France and once it was settled he hoped they would be able to conclude sincere peace with France.

The article on the Saar Plebiscite, printed in this issue elsewhere, tells the reader what the Saar problem is.

Early Hindu Architecture

The subject of Indian architecture has been receiving some publicity for some time past. That is good. But people should know what early Indian architecture was. It was no crude primitive thing, but a highly developed art. Professor Dr. Prasanna Kumar Acharya's five monumental volumes on Hindu architecture, giving among other things the text and translation of Mānasāra, the standard work on architecture, published by the Oxford University, supplies abundant information. Those who have had no access to them will have some glimpses of the subject from the Professor's article published in the present issue.

Non-Indian Exploitation of India's Resources

Cawnpore, Aug. 27.

The Indian mercantile communities, it is understood, propose to make a representation to the Government of India in connection with the Government's policy of granting concession to non-Indian concerns for working up and exploiting the resources of India. This question will come up for discussion before different Indian Chambers of Commerce. This policy is not justifiable as it is bound to kill Indian enterprise and drain away India's wealth. Indian commercial classes, if given an opportunity, are in a position to work out the scheme and invest large sums of money for carrying out such enterprises.—United Press.

This obviously refers to the "Imperial Chemicals," a British Company with Lord Reading as its chairman, to which the Government of India has given or proposes to give fifty years' monopoly of some mineral resources in the Panjab. The scheme was launched without the knowledge of the Indian Legislature and was brought to light by Mr. B. Das, an Orissa M. L. A.

Miss Mayo to Visit India Again ?

Simla, Aug. 28.

Sir Henry Craik, answering Mr. Bhupat Singh, admitted that he had seen a Press report to the effect that Miss Mayo proposed to visit India, but no request for a visa for India had so far been referred to the Government.

Mr. Bhupat Singh asked: "Are the Government aware of the deep resentment felt by Indians against her on account of her past activities ?"

Sir Henry Craik: I am aware that her book entitled "Mother India" had aroused resentment.

Mr. Bhupat Singh suggested that the Government should not allow her to land in India.

Sir Henry Craik: "I must draw attention to my statement that no request for visa for India has so far been referred to us."

Mr. Gayaprasad Singh asked: "Will the Government give her assistance, as they did last time, like allowing her to stay in the Government House and giving her access to Government records?'

Sir Henry Craik: "That is a hypothetical question. We are not aware of the object of her proposed visit."

Mr. Gayaprasad: "Last time some officers were deputed to give her assistance."

Sir Henry Craik was heard to reply that Miss Mayo was not given any more courtesy than was shown to tourists.'

Mr. Vidyasagar Pandya alluded to the public acknowledgment by Miss Mayo that she could not have brought out her book without the help received from the Government.

Sir Henry Craik: "I am not aware of that."
—Associated Press.

Sir Henry Craik did not say that if Miss Mayo asked for a visa for India it would be refused. Perhaps he knows how a certain British journalist was treated in Germany because he was doing secretly what Germans did not like. He may also have read the following:

American Woman Journalist To Leave Germany

Berlin, Aug. 25.

The American journalist Dorothy Thompson, wife of the novelist, Sinclair Lewis, who has been staying here for the past week, has been ordered by the Secret Police to leave Germany within 24 hours on grounds of her "numerous anti-German publications in the American Press which, for reasons of national self-respect, makes it impossible to grant her further hospitality in Germany."

The German Consul-General informed that the order was based chiefly upon the interview which Dorothy Thompson had with Herr Hitler in 1932.

Dorothy Thompson in an interview to "Reuter," said, "I protest against the charge that anything I have written emanated from hostility to Germany."

American journalists are urging the American Ambassador to take action in the matter.—Reuter.

Sinclair Lewis is a Nobel-Prize-winner. His wife is a lady of some consequence.

"American journalists are urging the American Ambassador to take action in the matter." They are free to do so. But should they not, for the honour of their country, ask their Government to prevent females like Miss Mayo from coming to India?

Sir Henry Craik has said Miss Mayo was not given any more courtesy than was shown to tourists. But are all or most or an appreciable number of tourists accommodated in Governors' palaces and are arrangements officially made for their visits to various persons and places?

Caste Civil Marriage

Allahabad, (By Mail)

Though inter-caste marriages are usually registered under the Civil Marriages Act, III of 1872, a notice has been received by Prof. A. C. Banerji, Registrar of Marriages under the Act under reference, of a caste marriage being proposed to be held under that Act. The parties to the proposed marriage are Mr. Bibhuti Bhushan Bajpai, B.A., a son of Pandit Shri Ram Bajpai of the Servants of India Society, and Miss Sushila Debi Dikshit, a student of B.A. class, Benares Hindu University and daughter of Pandit Hira Lal Dikshit of Farrukhabad. The notice of marriage was given to the Registrar of Marriages a few days ago. The marriage takes place on September 1 next.

Pandit Shri Ram Bajpai has chosen to celebrate his son's marriage under the Civil Marriages Act as it gives greater privileges and rights to a woman than the Hindu Law.

Detenus Allowed to Sit for Examinations

The Senate of the Calcutta University has done the right thing in allowing fifty detenus to appear at the I. A., B. A., or Preliminary Law Examination of the Calcutta University as non-collegiate students.

President von Hindenburg

The death of Field-Marshal Paul von Beneckendorf und von Hindenburg, President of the German Reich, in his eighty-seventh year, brings to a close a very remarkable career. The fact that he died in his saddle is rather uncommon, because, at a period of life when men are apt to spend their time in retirement and obscurity, he made history, and, a part of the time, was the central figure in that history.

Journalists' Wages in U. S. A.

The New Republic of New York writes:

Willard G. Bleyer, director of the School of Journalism of the University of Wisconsin, has complained in the pages of The Quill of the low salaries permitted in the newspaper code. He points out that in cities of less than 25,000 (where two-thirds of all dailies are published) a reporter or editor may be paid as little as $12 a week, or in the case of a learner, $8.40. . . . Any occupation that pays even its apprentices wages so low as $8.40 a week

cannot possibly rank as a profession. It is only a sweated trade.

What do our journalists in India say ?

Self-government for Inner Mongolia

The People's Tribune of China writes :

In the realisation of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's aim of local self-government for the people of China, and in particular connection with the rights of racial minorities to rule themselves, the extension of self-government to the Mongol areas of Chahar and Suiyuan, under Chinese sovereignty, is a real step ahead. Years ago this was looked forward to by the Inner Mongolian Kuo-Min Tang, but the rapaciousness of provincial officials and land speculators who dominated the four North-Eastern provinces prevented the realisation of the plan. But now, at long last, it is possible to achieve in such areas of Inner Mongolia as still remain under Chinese sovereignty, and is being made a reality today.

The journal adds :

The establishment of Autonomous Mongolia is not a concession, but an achievement, for the National Government. It means the realisation of something of Dr. Sun's old principle of local self-determination and self-government for this racial minority. It means the granting of a far more genuine autonomy than the Mongols possess in the much-advertised "autonomous Hsingan province" of Puppetkuo, as autonomous Mongolia under Chinese sovereignty has its capital in its own territory, its governing council is composed wholly of Mongols (though under a supervisor appointed by the National Government), and it is subject to no outside "Board of General Affairs."

It is not to be claimed that the rule of the Mongol princes is an ideal one. A more democratic régime is certainly called for, especially as these petty tribal rulers, with their flair for absolutism and aristocracy, tend to be influenced by the new "Manchu Empire" to the east, and the most potent weapon against this is the solidarity of the common people among the Mongols. But democratisation can be realised in time, just as in purely Chinese districts of the country . . . . . .

The interests of the people—whether Mongol or Chinese—are and must be paramount.

International Council of Women

The International Council of Women, which has for its motto, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," was founded in 1888 in the United States of America with the aim of strengthening and co-ordinating feminist activity by federating the various associations working for the improvement of the position of women and for social progress.

It has for its object to establish a permanent link between the women's organizations of the different countries, thus making it possible for them to work together for the improvement of the material and moral position of women and by common action to help towards the establishment of peace between nations.

Gradually the influence of this first little group of Councils spread until a federation of women's organizations was formed in more than 40 countries under the name of National Council of Women; these again united to form the International Council of Women. This International Council represents to-day more than 40 million women bound together by their desire for peace and social progress.

At the Council meeting held in London in 1899 it was decided to include questions dealing with Peace and Arbitration in the programme of work of the International Council of Women. At the Meeting held in Berlin in 1904 the "Committee for the Equal Moral Standard and against the Traffic in Women" was formed, and ever since, under the chairmanship of Madame Avril de Sainte-Croix, this Committee has taken an active part in the crusade against the traffic in women and children and for the improvement of moral conditions in the world. This same Council meeting in Berlin saw the beginning of that big international organization, now known as the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. Plenary meetings of the International Council of Women have been held at Washington, Chicago, London, Berlin, Toronto, Rome, Oslo, and again at Washington.

There are ten international Committees, namely, Legislation, Education, Trades and Professions, Equal Moral Standard, Public Health, Migration, Child Welfare, Suffrage, Peace and Press, and also three Sub-Committees—Arts, Letters and Cinema.

National Council of Women in India

The National Council of Women in India is affiliated to the International Council of Women described in the foregoing note. The motto of both is the same. We have received the fourth biennial report of India's council. It contains much useful information. The headquarters of the Central Executive Committee is situated in Calcutta. The office-bearers of the Committee are :

Chairman—Lady Ezra.
Vice-Chairman—The Maharani Sucharu Devi of Mourbanj, Mrs. S. R. Das.
Hon. Treasurer—Mrs. E. J. Judah.
Hon. General Secretary—Mrs. Keron Bose.
4, Shambhunath Pundit's Street, Elgin Rd. P. O. Calcutta.
Hon. Asst. Secretary Mrs. K. P. Basu.

The National Council of Women in India has been organized to represent without distinction women of all races and nationalities whatsoever, who are resident in India. Its objects are :

(1) To promote sympathy of thought and purpose among Women in India. (2) To associate Women of all communities in India for the promotion of the welfare of women and children, social, civic, moral and educational. (3) To co-ordinate both nationally and locally organisations in harmony with these purposes. (4) To work for the removal of

all disabilities of women, whether legal, economic or social, and to promote such conditions of life as will assure to every child an opportunity for full and free development. (5) To form a link with the National Council of Women in other countries through the International Council of Women.

The total number of Provincial Councils and affiliated bodies is 8, representing about 180 societies and about 8,201 members. These Councils have done much good work, to be found described in the Report.

On behalf of the National Council of Women in India two delegates to the Executive Meetings of the International Council of Women at Stockholm attended those meetings. They are Mrs. R. C. Gupta and Mrs. Keron Bose. Their interesting reports are included in the fourth biennial report of the Council.

Mettur Dam

The Madras Presidency is to be congratulated on the completion and opening of the Mettur Dam, which is considered the biggest single piece of masonry ever constructed across a river in any part of the world. It has cost some five crores of rupees. With the waters of the Cauvery, distributed through canals, some three lakhs of square miles are expected to be brought under irrigation by this project. Hydro-electrical schemes connected with this Dam are expected to give a great impetus to industries in some districts of Madras and in Mysore. Probably the electrification of rural areas may be successfully attempted by their means.

Ottawa Agreement Injures India

MADRAS, *Aug. 10.*

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce in the course of a lengthy communication to the secretary of the Federation of the Indian Chambers on the Ottawa Agreement says that the Ottawa Agreement has now turned the scales against India. It is progressively subjecting India to helpless dependence on trade with the United Kingdom and steadily alienating other countries. The chamber has also addressed a telegram to the committee appointed by the Assembly to examine the results of the agreement requesting them to publish Government's report placed before them and have it circulated to the commercial bodies before discussing and coming to conclusions thereon. The Government, it is understood, have expressed that they have no objection to the committee doing so.

The Sino-Indian Cultural Society

We have received a booklet, entitled "The Sino-Indian Cultural Society," containing preface, preamble, regulations and programme. Broadly speaking, the object of the Society, with which we are in full sympathy, is the promotion of "the resumption of the interchange of Indian and Chinese cultures." Prof. Tan Yun-shan, who has sponsored the scheme, recently read a paper at Santiniketan on cultural interchange between India and China. In it his idea is developed in full.

Centenary of Abolition of Slavery

One hundred years and a month ago, slavery was abolished in British territory by a Royal Proclamation which ran :

Be it enacted that all and every the persons who on the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall be holden in slavery within any such British Colony as aforesaid shall upon and from and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, become and be to all intents and purposes free and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and for ever manumitted.

It was a most memorable event. The memory of Wilberforce and other philanthropists who worked for the abolition of slavery from entirely altruistic motives will for ever remain enshrined in the heart of humanity.

The actual abolition of slavery had an "economic" motive also behind it.

It is a grievous reality that slavery—actual slavery--still exists in different parts of the world. And slavery also prevails in disguised forms in Africa.

Political servitude is not exactly like slavery. But until political servitude disappears along with slavery, from all parts of the world, advocates of freedom cannot enjoy rest. They will, in fact, have to work for economic, social and religious freedom also.

The Task of Sport in the World

Olympic Games—New Service of Berlin reproduces the following passage from the speech of Count Baillet-Latour, President of the International Olympic Committee, delivered on the occasion of the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the modern Olympic Games on May 20, 1934, in the stadium at Athens :

"It must be realised that the Olympic Games are not arranged merely for a small group of selected highly trained Athletes, in order to afford them an opportunity of astounding the world with their prowess. The "Record" is one of the idols of our

present civilization and it is high time that a return was made to broader achievements. With the help of the authorities, the International Sport Federations and the National Olympic Committees attempts must be made to maintain the educational character of the Games—even if it is necessary to sacrifice this idol "Record," even if it is necessary to do without those who would participate in the games more from the desire to win than from love of sport.

New efforts will bring new results, and the olympism restored by Coubertin will prolong the short armistice—which, according to the ancient custom was always enforced for the period of the Games—into a lasting peace. The young generation. permeated with our principles will do their part to create amongst the Peoples that atmosphere of sincerity and chivalry which dominates the Olympic teams. Under the shield of the Olympic Games Sport has fulfilled the tasks set by the World, and will continue to fulfil them.

The same Berlin bulletin says:

The Honorary Secretary of the Afghanistan Olympic Committee, Colonel Sardar Abdul Khan of Kabul has informed the Organization Committee for the XI. Olympic Games that his country accepts the invitation to participate in the Games and will be represented by a Hockey and a track and field team.

Viceroy's Address to Indian Legislature

If the Viceroy had not delivered his address to the Indian Legislature that he did on the 29th August last, the Indian public would not have been less wise or enlightened than they are after its delivery.

He referred to the Indian Legislature as "this Parliament." Parliament indeed!

Lord Willingdon began his address by thanking the members for the assistance given to his Government during the past four years in passing into law many very important measures that had been brought before them during the period of life of this Parliament, which would shortly be coming to a close.

His Excellency's thanks were quite sincere. The members of the Legislature have really subserved British imperialistic and economic objects by passing repressive and other laws.

Speaking on British goodwill for India Lord Willingdon said:

"The general impression I have brought back with me is that feeling among my countrymen in England is full of goodwill and sympathy for the natural aspirations of Indians in regard to political advance. A deep sense of responsibility was moreover evident on all sides in a general anxiety to obtain first hand information from those of us who have had the most recent experience of the affairs and conditions.

Do the people of England know what are really "the natural aspirations of Indians in regard to political advance"? Do they care to know?.

As for the people of England getting first-hand information from the Viceroy, we are sorry to have to say that in India the higher the office of a British officer the less is he in a position to obtain or impart first-hand information.

Concluding his speech, the Viceroy said:

"I should like to add that I come back with feelings of the keenest appreciation, which I am sure will be shared by every member of both our Legislative Chambers and by the public outside, of the untiring labours which members of the Joint Select Committee have freely and readily given during the past fifteen months to secure a proper solution of the great problem of Indian Reform.

"One assurance I can confidently give you. When the new Constitution Bill is passed into law you may rely on my efforts to ensure that no time will be lost in carrying into effect, as expeditiously as possible, the intentions of Parliament as expressed in the Act of the Viceroy."

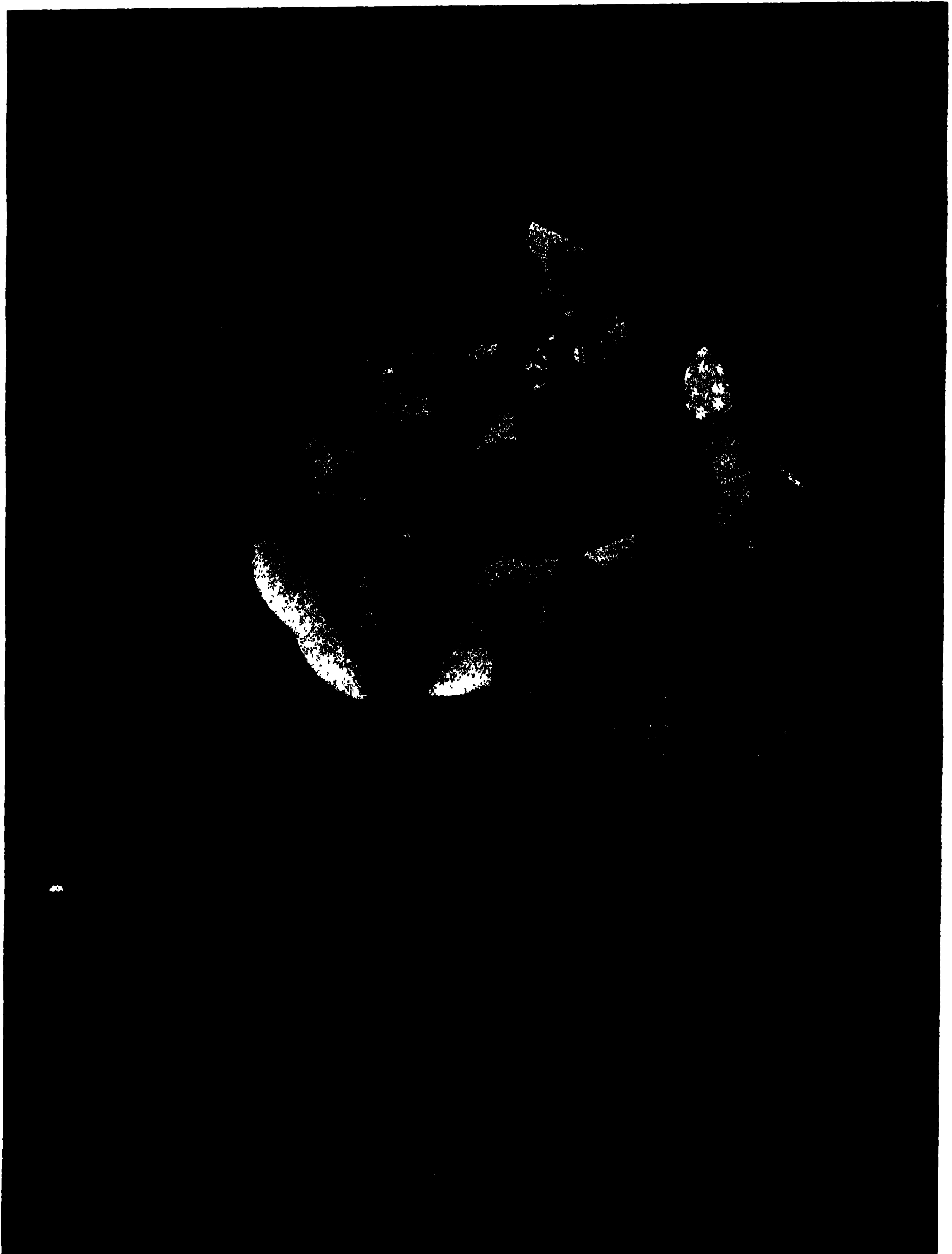
We cannot speak for members of the two legislative chambers, but we know something of the feelings of the public outside. They are not feelings of appreciation, because the public does not know what the outcome of the labours of the Joint Select Committee are going to be, and also because it is feared that their report is going to be worse than the White Paper.

The Viceroy's assurance that the new Constitution Bill, when passed into law, will be expeditiously given effect to, leaves us cold.

Madras School Children Permitted to Look at Their Majesties' Portraits

The Madras Government have issued orders to local boards to the effect that no pictures or photographs of any one except those of Their Majesties the King and Queen of England should be hung on the walls of schools under their charge, except with the previous permission of the inspecting authorities concerned. And there have been questions and answers on the subject in the Madras Council. An English proverb says that even a cat may look at a king. So our school children are perhaps not inferior to cats, as they will be allowed to look at the portraits of Their Majesties. Of course, all non-officials, including gods and goddesses, are suspect. But why cannot the portraits of His Majesty's servants, from the Governor-General down to the village watchman, be kept in Madras schools, seeing that these functionaries themselves can give *darshan* to the school children in person?

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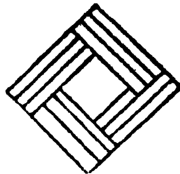


IN THE HERMITAGE

By Panchanan Karmakar

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PEACE AND MUNITIONS MAKERS

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

THE international armament, shipbuilding, aviation, and allied industries have been experiencing for the past few years a boom. It is a curious fact that during this period of severe worldwide depression, while millions of men and women are ill-clad and half-starved, while governments have been unable to pay their debts, while educational institutions have been starved of funds, the munitions manufacturers have been realizing profits of 12 to 20 and 30 per cent during the entire period of depression.

Moreover, while the world was struggling to get from under the catastrophe of the Great War and to relieve itself of the untold miseries which it imposed, the arms makers have been engaged in disseminating the news which brings another world war. It has been figured out that if the nations of the world would take what they are paying annually for maintenance and extension of armaments, and invest it at 1½ per cent return, it would pay off within forty years the whole staggering, national, provincial and municipal debts of the entire world. In a recent issue of the *Fortune* (New York) magazine, I read :

> According to the best accountancy figures it cost about 25,000 dollars to kill a soldier during the World War. There is one class of big business men in Europe that never rose up to denounce the extravagance of the government in this regard, to point out that when death is left unhampered as an enterprise for the individual initiative of gangsters, the cost of a single killing seldom exceeds 100 dollars. The reason for the silence of these big business men is quite simple: The killing is their business; armaments are their stock and trade; governments are their customers; the ultimate consumers of their products are, historically, almost as often their compatriots as their enemies. That does not matter. The important point is that every time a burst-shell fragment finds its way into the brain, the heart, or the intestines of a man in the front line, a great part of the 25,000 dollars, much of its profits, finds its way into the pocket of the armament maker.

The late World War was to end war. A war to make the world safe for democracy. A war for the self-determination of all countries. A war to crush imperialism. A war to usher in a new era of peace and prosperity. All this now sounds like the spouting of blarney. Twenty years after, the world is worse off than before. Dictators and war-mongers multiply. Credit for essential industry and trade vanishes. Doles for the unemployed are cut. Still the millions are lavished on the beautiful guns, the sleek steel ships, and the marvellous bombers. The world is dedicated to a new era of the adoration of the sword.

Senator William E. Borah made a speech in the United States Senate not long ago in which he set forth the part munitions makers

have in war preparedness. "So long as the munition manufacturers," he said, "exercise the influence which they now wield with governments we shall make little progress in reducing armaments or holding navies down to a reasonable programme. The influence of these interests is so very great that they can directly shape and dominate the policy of a nation toward war and away from peace."

The munitions makers arm every group in the world without any regard for national or racial lines. Patriotism does not enter into the arms industry. The traffic in arms is a capitalistic enterprise, and is above patriotism. Given the capitalistic system, given the armament business as one of the capitalistic businesses, given the expectation of making a huge profit out of that business, the rest follows logically. Indeed, the pursuit of making profits out of the lethal industry is above religion, morality, patriotism and other prejudices.

The armaments makers, while encouraging an intense spirit of nationalism in others, are usually internationalistic themselves. The Krupp firm of Germany had supplied fifty-two countries with arms before the Great War. How international the Krupps could be is suggested by the fact that the founder of the firm when he died was an officer of the French Legion of Honor, and a Knight of the Russian order of Peter the Great. He was selling arms to both these countries, the potential enemies of Germany.

Eugene Schneider, possibly the most powerful of all the arms men, is President of the famous Schneider-Cruesot company of France, and controls an international holding company with over 400 armaments firms in it. The sun never sets upon Creusot works. While one of his big companies supported Hitler lavishly in rousing Germans against France, the big Paris newspapers he controls worked up Frenchmen into a war scare.

The firm of Vickers-Armstrong of England is one of the greatest exporters of war materials in the world. Sir Herbert Lawrence is the head of the Vickers coterie with affiliated companies in a dozen countries. It has its factories in Roumania, and allies itself with the Czecho-Slovakian armament firm of Skoda. There are Vickers factories or subsidiary companies in Italy, Spain, Ireland, Holland, Japan, New Zealand, and Canada.

The affairs of Vickers are very profitable. Parliamentary disclosures have shown the flowers of English aristocracy—and politics—have investment interests in Vickers. Among the more prominent shareholders of Vickers or allied concerns in 1932 were: Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Austen Chamberlain, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1925; and Sir John Simon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (but who sold out his shares last year). In 1914, the list was even more imposing. It included that lofty philosopher Lord Balfour, Earl Grey, Lord Curzon, Lord Kinnaird (President of the Y.M.C.A.), three bishops, and Dean Inge of St. Paul's Cathedral.

True, there is no single international "armament trust", but in actual practice it amounts to much the same thing. It is an intricate system of interlocked corporations with overlapping ownership and directorates, co-operating with utmost friendliness to protect each other's property and keep up prices even when their respective countries are engaged in deadly war. The armaments industry, controlled by about fifty men, is truly a bloody international. The one thought of this close-knit circle of armaments interests is to make profits out of war, to build fortunes out of the misery and the sorrows of the maimed, the wounded, and the broken of health. It is therefore no wonder that the manufacturers of armaments are both actively opposed to peace and are directly interested in promoting every kind of international strife.

The main facts of the armaments industry are neither secret, nor doubtful. They have been clearly set forth in the two books which just appeared in the United States: *Iron, Blood and Profits* by George Sleds, and *Merchants of Death* by H. C. Englbrecht and J. C. Hanighen. To these may also be added Beverley Nichol's *Cry Havoc* and Fenner Brockway's *Bloody Traffic*, published a little while ago. They all cover much the same ground: they all report the venality of the European press, the sales of arms to potential enemies, the interlocking

of apparently competing concerns in theoretically hostile countries, the hypocrisies of the owners. Beyond that they recount that the manufacturer of the tools of war has nothing to do with the sentiments of petriotism in search for profits. He acts not as a Frenchman or a German or an Englishman, but as a capitalist.

According to these writers and several other independent investigators, the armament manufacturers of the world have not scrupled in the past to use any kind of method that might conceivably advance their personal fortunes, including huge sums of money for propaganda and political influence, and they are so organized on an international scale that no sentiments of patriotism, much less of humanity, have been permitted to interfere with their business instincts. In other words, at a time when the world, weary of war, has been making an effort to restore peace, a little group of men for greedy selfish motives has been conspiring to block that effort.

The evidence against the armament industry falls into three general categories. It deals with efforts to thwart all peace movements, including disarmament; with the promotion of war scares, if not of war itself; and with what might be called international collusion on the part of arms manufacturers. Most of the evidence that has been brought out so far in printed form involves the activities of European firms, but some of it is also of American origin.

It is charged that the American representative of certain armament firms worked to block the success of the Geneva Disarmament Conference of 1927. An American steel corporation that was interested in selling armour plate to the government, it is asserted, helped to found the ultra-patriotic Navy League of the United States to agitate for a larger navy and against further limitation of naval armaments.

Evidence that the private Eurepean armament firms have been even more active in combating disarmament and other peaceful enterprises has been produced, and their efforts, backed often by bribery and control of the press, have gone much further in creating threats to peace. But some of the most shocking evidences that have been brought to light by writers on the subject have dealt with the way in which companies have managed to sell military supplies to their national enemies even in times of war and in times of peace have not hesitated to promote political movements in other countries, hostile to the interests of their own countries, simply to obtain munitions orders.

Some of the stories seem almost incredible but they are supported by documentary proof. During the Great War, English and French companies supplied various war materials to Germany through neutral countries, while Germany sent iron and steel to France by a similar indirect route. When this practice was attacked as treason, it was defended as part of an international understanding that made war possible, and was permitted to continue.

It can safely be asserted that munitions makers have no country and no allegiance when it comes to their deadly business. During the Great War the English captured a cannon from the Germans which had been set up in Bedford park as one of the memorials. The cannon bears an English trademark, and in the Parliamentary debates it was brought out that it had been sold by an English firm to Germany. Again, it turned out after the war that the English battleships which were sunk in the Dardanelles were sunk by mines sold to the Turks before the War by the English manufacturers. Just now when it is claimed that Soviet Russia is a threat at Europe, Vickers has sold sixty of his latest and most powerful tanks to Russia.

One major event in the Great War is particularly revealing. Before 1914 the great mines and smelters in the Briey basin provided 70 per cent of the ore used by France. It is the centre of the iron mines and metallurgical industries of France. At the beginning of the War, the Germans broke through this point and the German artillery chiefs saw to it that the mines were so protected from shell fire that they could be taken over intact. Thenceforth the mines of the Briey basin, together with other mines of Lorraine, supplied Germany with some three-quarters of the ore it consumed during the War.

In 1916, Briey came once again within the range of the French artillery. The Briey

mines were turning out tons of raw materials per day which were being turned into weapons of death, and were hurled back into the French lines, literally and actually tearing limb from limb hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen. The French army could turn loose its bombing planes and blast out of existence a principal source of enemy supply, and thus put an end to the war. Yet neither bombs nor shells burst at Briey during the entire course of the War. Briey remained almost to the last days of the War one of the so-called "quiet sectors."

There is no question at all about the international operations of the armament makers. The facts are in the records of the French Parliament, substantiated, and unanswered. Efforts were actually made by high military and civilian personages in France to have the Briey mines and furnaces laid waste, as they should have been. But nothing happened. Why this murderous courtesy? The answer is that if the French forces bombarded the Briey basin, the Germans would certainly bombard the French mines at Dombasle, then one of the chief sources of iron for the French armies. The Germans did not bombard Dombasle in return for the French not bombarding Briey. "If we had destroyed Briey"—the French official explanation can be thus summarized—"the Germans would at once have retaliated and destroyed our munitions plants at Dombasle." But had either side done what the national armies are supposed to do, the Great War undoubtedly would have had to end before it did. Perhaps a million or more men would not have been slaughtered. In other words, officially the explanation of Briey was that it was considered preferable to destroy men by the tens of thousands rather than property. But who owed Briey and Dombasle? The answer is very simple. They belonged to the armaments manufacturers, men with international affiliations. The Schneiders of France and the Krupps of Germany owned the Briey basin and Dombasle, and through their connections with the general staffs of both countries they saw to it that no damage was done to their properties.

The Briey incident is of a perfect piece with many other strange occurrences. Indeed, it would be a great mistake to conclude that it was an isolated manifestation of treason on the part of a few high-placed French officials. The armaments men during the War, and always, have been above patriotism when profit beckoned. Exactly similar things were happening among the other combatants.

While the French were doing nothing to prevent Briey from tearing Frenchmen to pieces, high-placed German industrialists were shipping scrap iron into France (*via* Switzerland) at the rate of 150,000 tons a month to tear German soldiers to pieces. And in the ghastly attacks on Verdun, Germans found themselves impaled on barbed wire made a few months before—in Germany, by their own countrymen!

English merchants, until the bitter protests of a naval attache stopped them, shipped glycerin and Canadian nickel into Germany (through Scandinavia) which it was perfectly well known would be used to mangle English soldiers in the trenches.

French nickel, too, found its tortuous way, greased by profit, into Germany. The construction of German submarines would have been badly hampered without French bauxite (aluminium) which they received a-plenty.

One of the most curious of the post-War developments was the suit brought by the Krupps of Germany against the Vickers of England for violation of a patent right. The Krupps, prior to the War, had invented a special fuse for hand grenades. Vickers appropriated the invention, manufactured the fuses from the German formula all through the War and, of course, were instrumental in slaughtering or maiming tens of thousands of Germans. When the War was over, the Krupps (grand patriots) sued Vickers in the English courts for stealing their patent rights. The Krupps demanded a shilling a fuse, and a total of 123 million shillings. The case was settled by Vickers out of court, Krupps took payment in stock. The statement is that "Settlement was made out of court and the Krupps received payment in stock in one of Vickers' subsidiaries in Spain." No armament man could ever descry the blood of a countryman on a stock certificate.

Personally the men at the head of the great armament industries and international holding companies are probably sensitive and

lovable old gentlemen who would weep over Schubert's or Beethovents sonatas One of them, Basil Zaharoff, "the mystery man of Europe," who is often referred to as the greatest murderer in history, now spends his last happy hours in the cultivation of rare orchids at Monte Carlo. He is quite old and past business. But he had "lots of character" and business in him, at least a few years ago. Much of the recent growth of the Vickers organization can be credited to Mr. Zaharoff, , "the greatest armament salesman the world has ever known." He is a native of Greece, and came to England as a poor imigrant, He is known today as Sir Basil Zaharoff. He was an intimate of David Lloyd George during the War. At one time during the War when peace seemed imminent, he was quoted as favouring continuing "to the bitter end". Naturally. More fights, more profits.

Basil Zaharoff began by making glorious profits out of the perpetual fights in the Balkans and the Near East, to which he was usually purveyor and of which he was frequently instigator. The Boer War added to his laurels ; Boers shot Englishmen with Vickers' guns. But it was the World War that gratified Sir Basil most. By the end of the War, Sir Basil had a personal fortune estimated over a billion dollars. Basil Zaharoff has ribbons galore.

Of all the criminals known to man, none could be more despicable than the war profiteer. Plying his trade in legal murder he grows rich on the spoils of his treason against humanity. Police and courts can bring ordinary criminals to justice, but the war profiteer need answer to no one for his thousands of murders.

The problems growing out of the private manufacture of munitions and the international traffic in arms are sinister. The commercial urge to extend the use and stimulate the demand for the output of munition factories has been demonstrated to be an actual and proximate—not remote and indirect—incitement to war. To suffer this traffic to continue is to connive at all its consequences.

But what can be done about it ? Is there a way out ? Two principal proposals have been advanced to correct the situation. One is that the manufacture of armaments be taken out of private hands and be made a government monopoly. The other is that the private industries be permitted to continue, but only under rigid international supervision.

The proposal to nationalize the armament industry has been opposed on various grounds. Since modern warfare has become so highly industrialized, it is very difficult to distinguish between production for military and non-military purposes. Should the entire iron and steel industries be nationalized, because they produce war material ? Such a procedure is not feasible, except in a Socialist or Communist regime. But if it is not adopted, two of the chief industrial beneficiaries of war would remain in private hands.

Moreover, only a few countries (notably France, England, the United States, Germany, Japan and Czecho-Slovakia) are industrially equipped to produce armaments today. If their armament industries were nationalized, what would happen to all the other countries that must depend upon them for such supplies ? The non-producing countries consider that they have a right to buy armaments abroad and that any interference with it would be an unfriendly act, jeopardizing their national safety and independence. And finally many governments are reported to believe that only by free competition among private manufacturers, moved by a desire for profit, can they be sure that their armaments are of the latest design.

The same objections have been raised to the proposal of international control, with the addition of the practical difficulties of efficient supervision. Even if the political opposition of the armament manufacturers themselves is left out of account, both proposals to deal with the ghastly mess are obviously absurd.

The authors of the *Merchants of Death* hold that the "problem of disarmament is the problem of building a new civilization." This is a cautious way of saying that so long as the West lives in a capitalistic society there will always be war. The conclusion is inescapable.

The fundamental difficulty is that the

armament industry is the product of the system of capitalism and imperialism. Unless that system gives way to a true desire for peace, the evils of this industry of destruction will never be eliminated. Those who talk of abolishing arms industry, while supporting imperialism and capitalism, might as well talk of abolishing the Atlantic Ocean. The real problem, and the only possible solution, is to alter the world's belief—praticularly of the Occident—that it for ever requires arms. And though there never was a bleaker prospect of success in that endeavour than right now, the West cannot always remain steeped in the ethics of the jungle. I am morally certain that capitalism and imperialism are not immortal. They are no more immortal than cannibalism.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC THROUGH ORIENTAL EYES

By TARAKNATH DAS, M. A., Ph. D.

WHENEVER currents of diverse interests meet, there arise peculiar problems. This is true in affairs of individuals, societies, classes of society, and nations. At the very bottom of the various problems of the Pacific, there lies the fact that the most important nations of the world with conflicting interests have met in the Pacific area and this meeting has produced most momentous social, economic, political and religious problems, affecting the whole population of the world. Therefore, the problems of the Pacific are the most serious problems of the present century. I shall make an endeavour to discuss barely some of the important points of the present-day international politics relating to the Pacific area.

The lecture has been designated as "The Problem of the Pacific Through Oriental Eyes". I am afraid that some will be disappointed, if they expect something extraordinarily fantastic or dogmatic, because the lecturer is an oriental by birth.

There are not many Western scholars who do not look at the problems of the Pacific without a peculiar prejudice. Many Western scholars entertain double standards of international morality, one for the so-called superior people of the West and the other for the people of the Orient. They think that anything that might be upsetting to the vested interests -political. territorial and economic—of the Western nations is undesirable and therefore unjust and must be opposed. I wish to make it clear that I do not subscribe to this outlook.

I was born and received my early training in India. But I received my higher education in the United States of America; and I am an American citizen. I have lived in China and Japan as well as other Asiatic countries. I have also tried to study World Politics in various European capitals, as an impartial student who wishes to know facts and their implications. I shall make an endeavour to present a view of the Problem of the Pacific, without prejudice, with the hope that my presentation of facts will rouse interest for further careful investigations, with the sole object, that international problems of the Orient may be solved in such a way that it will bring about better understanding between the East and the West and preserve the peace of the world.

The nations that are directly interested in the problems of the Pacific are not merely the nations of the world situated in the Pacific region, but also all the Great Powers of the world which do not have any possession in the Pacific but which have commercial and political interests in that vast region which include India, Burma, Siam, China, Malaya Archipelago, Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, Indo-China, China proper, Manchuria, Korea, Russia, Japan, Canada, the United States of America, Mexico, some of the South American republics, Australia as well as New Zealand.

Problems of international politics are inter-related and not confined to any special area. So the problem of the Pacific is a vital factor in World Politics. Problems of international politics are not sentimental affairs, but they concern population problems, problems of commerce—raw materials, exports and imports—and problems of National Security in the broadest sense of the term. From this point of view a nation like Italy, which has no colony in the Pacific and which hardly expects to make any effort for territorial expansion in the Pacific area is also vitally interested in every development there. I may say that if an international conflict of

serious character breaks out in the Pacific, the shock of it will be felt in all the capitals of the Great Powers, Rome included; because Rome, the Eternal City, under the leadership of Signor Mussolini, has during the last few years attained a new position of pre-eminence from the standpoint of international politics. If New Italy is alive to its mission of asserting her position in such a fashion that no problem of any magnitude in the field of international politics should be solved without Italian participation, then the leaders of Italian public life should pay special attention to the problems of the Pacific.

II

One of the main currents of Modern History of the world is the expansion of the European Powers in extra-European regions. From this point of view the history of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may be regarded as the history of uninterrupted expansion of the European peoples (America included, because America is an extension of Europe) in the Orient as well as Africa The history of the latter part of the nineteenth century and the present era of the tewntieth century may be regarded as the arrest of Western expansion in the Orient. One may very well conceive that the twentieth century may be an era of re-assertion of the East which will lead to better understanding between the East and the West on the basis of equality. This will be a surer foundation of a new civilization to which Signor Mussolini made an allusion in his epoch-making speech delivered before the First Congress of Oriental Students held in Rome during the last Christmas week.

Expansion of Occidental Powers to the Pacific region and its reactions constitute the Pacific Problem of the present age. Russian expansion to the Pacific, expansion of the British Empire through India to the Pacific, French expansion in South-eastern Asia, American acquisition of the Philippines, German efforts to secure a special sphere of influence in China and acquisition of some of the Pacific islands are the root causes of the Pacific Problem.

So far as China is concerned, the Opium War waged by Great Britain (1839-1842) to force opium upon the Chinese people and thus make profit by the East India Company and its directors, who indirectly controlled the Government of Great Britain of that time, was the beginning of the new epoch in the history of the Pacific area. As a result of the Opium War and through a significant form of "European Concert against China", China began to lose her sovereignty, through imposition of "extra-territoriality", loss of territories as well as "establishment of spheres of influence". Even today, preservation of territorial integrity of China remains the foremost of the Chinese problems of the Pacific.

About eighty years ago, when Commodore Perry forced Japan to open her doors to foreign nations for trade, Japan was not a factor in the problems of the Pacific. From the beginning of the opening of Japan for foreign trade, statesmen of "the Land of the Rising Sun" were most anxious that their country would not have to experience the same fate as was the case with India and China. However, "extra-territorial jurisdiction" was also imposed upon Japan, by the Western Powers. But the Japanese people, for a period of more than thirty years, concentrated all their efforts on its removal; and they succeeded in gaining their end by the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, not until the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, did Japan receive full recognition as a free and independent nation, on the basis of equality with Western nations.

To get an adequate idea of the Pacific Problems of today, one must have comprehensive knowledge of the development of events in the Far East at least since 1894, *i.e.*, the Sino-Japanese War. It will not be possible for me to discuss these events in this lecture. But I must mention a few of the most important facts. The Sino-Japanese War was the beginning of the New Era in the Pacific, when Japan defeated China and served notice to the whole world that she would not calmly submit to other Powers if they interfered with her rights or endangered her national security However, immediately after the Sino-Japanese War, Japan felt the pressure of and was humiliated by a new "European concert" against her; and she then fully realized the dangerous character of Western expansion in the Far East By the treaty of Simonosaki (April 14, 1895), China, among other things, agreed to cede Liatung peninsula—a part of Manchuria—to Japan. But a few days after the signing of this treaty, on April 23, 1895, through the joint-intervention of Russia, Germany and France, Japan was forced to retrocede the very territory to China. The immediate effects of the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War were: (*i*) Great Britain, before the Sino-Japanese War, was contemplating an alliance with China; but realizing China's weakness, gave up this idea and decided to cultivate better understanding with Japan. (*ii*) Japanese statesmen approached the Chinese to come to an understanding with Japan—to form a Sino-Japanese Alliance—to protect their mutual interests against Western aggressors. But this offer was politely rejected by China. (*iii*) China, under the leadership of Li Hung Chang, decided to seek Russian support against Japan. A secret treaty of Russo-Chinese offensive and defensive alliance against Japan was signed. The text of this secret treaty was not divulged, until the Washington Conference of 1921-22. (*iv*) Japanese statesmen realized the most important truth in international relations that a military victory may become a real defeat, if the victory was not

supported by successful diplomacy. They found that they were robbed of the fruits of their victory, because China could secure support of Russia, Germany and France, while Japan was isolated in international politics. Therefore, Japanese statesmen sought Sino-Japanese co-operation which was rejected by China. Then the Japanese statesmen decided either to make an alliance with Russia or to make an alliance with England.

China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War encouraged Western Powers for extension of their territory and political control of China. Within 1897-98, Russia occupied Port Arthur and China was forced to grant territorial leases to Germany, Great Britain and France. Thus at the end of the nineteenth century there was a concert of European Powers, who were jealous of one another, but in perfect agreement in carrying out the policy of "break-up of China". Japan was opposed to this policy; but she was powerless to oppose it effectively. Japanese statesmen fully realized that the break-up of China by European Powers would mean a serious threat against her very existence as an independent State; therefore, they definitely formulated their international policy, which was to be carried out in course of time, through diplomacy, and if necessary, by victorious war. This international policy of Japan, according to my analysis, may be summed up as follows: *Elimination of political and territorial control of the Far East by Western Powers; and assertion of Asian Independence, under Japanese leadership.*

European Powers' activities towards "break-up of China" led to the Boxer Rebellion. America championed the cause of territorial integrity of China and promulgated her "Open Door Policy in China". But, after the Boxer Rebellion, when it became evident that Russia was determined upon virtual annexation of Manchuria and was planning to extend her influence into Korea, Lord Lansdowne on behalf of Great Britain and Viscount Hayashi on behalf of Japan, on January 30, 1902, signed a treaty—the Anglo-Japanese Alliance—which brought about a real revolution in the history of World Politics of the twentieth century. Since the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, no major problem of World Politics (especially those concerning the Pacific) has been solved without Japan's active participation.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was really the prelude to the Russo-Japanese War. The Russo-Japanese War was Japan's supreme effort to save China from being divided up by European Powers; and by defeating Russia, Japan eliminated Russia at least for the time being from being the most dangerous factor menacing Japan.

The period of 1905-14, was the period of consolidation of Japanese power by annexation of Korea and formation of various agreements with the Great Powers of the West. Western historians often do not mention the fact that Japan possibly would not have dared to annex Korea, if they had refused to consent to it. By the Treaty of Portsmouth (September 5, 1905) Russia recognized Japan's special position in Korea. By the Second Anglo-Japanese Alliance (August 12, 1905) Great Britain virtually put a seal of approval regarding Japanese supremacy in Korea. Then Japan concluded a treaty with Korea on November 17, 1905 by which Korea virtually became a Japanese protectorate. To remove any possible opposition of Russia regarding virtual annexation of Korea and Japanese control over Southern Manchuria, secret treaties were concluded between Japan and Russia on July 30, 1907 and July 4, 1910. Then Japan concluded Root-Takahira Agreement with the United States, by which the Japanese agreed to support the right of the United States in the Philippines: while the United States agreed to acknowledge Japan's special rights in the Far East. (It may be noted that the United States of America was the first Great Power to close its legation in Suoel, as a virtual recognition of Japanese supremacy in Korea). Japan also concluded Franco-Japanese Agreement in 1909 by which both nations recognized their mutual interests in the Orient. During the session of the Second Hague Conference for International Peace, Korean delegates were not allowed to participate in it. (If Korea was allowed to participate in the Hague Congress, it would have meant recognition of Korea as an independent Power.) Therefore, fortified by the consent of Russia, Britain, France and the United States of America and by the indirect consent of all other Powers who were participants of the Hague Conference, Japan annexed Korea on August 29, 1910.

Japan entered the World War, as if to help her ally Great Britain, but really to eliminate Germany from the Pacific and to check any attempt on the part of Britain to gain any new territory in the Pacific region bordering China. In May 1915, Japan forced China to sign a treaty by which Japan not only strengthened her position in Manchuria, but secured Chinese consent to the Japanese demand that China should not cede, sell, or lease any of her territories or islands to any power without Japanese consent. On July 3, 1916, Japan and Russia concluded a secret treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. On November 2, 1917 by the signing of the Lansing-Ishhi Agreement the United States recognized that Japan had special interests in China, particularly in that part to which her possessions are contiguous. During the Versailles Peace Conference, Great Britain and France, bound by secret treaties with Japan, agreed to Japanese claims over the German islands north of the equator and also securing German rights in the Province of Shantung. Japan was also given a permanent seat in the

League Council, although her afforts towards securing the mention of "racial equality before law" in the preamble of the League of Nations' covenant failed. During the Washington Conference (1921-22) Japan was confronted with the most difficult situation, practically facing isolation in World Politics. She not only cleared herself from the difficult situation, but made tremendous strides in industrial development, strengthening her position through her own efforts and international understandings.

Since the Sino-Japanese War, momentous changes have come over China; and the most important of them is the rise of new nationalism and the establishment of the Republic of China, under the leadership of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen. However, China has lost the vast territories of Tibet, Outer Mongolia and Manchuria. While China is infested with Civil Wars, many of her bordering provinces in the Central Asian regions as well as the South-West are menaced through rebellions, supposed to be fostered by foreign interests. On the one hand, China's weakness and inability to maintain her territorial integrity and on the other hand Japan's increasing Power and determination to strengthen her position in Asian mainland and to maintain her supremacy, by eliminating the pre-ponderating influence of the Western Powers in the Far East, have created peculiar reactions among Western Powers. To say the least, the situation in the Far East in 1934 is most disturbing, if not fraught with danger.

III

The Sino-Japanese conflicts in Manchuria as well as in Shanghai are incidents of such recent times that I do not wish to examine them at length. However, I should say that Japan has followed her Western teachers most effectively to carry out her programme of maintaining her rights and privileges in Manchuria and in the international settlement at Shanghai. She has done exactly what Great Britain did in Egypt; and other Great Powers have done in various parts of China and other countries. Since the days of Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, Japanese policy has been to establish herself securely in the mainland of Asia to check the march of Russian aggression. Japan has persistently tried to win over China to her side so that Japan and China may follow a common foreign policy; or at least Chinese Foreign Policy would not be anti-Japanese. Failing to secure a Sino-Japanese understanding regarding Japanese rights in Manchuria, Japan has created a buffer State of Manchukuo, so that Russia and China would not be able to use their military forces together against Japan in the Far East.

What the Japanese did at Shanghai has the sanction of precedent created by other Great Powers—Great Britain and the United States of America—which only a few years ago bombarded Nanking to protect their citizens and their property. One must not forget that Britain landed about twenty-five thousand soldiers at Shanghai a few years ago to protect the rights of British merchants and to demonstarte against the Chinese boycott of British goods. At that time, the League of Nations did not pay any attention to Chinese prayers for an investigation or intervention; because these military operations were carried on by great *Western* Powers.

Japanese action in Shanghai was started as a measure to protect Japanese rights and to protect Japanese citizens and their property, following the British precedent mentioned above. At the beginning, the municipal authorities of the international settlement of Shanghai were not opposed to Japan's landing of troops for protective purposes. When the Chinese 19th Route Army took a stand against the Japanese punitive expedition, it developed into a war which was not wholeheartedly supported by General Chiang-Kai-Shek, who was in favour of making an amicable settlement with Japan. After the Japanese operation was started, and British and American cruisers and other types of naval vessels were concentrated as observers at Shanghai, the Japanese decided to raze the forts of Shanghai, so that in future no fleet, protected by Chinese guns of the fort of Shanghai would be able to operate against Japan in the region of the China Sea. Of all the Great Powers in the Pacific, Great Britain was most upset by Japanese actions in Shanghai. British authorities were most anxious that Japanese forces should evacuate Shanghai; and therefore through British mediation an agreement was reached which enabled Japan to withdraw her forces from Shanghai and strengthen her position in Manchuria.

It is not my intention to condemn or justify Japanese actions in Manchuria or Shanghai; because I am merely relating facts and not acting as a judge. Just as Great Britain would not give up her position of supremacy in Egypt, the Suez Canal and Palestine, just because her policies in these countries might be condemned by an international body, similarly, Japan would not give up her position of control over the region of Manchukuo; even if she was condemned "as the aggressor" by the League of Nations. One must not forget that Japan fought Russia to oust Russian control over that region. More than one hundred thousand Japanese soldiers died to check Russian efforts to annex Manchuria. It was Japan which checked the Russian march into North China, for which she had to spend about a billion yen, and lastly, Japanese investment in Manchuria is immense and Japan must protect it. For political, strategic and economic reasons, Japan will keep her hold over Manchuria at any cost.

To make the Japanese position clear, I wish to mention an incident in Italian history, which has an international significance. By the Treaty

of Berlin of 1878, Italy was a party to a treaty guaranteeing territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. But after the Balkan War Italy attacked Turkey and occupied Tripoli. Many British, German, Austrian and other publicists raised a cry against Italy's action; but Turkey, defeated in the Italo-Turkish War, had to sign a treaty ceding Tripoli and several of the Turkish islands to Italy. Of course, Italian statesmen secretly secured consent of Russia, France and Great Britain—the Triple Entente group of Powers—beforehand. Just as Italy is thinking of further expansion in Africa and not giving up an inch of territory there; similarly, the Japanese are going to maintain their supremacy in Manchukuo, through Chinese consent, international sanction or arrangements with some powers, if that is possible, or by her own force, if that is necessary.

Japanese statesmen are anxious that China should recognize the present status of Manchukuo; because, if China recognizes the new status then there will be less ground for other Powers' objection to recognize it. Next to China, the opposition of the United States of America to the changed status of Manchuria is receiving considerable attention of Japanese statesmen; because the United States of America has not taken an inch of ground of China and is going to establish a new precedent in the history of colonial Powers by willingly according independence to the Philippines.

Japan knows that there would be no serious British opposition to Japanese policy in Manchuria; because Britain has virtually annexed Tibet and British-armed Tibetans have been encroaching into China proper in the rich province of Szechuan. In fact, British Tory leaders are willing to come to an understanding with Japan by agreeing to Japan's special position in Manchuria. It is needless to say that France with her possessions in Indo-China, bound by Franco-Japanese Treaty of friendship of twenty-five years' standing, is willing to recognize the new status of Manchuria. Japan knows the true nature of Soviet Russian diplomacy in the Far East. Soviet Russia, while professing friendship to China, has detached Outer Mongolia from Chinese control and practically made Outer Mongolia a Russian protectorate. Soviet Russia recognized "the People's Government" of Mongolia by signing an agreement for establishing friendly relations between the two countries on November 5, 1921. If one carefully examines this document, then it will be evident that the status of Outer Mongolia is no better than that of a protectorate or it is no better than the status of the present government of Manchukuo. In this connection it may be mentioned that, although the Soviet Russian Government was recognized by China on May 31, 1924, yet on September 20, 1924, the Soviet authorities entered into an agreement regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway, with the late Chang Tso Lin, who was the then head of "the three autonomous Eastern Provinces of China" (*i. e.*, Manchuria). By this act the Soviet authorities acknowledged the autonomy of Manchuria. From the very fact that Soviet Russia was willing to sell its rights of the Chinese Eastern Railway to the government of Manchukuo, through Japanese mediation, it became clear that if proper price were paid, Soviet Russia would be willing to side with Japan on the Manchurian question against China.

However, Soviet Russian leaders are loud against Japan, since Soviet diplomacy has been successful in securing support of France, Italy and other Powers in Europe and the recognition of the United States of America; *but there are no valid reasons for thinking that Russia will fight Japan to recover Manchuria for China.*

Just as Britain would not allow any Power to upset her position in Egypt, Palestine or Iraq and Tibet—not to speak of India, just as Italy would not allow any Power to threaten her supremacy in Albania or Tripoli, just as France would at any cost try to maintain her position in Northern Africa and Indo-China, just as Soviet Russia is determined to maintain her position in Outer Mongolia, similarly, Japan is also determined to uphold her supremacy in Manchukuo, unless Japan become involved in a war with the Great Powers. To strengthen her defensive power, Japan has already concluded Japanese-Manchukuo alliance which is in line with the British Government's proposed treaty of alliance with Egypt, and the existing Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of Alliance.

In the past Chinese statesmen tried to use Russian support or Anglo-American support against Japan. It seems now that they will have to change their policy in favour of Sino-Japanese co-operation. At least there is some evidence of the rise of a group of Chinese politicians who will follow this policy. Such a policy will, more than anything else, stabilize the situation in the Pacific.

IV

It is generally recognized that the international political and economic situation in the Pacific is rather disturbing. Sino-Japanese disputes, establishment of Manchukuo under the protection of Japan, Japanese activities towards Inner-Mongolia, Russo-Japanese tension due to the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute, Anglo-Japanese naval and economic rivalry and also American-Japanese tension on various issues may lead to a war in the Pacific.

In this connection, one may point out that a Nanking despatch, dated March 10, 1934, gave us the news that Dr. W. W. Yen, Chinese Ambassador to Moscow, in an interview predicted a war in the Far East in the near future between Japan on one side and Soviet Russia in alliance with the United States and Great Britain on the other. Dr. Yen, who was in Nanking to

urge the adoption of a sound foreign policy to avoid extinction of China, hinted that China would have more to gain by collaboration with the Western powers than with Japan.

"Other Chinese leaders such as Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Minister to France, Dr. Alfred Sze, Minister to the United States and the Southwestern politicians Tang Yi, Eugene Chen and Woo Lu share this view and date the war for 1936, when the Soviet will have completed their second five-year plan and the naval treaties will have expired. The general view is that a weakened Japan would enhance China's chances of regaining her lost provinces of Manchuria and Jehol, but victorious Japan, even if aided by China, would tighten her grips on the provinces."

The above statement should not be taken lightly. This idea of a possible Anglo-American Sino-Russian Alliance against Japan is the policy advocated by many Chinese nationalists of "Canton School". They feel that by this means they will be able to defeat Japan diplomatically and recover Manchuria as well as Jehol from Japan's grip. They are encouraged by the past successes of Chinese diplomacy against Japan. Although China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), Japan received a severe diplomatic defeat when China could secure intervention of Russia, Germany and France to retrocede all territories in the mainland of Asia. The treaty of Portsmouth (1905) concluded after the Russo-Japanese War was, from the Japanese point of view, a diplomatic defeat. The Japanese people were so incensed with the failure of Japanese diplomacy that the Japanese mob of Tokio tried to set fire to the building of the Foreign Office and threatened the life of Baron Komura, the Chief Japanese delegate. The Chinese forced Japan to modify her (Japan's) "twenty-one Demands" of 1915, through the intervention of the United States as well as Great Britain. Although the Versailles Treaty accorded all German rights in Shantung to Japan, yet during the Washington Conference 1921-1922, China recovered the very territory from Japan, through active support and insistence of the United States of America and Great Britain. In 1917, although by an agreement, between Japan and the United States, known as Lansing-Ishii Agreement, the United States recognized Japan's special rights in all the region adjoining Japan's territories, yet the very agreement was abrogated by the United States Government, after the conclusion of the Washington Conference. Although Japan inflicted crushing defeats upon Chinese forces in Manchuria and Jehol as well as in Shanghai, Chinese diplomacy secured Japan's evacuation of the Chinese territory near Shanghai; and through the support of the League of Nations, Russia and the United States, brought Japan before the bar of international justice and condemned her as the aggressor nation; and forced Japan to resign her membership from the League of Nations. Furthermore, the United States, through the Secretary of State Mr. Stimson, proclaimed a so-called Stimson Doctrine, by which the United States has decided against recognition of the changed status of Manchuria.

These successes of Chinese diplomacy and very pronounced sympathy of Signor Mussolini and the Italians have encouraged the Chinese to pursue a policy of bringing about isolation of Japan in World Politics. This is the policy of one section of the Chinese politicians. The Chinese communist leaders, who control several Chinese provinces and have a standing army of several hundred thousand men and are carrying on wars against the Chinese nationalists, are in favour of a Sino-Russian Alliance against Japan. The Nanking Government, under the leadership of General Chiang-Kai-Shek, who is a realist, is not anxious to pick up a quarrel with Japan; because General Chiang knows full well the real weakness of China. Furthermore, General Chiang and others think that the Western Powers—specially the United States or Britain—would not be anxious to fight against Japan, just to help China. They are further convinced that, if through a Russo-Japanese conflict, Russia supported by China and other powers defeats Japan, then it would be the Chinese communists who would be rulers of China. Chiang-Kai-Shek and other Koumintang leaders of the right wing are willing to maintain friendly relations with Russia, but they are decidedly opposed to any further increase of Soviet influence in China and the Far East. In Northern China, the majority of the Chinese leaders have decided that it would be unwise to provoke any further hostility with Japan. They and other Chinese leaders who are now actively engaged in the administration of Manchukuo are friendly to Japan, and wish to have Sino-Japanese co-operation.

Under the present circumstances, Japanese programme or policy regarding China is to support the political parties which will be willing to co-operate with Japan in the Far East and recognize the new status of Manchuria, created by the establishment of the Empire of Manchukuo, free from the control of the Chinese Republic. To demonstrate that Japan has no further aggressive intentions against China, Japanese have recently evacuated the passes dominating the Great Wall of North China. It has been also rumoured that Japan may be willing to agree to the abolition of extra-territorial jurisdiction in China, provided Sino-Japanese relations, involving the status of Manchukuo, be solved amicably. The Japanese contention is that, as long as Chinese politicians will get support from the Great Powers against Japan, there is less possibility of the settlement of Sino-Japanese disputes; and therefore Japan has taken steps to solve all outstanding problems with the United States of America as soon as possible.

(To be concluded)

An Address delivered before the Italian Institute for Middle and Far-East, Rome, on April 10, 1934.

THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT

By D. W. INDRA

NOT long ago the word 'Bolshevism' was anathema to the world outside Russia, of which the press was constantly regaling its constituents with hair-raising accounts of the alleged barbarities of the supposed monsters of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics.

Whatever excuse there may have been in the past for such grotesque caricature of the Russian scene, the recent achievements of the Soviets have been such as to compel attention from all quarters.

The completion of the first Five-Year Plan of the Soviets about a year ago has not ushered in the expected millennium, nor can it be denied that the execution of that plan has been attended with 'Himalayan' blunders. But after all is said and done, the net result would seem to be a colossal achievement in national reconstruction. It is an achievement well worth our attention.

Take the problem of illiteracy, the onslaught on which has been one of the principal fronts in the great Russian offensive, because Lenin had warned his followers that

> "As long as we have such a calamity as illiteracy in our country, it is impossible to talk of political enlightenment. The illiterate person is an outsider to political thought. He must be taught the A. B. C. Without literacy there can be no politics ; there are only rumours, gossip, prejudices and fairy-tales."

"In 1914-15", says Maurice Hindus, one of the most authoritative writers on contemporary Russia, "compulsory universal education was a far-off dream of liberals and intellectuals. In 1931-32 free, universal compulsory education for children between eight and eleven has become a fact. By 1933-34 it will become a fact for children between eight and twelve." As early as 1920, 60 per cent of the male population of the country and 70 per cent of the female population or 68 per cent of the entire population, according to Maurice Hindus, was illiterate. In 1932 only 9 per cent of the population was illiterate.

In 1913 Russia had 859 journals with a total circulation of only 2,700,000. Now there are 7000 journals with a total circulation of 40,000,000. Book-printing has increased ten times.

This transformation which the Soviets have brought about within a decade or so under a host of serious handicaps has extorted high tributes even from those students of Russia who have no sympathy with its implacable attitude towards Capitalism. The official drive against illiteracy, however, would not have been the success that it is on all accounts but for the unofficial co-operation of the members of the Komsomol (Communist Youth Association). This organisation sent

> "volunteers throughout the whole of the Union to instruct the masses, to help in the Schools and provide accommodation, text books, copy books, and pencils ; to care for the pupils' clothes so that they should not have to miss school for want of them, to organise the much needed collection of money and to do a thousand other things."
> (*Youth in Soviet Russia* by Klaus Mehnert).

Another problem to which the Soviets set themselves was the drastic overhauling of Russian farming as practised for ages by the vast majority of peasants. Russia is predominantly an agricultural country, over 80 per cent of the population making its living off the land, but the ancient division of farms into long and narrow strips with their adjacent weedgrowing ridges meant crying wastes—wastes in seed, in labour, in human and animal energy. The Five-Year Plan envisaged a great extension of farming on a collective and scientific basis, but though this part of the plan has not succeeded so well as was anticipated, not because collective and scientific farming is not inherently good but because the attempt to socialize villages, according to the distinguished authors of '*The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today,*' was too sudden and too vehement for the willing co-operation of the peasants with the authorities. The consensus of opinion of the experts who

have written on this aspect of Russian reconstruction is that collectivization has been a fine thing for Russian farming, that through the abolition of small landholdings and the creation of large-scale farms, it makes possible the universal introduction of the best modern agricultural machines, and that above all it guarantees open-minded management, which can readily apply anything new that science and experience advise.

According to recent information, the harvest of last year was splendid due partly to natural causes and partly to the increasing popularity of the Soviet policy of the collectivization of land.

It is, however, in the field of industry that Russia's first Five-Year Plan has been an unqualified success. Indeed the Coles say in '*The Intelligent Man's Review of Europe Today*' that it has succeeded on the whole far more than any observer thought it would. Stalin was able to report to the Sixteenth Party Congress in June, 1930 that in less than a decade industrial production had been raised from 17 to 180 per cent of the pre-War maximum. By 1931 it exceeded 200 per cent. In reference to this Mr. Sherwood Eddy, who as a life-long Y. M. C. A. worker cannot be suspected of partiality to the anti-religious Bolsheviks, rightly says in his, "*The Challenge of Russia*" :

> An advance of more than tenfold in production in a decade, in the face of a world depression and without foreign loans is unprecedented.

According to the same writer, the output of oil, steel, rolled metal, electro-technical apparatuses and agricultural machinery has actually outstripped the estimate in the Five-Year-Plan, while at the same time an era of titanic building is in evidence all over Russia — factories, dams, hydro-electric power stations, irrigation plants, railways, oil wells, mining projects, vast agricultural centres for State farms and collectives and housing for industrial workers. This is confirmed by the well-known author of '*The Mansions of Philosophy*' and '*The Case for India*', Will Durant, in his '*Impressions of Soviet Russia*'.

The Komsomol (Communist Youth Association) has its place in this industrial campaign. Komsomolites are to be found on every front as Volunteers fiercely keen on helping the cause. Klaus Mehnert recounts in his '*Youth in Soviet Russia*' two instances as typical of the Komsomolite.

> "A crack in the chimney of a cement works in Sverdlovsk had brought the factory to a standstill. So as to lose no time the damage was repaired by a Komsomolite at the risk of his life in a temperature of 100 degrees."
>
> "During the erection of the Traktorstroi a brigade of Komsomolites waived, in spite of intense winter cold, their claim to working-clothes of which there was shortage, on the following grounds: 'we don't need the suits so very much. We know how things stand. They must be given to fresh arrivals so that they shall not lose their enthusiasm for work on account of externals like a shortage of clothes'."

It is not possible to exhaust within the compass of a short article all that the first Five-Year Plan has acomplished, but one should make at least a passing reference to its work in the sphere of social services.

In protective Labour Legislation and social insurance, Russia, in the opinion of Mr. Eddy, probably leads the world. The Labour Code of 1918 and 1922 introduced eight-hour day.

Today it has been reduced to an average of 7.2 hours. Instead of one day's rest in seven, one in five is now provided. Each worker rests each fifth day or six days each month. Already more than nine-tenths of the wage-workers are insured. This social insurance is in the control of the trade unions, the Commissariat of Labour and the workers themselves While in other countries the workers usually contribute from thirty to forty per cent of the insurance funds, in Soviet Russia the workers are not asked to contribute anything.* Most generous and extensive provisions for payments for maternity and child welfare, for medical care, for temporary and permanent disability, unemployment, invalidity and old age, housing, death benefit and burial are made.† Working women who were the beasts of burden in old Russia are specially protected and as a rule prohibited from night work and from certain arduous employments. Public nurseries, provided for small children whose mothers are at work, are a notable feature of Russian life, not only in the factories but on the collective farms, and in the parks and places of amuse-

* *Labour Protection in Soviet Russia* by G. M. Price.

† *The Challenge of Russia* by Sherwood Eddy.

ment. Provision is also made in factories and farms for newspapers, magazines, books and study courses. Workers are entitled to vacations on full pay in advance. Palaces and summer resorts of the former nobility are turned over for sanatoria, rest homes, hospitals and nurseries for their workers and their children.

All this fine humanity to a class of workers who have been the bottom-dogs in all climes down the ages was partially offset during the early days of the Bolshevic Revolution by the stepmotherly treatment meted out to the intellectuals, but the Five-Year Plan has brought into relief the importance of intellectuals in the social economy, and that class is now rapidly coming into its own.

The Russian Five-Year Plan has rooted up prostitution, and, says Maurice Hindus, "though stray remnants still linger here and there they are always under cover." This achievement, continues Maurice Hindus, "is more noteworthy when one remembers how sodden with prostitution Russia was in the old days." With the advent of the great plan, the the war on prostititution took on the character of a campaign for national safety. More than three million prostitutes have been persuaded to enter Russian industry in one capacity or other, and to deal with the confirmed prostitutes who would not abandon their profession, Government established special institutions known as prophylactoriums which are among the most remarkable institutions in Russia.

The reclamation of criminals in Soviet Russia is another fascinating story, but would be too long for recital here.

The picture of Russian achievement as presented here is far from complete, has its shadows—shadows which will presumably get touched off in the course of the working of the 2nd Five-Year Plan now in full swing. It is nevertheless a picture which every Indian Nationalist should look at through such volumes as Maurice Hindus' *The Great Offensive*, Sherwood Eddy's *The Challenge of Russia*, Klaus Mehnert's *Youth in Soviet Russia* and Harper's *Civic Training in Soviet Russia*, not indeed with a view to bodily transplanting the too red Communism of Russia on Indian soil but in order to glimpse the wonderful possibilities of progress for any people whose government can touch the keys of its emotion and set it on a co-operative march towards a vision splendid.

THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

XIII

BEFORE Sudarshan had finished speaking, Amitā cried out again, "Let other matters wait, tell me first when you are going to give us a feast ?"

Sudarshan pretended to be very little impressed with the affair. "It is nothing much," he said, "Every year hundreds of boys are passing the M. B."

"But hundreds of boys don't stand first every year," interrupted Amitā.

"Who told you I have stood first ?" asked Sudarshan.

Suparnā spoke now. "Surely you would not have come to tell us, if you had stood last," she said.

"But are not there other positions, besides the first and last ones ?" asked Sudarshan.

"There are," admitted Amitā, "but not for you. Why don't you confess the truth ?"

"Ladies must not be contradicted" said Sudarshan, "so I have perforce to admit that I have stood first."

"That is sufficient," said Amitā. "But don't try to avoid the real point. After this, you will become an ill-wisher of mankind for the sake of your career ; why not earn a little merit now by feeding some good people ?"

"I shall be only too glad to invite you to a feast, provided you undertake the cooking yourselves. I am against treating you to our Maharaj's cooking. People will say then that I am trying to secure patients by poisoning my guests."

Amitā burst into a peal of laughter at Sudarshan's words and said, "No, no, I don't want that sort of a feast. We are enjoying the servants' cooking everyday at home. We must organize a sort of a picnic. My aunt is a first-rate cook, we must make her take charge

of the kitchen department. We shall thoroughly enjoy ourselves. We shall secure our Indu and Su's friend Gargee also. You know them also, don't you? If Gargee is there, we shall not be in want of good music. If you have got any friends, you must bring them also.

"So all that's settled," said Suparnā, "only a small item has been omitted. You have forgotten to ask what the man, most concerned, thinks of your arrangements. But I confess, I don't like this custom."

"What custom?" asked Amitā. "That of enjoying oneselves? Then what would you like, my dear? Shall we hold a condolence meeting for Sudarshan Babu?"

"You will be perfectly justified in doing so, on behalf of my future patients", said Sudarshan, "only it would be a bit premature. But why don't you like this custom? Don't you think every kind of recreation is as necessary for human beings, as food and drink?"

"Amitā won't let anybody properly explain," said Suparnā. "I did not mean that I was against enjoying ourselves. I only wanted to say that we should have stood you a feast. Instead of that, it is hardly seemly to compel you to become the host."

"I shall be host only in name," said Sudarshan. "You will be the real hostesses."

"Goodness gracious! What do you mean?" cried out Amitā. "My dear Su, I wash my hands off this dangerous affairs." Saying this, she rushed out of the room in mock horror.

"What a strange reception of my innocent remark," said Sudarshan, feeling rather awkward.

Suparnā blushed fiery red. "Really", she said, "I have seldom seen a more naughty girl than Amitā. She will never learn to speak properly. Let that be. Are you then returning to Calcutta?"

"No," said Sudarshan. "What would be the use of my going there? In every lane there, you will find half a dozen doctors. I must find out a place where the field is yet open."

"There are many such places in Bengal, yet," said Suparnā. "But you won't be able to make money there. I know of a few villages, where the 'ghost doctor' is the only available doctor and his potions the only medicine."

"Why don't you give me the address of these villages?" asked Sudarshan. "I hope I shall be able to compete on equal terms with the 'ghost doctors'."

"You may not," said Suparnā. "The villagers really need the 'ghost doctor' more, as they themselves resemble evil spirits more than human beings."

Amitā re-entered the room at this moment and announced, "I am free on next Friday. I don't know whether everyone else is. If it suits all present, we can have the picnic on that day."

"Is it quite settled, about the picnic?" asked Suparnā. "Unless that is settled, what is the use of fixing the time and the place?"

"It does not take long to settle that," said Amitā, "it is ancient custom, that you have to stand a feast, if you come out successful in an examination. It is like the admission fee, you have got to pocket it out. I promise now to stand a feast, if I come through all right."

"That is kind of you," said Suparnā, "to invite us so much beforehand. Sudarshan Babu will appear for the feast whenever he sees in the newspapers that you have passed. But where is the picnic to take place?"

Sudarshan thought for a moment, then he said, "It can take place at the garden house of Lala Bishwambharlal. He will be glad to lend it to us for a day, if my father asks him. It is a pretty place. Have you ever been there?"

"No, we have not," said Amitā. "Very well, let it be there. Will Friday suit you?"

"I am not free before three in the afternoon," said Suparnā. "But it does not matter, if it suits everyone else. I can be there at four, in the evening."

Before Amitā could say anything Sudarshan burst out, "No, no, that would never do. It is better to have it on Sunday, which will suit all."

Amitâ looked askance at Sudarshan and said, "Very well then, let it be on Sunday. Now for the list of the invited. Whom are you going to invite?"

Suparnā got up and said, "What is the hurry? I have never seen such an impatient person as you."

"Am I to sit with all my attention focussed on the tip of my nose, as you do?" asked Amitā in anger. "Sudarshan Babu, please don't listen to her. We have got only four days in hand, so we must settle everything in a hurry. Good lord! why must aunt shout for me now?" Saying this, she left the room again.

As soon as she had gone out, Sudarshan asked Suparnā, "Don't you like the idea of having a picnic?"

"I have already told you what my objection is," said Suparnā.

"I shall be much more glad and more grateful too, if you come to my party, than I shall be if you give a party for me," said Sudarshan.

"That is nice," said Suparnā, "you do good to people, and are also grateful to them if they are kind enough to accept your services. You leave nothing for us to do."

"If you enjoy the party and allow me the opportunity of being grateful, that is enough," said Sudarshan. "Don't think it will be an easy job."

Amitā came back and said, "Aunt wants you to have tea with us."

"I have already had it, before I came out," said Sudarshan.

"Tea is like sunlight and air," said Amita. "There can never be a question of having more or less of it. You must have it whenever you see it before you."

"That is hardly scientific", said Sudarshan. "But it is certainly more convenient. So let us go and have tea."

Today Amitâ had told the servant to serve tea in the dining room downstairs. Amitā's aunt was already there. As the three young people came in, she said, "You have shown great merit, my dear boy. You have stood first, haven't you ?"

Sudarshan bowed down to her feet and said, "So your niece has already informed everyone about it ?"

"Good news must be given to everybody," said Amitā.

Taran Babu and his two nephews now came in and were told the glad news. Everybody began to talk animatedly. Suparnā was the only silent member of the party. She was by nature a reticent person, and on this occasion specially, she was feeling a certain diffidence about expressing herself too freely. It was finally settled to have the picnic on Sunday. Amitā began to prepare a list of the persons they were going to invite. Sudarshan approved of every name she suggested, and finally took his leave. He promised to inform them by the evening whether they would be able to secure the garden-house in question.

Suparnā and Amita had to start for their respective colleges, by half past nine, so they had very little time to spare in the morning. The party at the tea table broke up very soon. Suparna went up to her room. She should have studied a while now, but could not fix her mind on the books. She opened the drawers at random and began to arrange them, though they were all tidily arranged. She looked at the dress she was to wear that day. It was clean enough, but to Suparnā's fastidious eyes, it did not seem up to the mark. So she put out another freshly-washed dress, and then sat down on the bed silently. It was against her nature to waste time thus, but today she could not give her attention to anything. She felt a thrill of excitement through her mind, though she did not know what it was about. She tried hard to acknowledge it to herself, but did not succeed fully.

Amitā had finished giving her orders for the day and was coming upstairs singing to herself and taking down her hair. Suparna's room faced the staircase. The curtain of the door blew fitfully with the wind, thus rendering its presence meaningless, so Amitā could easily see into the room She broke off in the middle of her song and enquired, "Why are you sitting there like a statue, my lady ? Haven't you got any classes today ?"

"I am just going to have my bath," said Suparnā, getting up.

Amita came into the room and asked, "Can you suggest anyone besides Indu and Gargee who could be invited ?"

"Why should we bother so much about inviting people ?" said Suparnā. "Let the person who is giving the party choose his guests."

"But he has appointed you the hostess," said Amitā, "so you have got a duty to fulfil."

Suparnā gave her a playful blow on the back and said, "Why should I bother ? She who managed everything unasked, should become the hostess. As if you did not know that he meant you, not me, to be the hostess."

"So you are jealous ?" asked Amitā. "The affair has made a certain progress then ?"

Suparnā picked up her towel and soap, saying, "I am going to have my bath now. You can go on jabbering to yourself."

She entered the bath-room and shut the door violently.

Amitā smiled and went off to her own room. She liked to tease Suparnā about Sudarshan. It had not escaped her quick eyes that Sudarshan liked Suparnā rather unusually. The young man had lived in Calcutta all these years, only appearing in Delhi for the vacations. So he had not had before any opportunities of striking up a friendship with Suparnā. After appearing for the final M. B. he got a long vacation and came to Delhi to spend it. He became a constant visitor at Taran Babu's house. Not only Amita, but other people also had begun to notice it. Sudarshan was a highly eligible match, so many Bengali families were keeping a strict watch on his movements.

Amitā knew Sudarshan's partiality for Suparnā, but she could never get to know Suparnâ's heart. She was a very reticent type of a girl, one could never get any careless avowal from her. Amitā never kept any secret from her friend, but Suparnā's heart was a sealed book to her. Amita did not know what a world of difference lay between herself and Suparnā. Amitā was only a child when Suparnā first appeared at their house to live with them. No one in Delhi knew the painful history of Suparnā's childhood. It was known only to Taran Babu, and it was highly improbable that he should ever tell it to anyone. He had promised his friend Pratul to keep it secret, and he was keeping his promise to the letter. To Amitā and her girl friends, the world meant only love and marriage. But Suparnā pretended to be so very indifferent to these two things that the girls could only feel amazement and anger at her behaviour. What a curious type of a girl ! What was the use of pretending to be a saint ? Every girl was bound to marry sooner or later, so what was the use of posing as an innocent ? But Suparna remained rather indifferent, in spite of these jests and sallies of humour.

It was doubtful whether even Suparnā understood herself perfectly. She had not yet forgotten the frightful curse that fate had laid on her childhood. She knew well that she could never have a happy life, in the ordinary sense of the word. She was trying with all her power to become a free and independent being. She turned away her gaze intentionally from the sweeter possibilities of a woman's existence. But it was rather difficult to go on like this. Everyone, with the exception of old Taran Babu, took her to be an unmarried girl, and treated her as such. Suparnā's indifference to certain matters struck people as strange and Suparnā had to suffer many humorous attacks on account of it. She was a beautiful girl and an accomplished one. So she could hardly escape the attention of the young men around. Suparnā attracted them much more than Amitā did. Amitā was poking fun at Suparnā all the time on this subject.

Up to this, Suparnā had retained the serenity of her mind. She tolerated Amita's attacks good humouredly. She was always so busy with her studies that she could not spare much time for recreation. Taran Babu was a widower and he had no grown-up son, so young men seldom came to his house. The girls met young men outside, but none of them had ever been able to touch Suparnā's heart. But this time the walls of the citadel were beginning to tremble.

Sudarshan was the son of one of Taran Babu's friends, so he had permission to come whenever he felt like it. This time his visits had become more numerous than strict etiquette permitted. Two persons were beginning to feel rather nervous about it. One was old Taran Babu. He understood that Sudarshan was falling very much in love with Suparnā, but how was this to end? He had taken her to be an unmarried woman and was desiring with all his heart and soul to have her as his wife. But cruel fate had placed her in a position where she must remain for ever, hopelessly out of his reach. The old man liked Sudarshan, and Suparnā was fully as dear to him as his own daughter. He trembled at heart, whenever he thought about the terrible blow, fate was preparing for these two young people. But he was helpless.

Suparnā too was beginning to get very much disturbed in mind, not so much for Sudarshan as for herself. She could not but acknowledge to herself that her mind had lost all its calmness and serenity.

XIV

The much looked-for Sunday arrived at last. Amitā had been busy, the whole week, making arrangements for the picnic. As soon as Saturday arrived, she became nearly frantic with excitement. She was a great enthusiast about every kind of amusement. She took upon her own shoulders all the duties that should have devolved on Sudarshan. She invited the guests, made a list of the necessary things and arranged about the cooking and the music, etc. Sudarshan remained completely in the background. Amitā's aunt helped her a good deal with the arrangements, by giving all kinds of expert advice. Suparnā alone, felt rather diffident about taking any part in the work unasked. Amitā scolded her day and night on account of this. But poor Suparnā could not make her behaviour natural and normal in spite of all her efforts. She did not herself understand clearly where her difficulty lay, and she had not the courage to probe deeply into her own feelings.

On Saturday, Amita and her aunt suddenly changed their previous arrangements to some extent. "Let us finish the cooking here by night", said Amita's aunt. If we try to have the cooking done there, we shall have to suffer many difficulties and may not get many necessary things. Besides, I too shall want to go about a bit, though I am an old woman. It is a question of cooking for only thirty or forty people at the most. If we begin very early and light all the ovens, we shall get everything ready in time."

"Certainly", said Amitā with great enthusiasm. "It's a small affair after all. We have got to cook only the curry, the khichri and the fry; the rest will come from the bazar. It will be great fun. Shall we ask Indu to come and help with cutting up the vegetables?"

"It is too small an affair to requisition outside help", said Suparnā. "We should be able to do everything ourselves. But the marketing must be done early and someone must go to fetch the meat from the slaughter-house at night. If he goes at half past three in the morning, he will get it fresh."

Both Amitā and Suparnā got back early from their respective colleges on that day. They hurried over their tea, then set themselves to prepare everything for the picnic. They sat down on the floor of the dining room with a large quantity of potatoes and began to peel them. Sudarshan arrived at this juncture. "Look, how busy we are", said Amitā, on seeing him. "We are determined to finish everything before we reach the garden. We are leaving only the eating, to be done there."

"Did you not arrange otherwise before?" asked Sudarshan.

"Oh, but we have changed our minds", said Amitā. "My aunt says that she would not like to sit still there, mounting guard over the cooks. She, too, would like to go about. So we thought it better to have the cooking done here, and carry the food with us. Since we are getting the use of two cars, I don't see any difficulty in carrying out our plans."

"That will be all right then", said Sudarshan. "I shall be satisfied if I get a good feed. But I came to tell you that I have invited three more guests."

"You need not worry", said Suparnā. "The

amount of potatoes, gathered by Amitā, is sure to be sufficient for all."

"Oh indeed!" said Amitā. "So all the fault lies with poor me? Who made the estimate pray? Don't try to be clever at my expense, or I shall hit back very nastily."

"It does not matter if we have more potatoes than we can consume", said Sudarshan, "it is far better than having to go without any. But you must let me know my share of the duties. I must refresh my memory or I shall forget everything.

"You must go and have the garden and the house thoroughly cleansed, first thing in the morning," said Amitā. "Next you must put in an adequate supply of water for drinking and all other purposes. You must also collect and guide all the male members of the party to their destination. Besides these, you may undertake to perform any other work, you want to."

"I don't want any other work", said Sudarshan. "If I feel inspired, when I am there once, I may try something more."

"There will be no lack of inspiration", said Amitā, "you might even get an electric shock."

As Amitā's aunt came in at this moment, they had to change the trend of their conversation. Sudarshan got up after a few minutes and said, "I must be off now. I have to go and inform some of my guests where they have to go. Else, there is no knowing when and where they will arrive."

"Won't your father be able to come?" asked Suparnā.

"I cannot say yet". said Sudarshan, "if he is fit, he might come. His rheumatism gives him no rest. I may take him there and bring him back early.

"Yes, yes, do bring him", said Amitā's aunt. "He must be there, since it is for you, his worthy son, that the party is being given. You must bring him somehow."

"I shall try my best", said Sudarshan. "But he is a confirmed invalid, you know, and one feels rather nervous about dragging him hither and thither."

Sudarshan left after this. The bustle of preparation went on in Taran Babu's house. Everyone felt too enthusiastic to go and have any rest, though it could have been easily managed.

It was about one at night, when Suparnā said, "Amitā, let us go and have a couple of hours' sleep or we won't be able to enjoy the picnic at all. We would only sit and nod drowsily."

"Let us", said Amitā, "but aunt, you must call us as soon as the meat for the curry arrives." They went and laid themselves down.

When they woke, the rosy light of dawn was already upon the earth. Amitā sat up in consternation and cried out, "Goodness gracious! It is already morning. Su, get up at once. Now aunt has gone and done it!"

Suparnā, too, sat up in alarm at Amitā's cry They rushed downstairs, wrapping themselves somehow in their *saris*. Amitā looked through the open door of the kitchen and cried out, "This is very bad of you Aunt. Why did you not call us?"

The cooking was all finished and Amitā's aunt was instructing the servants how to keep everything warm. "Why is it so bad?" she asked smilingly. "You had a nice nap and now will be able to enjoy your outing to the full. Otherwise you would have felt drowsy the whole day."

"No, Aunt," insisted Amitā, "it was really very bad of you. Why should you sit up the whole night and work and why should we sleep?"

"That's all right," said her aunt, "now stop your righteous indignation. You play at being grown-ups all the year round. Now that a real old woman has arrived on the scene, you can take a little rest."

"But please, Aunt, you must go now and have a little rest," said Suparnā. "We shall do what little is left to be done. We won't start before nine, so you can have at least three hours' sleep in the meantime."

As soon as her aunt had gone out, Amitā sat down on a stool and said, "Though I pretended to be very angry still I would have felt awful without this little nap."

Suparnā was putting up the sweets and curds inside a meatsafe and replied, "That goes without saying. It would have been a horrible affair. Now everything is finished. If that car of Indu's arrives in time, we shall be all right."

"I hope Sudarshan Babu has not forgotten all about having the garden-house cleaned and arranging about the drinking water," said Amitā.

"He is not mad," said Suparnā.

"He is, to all intents and purposes," replied Amitā in a bantering tone.

"What pleasure do you get by constantly repeating a senseless remark?" asked Suparnā.

"It is not at all senseless or why should I repeat it?" asked Amitā. "Everybody with the exception of yourself admits that our young doctor is madly in love."

Suparnā frowned and said, "Well, go on saying it, if it gives you any pleasure." She locked up the kitchen and hurried upstairs.

"Don't be angry, Su" cried Amitā and followed her.

She caught up with Suparnā when the latter had nearly reached her own room and asked, "Why did you become so mad?"

"Well, you like to hear about loving and falling in love for all the hours of the day," said Suparnā. "But I dislike it above everything."

"Are you going to become a nun, that you dislike all mention of the word 'love'?" asked Amitā.

"I may not become a nun," said Suparnā, "but

that does not mean that I am to remain perpetually moonstruck."

Amitā pouted in derision and said, "You can take it from me, my dear young lady, that you are going to become far more moonstruck than I am, by the end of this year. I am willing to bet fifty rupees on it."

"Very well," said Suparnā, "deposit the fifty rupees in the savings bank; else you won't find it when you need it, spendthrift that you are."

Suparnā entered her own room and Amitā followed her. "Instead of quarrelling with me, you can put out the clothes you are going to wear at the party," she said. "Then have your bath. It will be eight very soon. As soon as Indu and the others arrive, we shall have to start."

"It won't take long to choose my dress", said Suparnā, opening her wardrobe. "I won't have to bother my head about choosing the most suitable colour."

"But you must put on a coloured dress today," said Amitā. "It makes me absolutely mad to see you going about, dressed all in white like a widow."

"You may get as mad as you like," said Suparnā. "But since I wear white always, why should not I wear it now ?"

Amitā now changed her tactics. If she insisted, Suparnā, too, would insist.

"Why did you not ever put on the *sari* father gave you on my birthday ?" she asked. "Father was so sorry about it. Why don't you put it on today ? If you put on white, it is bound to become quite dirty by the time we come back."

Suparnā had a horror of dirt that nearly amounted to a mania. So Amitā's words found a ready response in her mind. "Very well", she said, "but I don't think anybody would know me if I put on a dark blue sari, with gold borders."

"It would not matter," said Amitā, "if no one recognized you. There would be a sensation among the crowd about a strange and beautiful young lady."

Suparnā smiled and went off to have her bath. It struck eight soon after. Bathing, dressing up and having one's tea,—all these three things usually take up much time in the case of young ladies. So when Indu, one of their guests, arrived, the door of Amitā's room was still found to be closed.

Indu was one of Amitās fellow-students. She knew Sudarshan also slightly. She ran upstairs and knocked loudly at Amitā's door, crying, "Are you dressing up as a bride, that it takes such a long time ? I might have as well waited for Gargee and brought her along."

"I am not dressing up as a bride," said Amitā from inside, "there is another person who has more right to do it. You can enquire at the next room. But why don't you go and fetch Gargee ? The poor girl will be so disappointed."

"Very well," said Indu, "I shall go and bring her. But be ready by the time I come back."

The door of Suparnā's room too was closed, but it did not appear to be bolted from inside. Indu rapped on it with her fingers as she passed towards the stairs and cried, "What news here? Are you still making preparations ?"

Suparnā opened the door and said, "We don't take so much time to finish our toilette, my dear. We are going to become hardened lady-doctors. So we must act in a befitting manner."

Indu looked at her and said, "You have done enough as it is. If you had adorned yourself more, it would have meant homicide. I have never seen you looking so beautiful. Everybody's head would be turned."

Suparnā smoothed the broad gold border of her dark blue sari and said rather awkwardly, "It is not my fault, really. Amitā forced me to wear this. Besides I was afraid to wear white, lest it should become too dirty in the evening with constant going about."

"You have done quite well and need not apologize for it," said Indu. "I am going to bring over Gargee. You must get Amitā out of her room in the meantime."

Indu went away. Suparnā began to gather together the things scattered all over the floor and to arrange them properly. Amitā quarrelled with her about this thing, ten times a day. "Where was the harm if one left one's room a little disarranged ?" she used to say. "My room is not supposed to be the show window of an English shop. What does it matter if it is a bit untidy, once in a while? It lends quite a human touch to the appearance of the room."

"Don't say 'human'," Suparnā would retort. "Say rather 'animal', it would be more apropriate. It really looks more like a pig-sty than a room."

Now Amitā had finished dressing up. She came into Suparnā's room and asked, "Have you finished? Aunt has already gone down in despair about us. But how are we to manage with two cars only?"

"It is difficult," admitted Suparnā. "We are four already. If Gargee brings Madhab, we shall be five. Then there are aunt, your father, Shibu, and Nibu. We must also take along a servant. The big kitchen 'Degchis' will fill up one car completely. The servant might squeeze in somehow into it. We must get a taxi for ourselves."

At this moment, the tooting of a horn was heard outside. Amitā ran to the window, crying, "Indu has come back very quickly. Good lord! It is not Indu. Whose car is this, then?"

Suparnā looked over her shoulder and said, "It looks stupendous. It is a Dodge Sedan. I wonder who sent it."

A servant came to the door and called out, "A letter for you, miss."

Amitā took the letter and read, "Miss Suparnā Mitra. So the car has come for you, my dear young lady. Who is the Prince Charming? Shall I open the letter and see?"

"Put a stop to your nonsense and see who it is," said Suparnā.

Amitā opened the letter and began to read it. The car had been sent by Sudarshan. It belonged to the gentleman who had lent them his garden-house for the picnic. He had gone away to Gaya on business. He had requested Sudarshan to use the car also, during his absence. So Sudarshan had sent it on, for their use.

Indu came back at this juncture with Gargee and her small brother Madhab Rao. So they had no need of a taxi any longer. The ladies all got into the car that Sudarshan had sent. Taran Babu got into his own car with his sister and two nephews. In another car, went all the food, with the servants, in charge.

The garden-house was situated at a pretty long distance. It took them full one hour to reach it. Two or three men were seen standing at the gate. "Thank God," said Amitā, "that Sudarshan Babu has not failed to arrive."

(To be continued.)

CARTOONS FROM AMERICAN PAPERS

PRESSING THEIR CLAIMS



"Let not your left hand know what your right hand doeth."

On one day Debtor Nation bluntly informs Uncle Sam that he does not intend to pay any part of his war debt which is now due not in cash nor in kind.

That action represents the Nation as debtor.

On the next day the Debtor Nation rushes through its Legislature a bill to seize German assets in its banks and to apply the proceeds on German debt payments which Germany has refused to make.

That action represents the Nation as creditor.

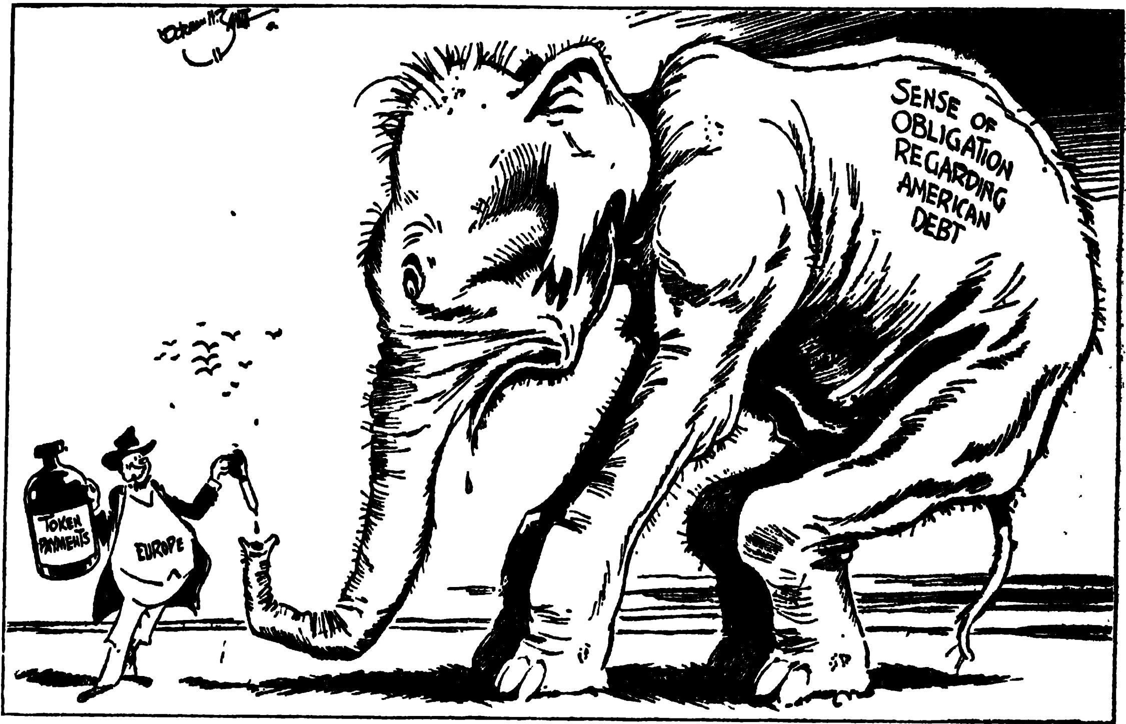
Thus with one hand the Debtor Nation puts the squeeze on Germany while the other hand waves Uncle Sam's just claims aside. This applies to all European Debtor Nations except Finland.

Evidently, they have conveniently adopted the Biblical maxim about the two hands, which is quoted above.

And Uncle Sam, in his future dealings with foreign nations, is likely to conclude that old Polonius had the right idea when he said:

"Neither a borrower nor a lender be."

SLOWLY STARVING TO DEATH



When the allied nations of Europe first contracted their war and post-war debts with America, keen was their sense of obligation, voluble were their expressions of gratitude.

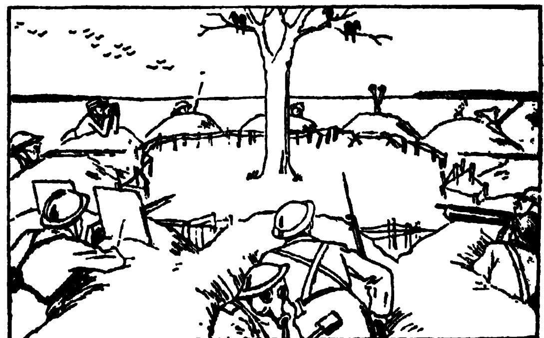
But how different it is now! Europe is repaying America in gestures—while spending its money on armament, as is France, or boasting, as is England, of its budget surplus!

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(Kladderadatsch, Berlin)

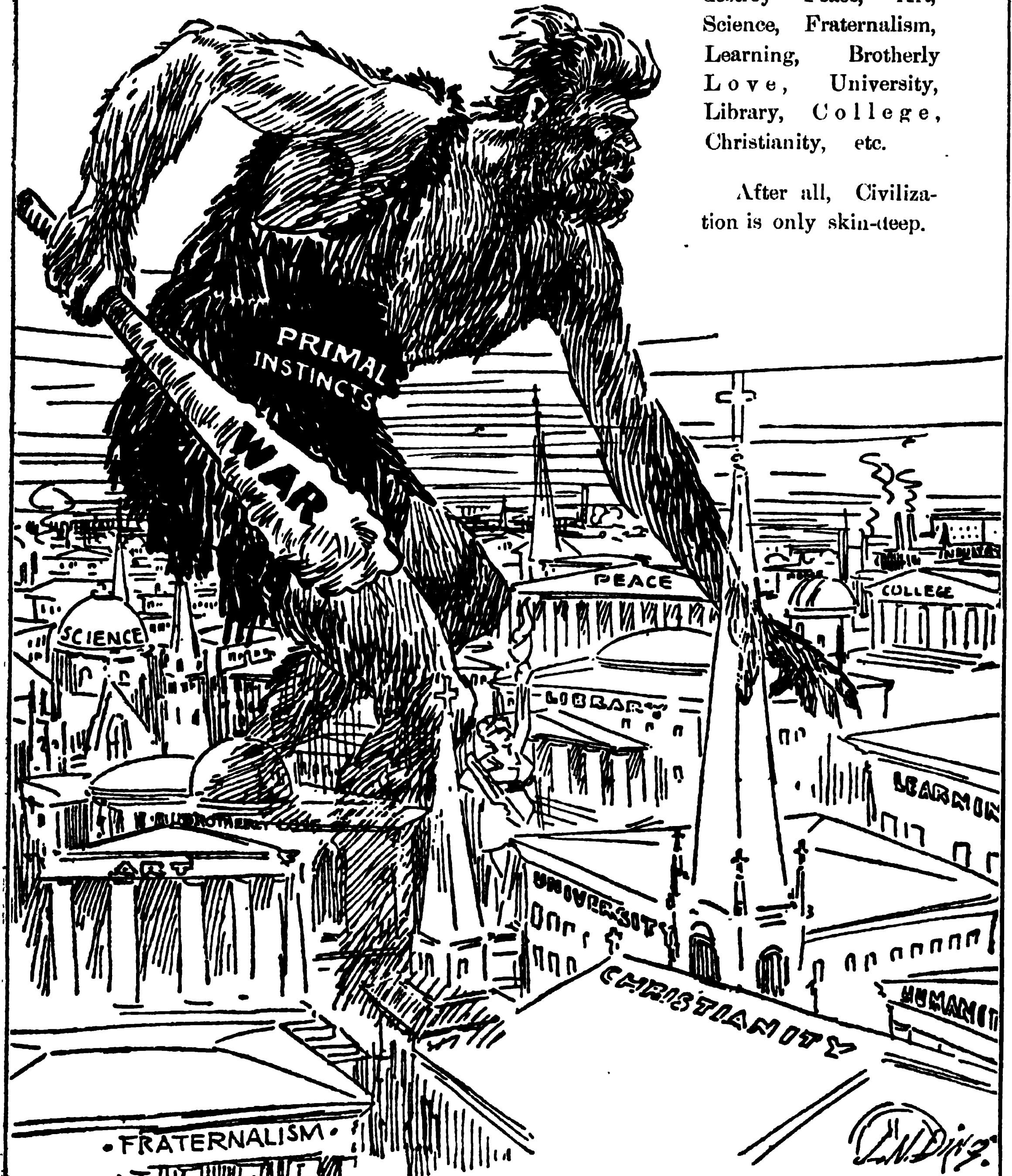


AS IT WAS CONCEIVED—

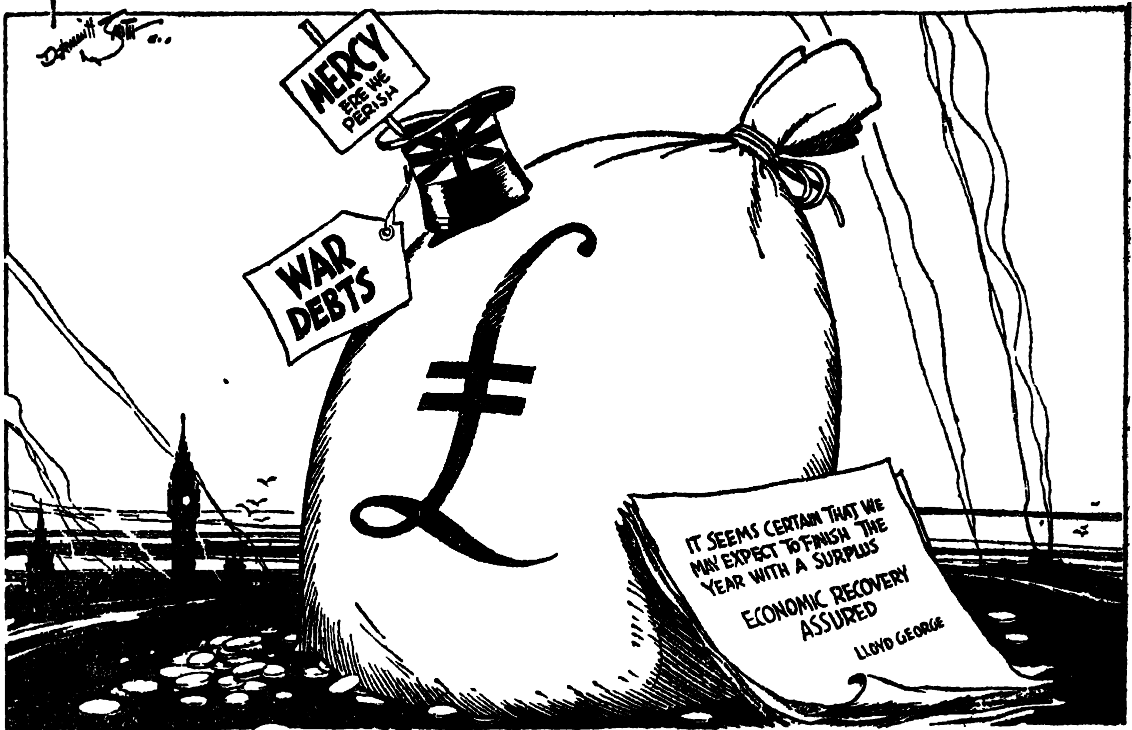


—AND AS IT HAS BECOME

AFTER ALL, CIVILIZATION IS ONLY SKIN-DEEP



INCONSISTENCY, UNLIMITED



English statesmen and publicists have fallen into a regular habit lately of boasting about how well their country is doing financially.

Then the English debt-reducing delegations come over here and ask Uncle Sam to cancel the debt that England owes to the United States!

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS UNDER A DICTATORSHIP



"SAM? LET'S SHAKE, TOO"

(*Newark Evening News*)



Seeing that Russia and the United States of America have become friends, Japan, too, wants to shake hands with Uncle Sam in a friendly manner.

HARIHARANANDA-NATH TIRTHASWAMI KULABADHUTA

THE SPIRITUAL GUIDE OF RAMMOHUN ROY

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

IN early as well as later life Rammohun Roy was closely associated with a learned Brahman named Nandakumar Vidyalankar, who later renounced the world and assumed the title of Hariharananda-nath Tirthaswami Kulabadhuta. He was a great authority on Tantra, and it was certainly to him that Rammohun owed his Tantric leanings and knowledge. It is also possible that Rammohun learnt Sanskrit from this Pandit.

Not many authentic particulars of Hariharananda-nath's life are known, though all the current biographies of Rammohun give some anecdotes about him. It is also known that he published an edition of the *Mahanirvana Tantra*. I have, however, recently found some details of his life in accounts given by contemporary newspapers, and also in a statement recorded by himself when he was called as a witness in a case in which Rammohun was involved. These meagre details are pieced together here and will give some idea of at least the respect in which he was held for his learning.

In his deposition, which is dated 27 August 1818, Hariharananda-nath says about himself: "Nandakumar Vidyalankar of Manicktala in Calcutta Pundit aged fifty-six years or thereabouts . . . He is a Brahmin and maintains himself by the donations and contributions of his disciples *shishyas*. . . He hath known the Defendant Rammohun Roy from the time that the said Defendant attained the age of fourteen years and hath ever since been on the most intimate terms with him."

The statement that he was fifty-six years of age in 1818 tallies perfectly with the information about his age in the obituary notice published in the *Sumachar Durpun* on February 11, 1832 shortly after his death, and gives his date of birth as 1761-62. Another interesting point to note is that while in a document dated Rangpur, January 1812, he gives his place of residence as Palpara, near Suksagar, in a document dated December 1799 he gives it as Raghunathpur—the village in which Rammohun went to live in 1817 after leaving his paternal home.

The obituary notice referred to above is quoted in full below:

> ATTAINMENT OF SALVATION.—Nundokoomar Beedyalungkar was a teacher at Palparha, near Sook-saugur, and was the elder brother of Ramchandra Beedyabageesh, teacher of the law shastras in the Calcutta Sungskrit College. It would be difficult now to find any person so conversant with the Nyadurshuns and tuntras as the Beedyalungkar Bhattacharjya was. We never saw any one who had such a command of language. When he was very young he relinquished secular life, and travelled in many directions; and for nearly the last twenty years he resided at Benares. Many Rajas at Benares, and many of the inhabitants of Calcutta and of the Western Provinces, were his religious disciples. When he had lived about twelve years in Benares, he came for once to Calcutta, and then published a book called the Koolarnuba. The people of Benares greatly honoured him; and we have heard that after he had relinquished secular life he obtained the title of Huree-Huranundunath Teerthuswamee-koolabudhoot. At length, when seventy years of age, he was taken to God at Benares, at the full moon on the morning of the 5th of this Magh [17 Jany. 1832]. We doubtless grieve for his death; for it will be very difficult now to find his like. He has left only one son, Mritoonjoy Bhuttacharjya, who resides with his uncles.

The *Kularnava* referred to in this account raises an interesting point. There is included in the collected works of Rammohun a work with the same name. Can it by any means be indentical with the *Kularnava* mentioned by the *Sumachar Durpun*?

In the *Calcutta Journal* of April 11, 1819 (pp. 119-120) I have found a letter on the practice of *Sati* written by Hariharananda. It appears that the letter was originally published by the *India Gazette* from which it was reproduced by the *Calcutta Journal*. The most interesting fact about this letter is that it was almost certainly written by Rammohun himself, as Hariharananda did not know English. The whole letter is given below:

BURNING OF WIDOWS

... On this occasion we cannot refrain from giving insertion to the following Letter: to shew that while Christians are thus indifferent to the execution of those cruel and bloody rites, a large and powerful class of Hindoos themselves are shocked at the practice, as being nothing short of wilful and deliberate Murder!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE INDIA GAZETTE.

Sir,

Without wishing to stand forward either as the advocate or opponent of the concremation of Widows with the bodies of their deceased Husbands, but ranking myself among Brahmuns who consider themselves bound by their birth, to obey the ordinances and maintain the correct observance of Hindoo law, I deem it proper to call the attention of the public to a point of great importance now at issue amongst the followers of that law, and upon the determination of which, the lives of thousands of the female sex depend.

In the year 1818, a body of Hindoos prepared a petition to Government, for the removal of the existing restrictions on burning Widows, in cases not sanctioned by any Shastur, while another body petitioned for at least further restrictions, if not the total abrogation of the practice, upon the ground of its absolute illegality. Some months ago too, Bykunthnauth Banoorjee,* Secretary to the Brahmyu or Unitarian Hindoo community, published a tract in Bungla, a translation of which into English is also before the public, wherein he not only maintains that it is the incumbent duty of Hindoo Widows, to live as ascetics, and thus acquire divine absorption, but expressly accuses those who bind down a Widow with the corpse of her Husband, and also use bamboos to press her down and prevent her escape, should she attempt to fly from the flaming pile, as guilty of deliberate woman murder.

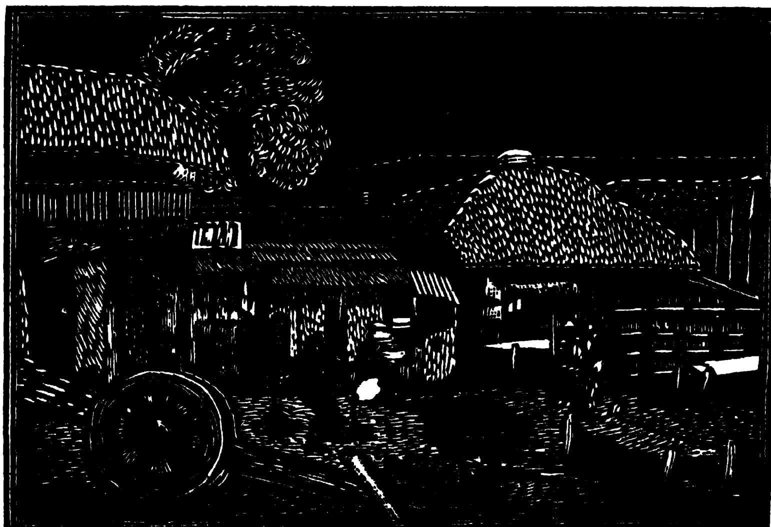
* He was secretary to the Atmiya Sabha Friendly Society started by Rammohun. —B. N. B.

In support of this charge, as well as of his declaration of the illegality of the practice generally, he has adduced strong arguments founded upon the authorities considered the most sacred.

This tract we hear has been generally circulated in Calcutta, and its vicinity, and has also been submitted to several Pundits of the Zillah and Provincial Courts in Bengal, through their respective Judges and Magistrates. It is reported too, that consequent to the appearance of that publication, some Brahmuns of learning were requested by their wealthy followers to reply to that treatise, and I was therefore in sanguine expectation that the subject would undergo a thorough investigation.

This report has now entirely subsided, and the practice of burning Widows is still carried on, and in the manner which has been declared illegal and murderous. At this I cannot help astonishment; as I am at a loss to conceive how persons can reconcile themselves to the stigma of being accused of woman murder, without attempting to shew the injustice of the charge, or if they find themselves unqualified to do that, without at least ceasing to expose themselves to the reiteration of such a charge by further perseverance in similar conduct. I feel also both surprise and regret that European Gentlemen, who boast of the humanity and morality of their religion, should conduct themselves towards persons who submit quietly to the imputation of murder, with the same politeness and kindness as they would shew to the most respectable persons; I however must call on those Baboos and Pundits either to vindicate their conduct by the sacred authorities, or to give up all claims to be considered as adherents of the Shasturs; as if they do not obey written law, they must be looked upon as followers of blind and changeable custom, which deserves no more to be regarded with respect in this instance, than in the case of child murder at Gunga Sagur, which has long ago been suppressed by Government.

March 27, 1818. HURRIHURANUND.



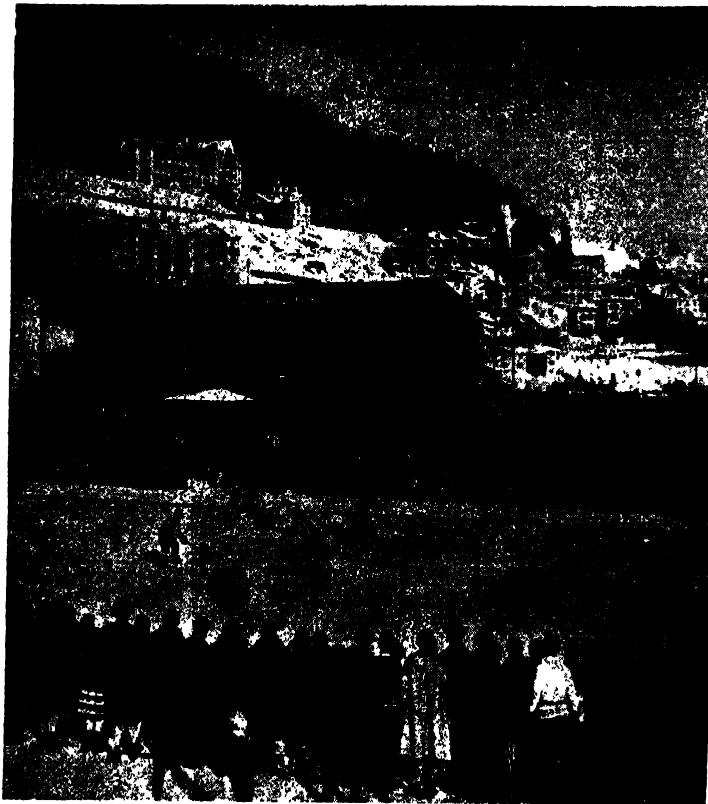
A Village Home. Artist—Mr. Narendra Keshari Ray

THE TREATMENT OF INFANTILE TUBERCULOSIS IN SWITZERLAND

By A. K. MAJUMDAR, M. A.

"My little child"—in tears she said—
"To wake and weep is mine.
But thou canst sleep—thou dost not know
Thy mother's lot, and thine."

THAT there is a great deal of suffering among grown-up men and women is sad enough; that sickness robs the faces of many growing boys and girls, just blooming into life, of the glow, the warmth of life, is sadder still; but saddest of all is the sight of infants and children in the grip of the deadliest disease which civilization has brought into society,—I mean Tuberculosis. What a pity that the



Ice Hockey at Davos

innocent little infant, who has not known what life means, who cannot be imagined to be guilty of any sin of thought, speech or action, who is expected to be
"all the day long caressing and caressed",
should have been tied down to the sick-bed by the most relentless disease before
"....its little tongue had just begun
To lisp the names of those it loved the best."

Owing to the absence of special sanatoria, clinics and preventoria for tubercular children in most of the health resorts in India, I had no idea of the large incidence of tuberculosis among infants and children; but in the course of my recent European tour I have witnessed with pain the cruel ravages of this great scourge of our civilization. The visits that I have paid to some of the Swiss establishments for the cure of tuberculosis among children and for its prevention, have evoked in me unbounded praise and admiration for the excellent way in which infants and children are being treated there. A brief description of some of them may not be without interest and perhaps profit, to many of my countrymen. It is in this spirit that this paper has been written.

In the company of my esteemed friend, Dr. R. K. Kacker, Superintendent, King Edward Sanatorium, Bhowali, India, who recently visited Switzerland to enrich his already wide experience by garnering first-hand information regarding the recent researches in the treatment of tuberculosis in that country, I visited on October 16, 1933, the *Sanatorium Des Enfants, Leysin*, which is a sanatorium and also a preventorium for infants and children with pulmonary tuberculosis or those predisposed to it. We had obtained introductions from our friend Dr. L. C. Vauthier, Director of the *Sanatorium Universitaire Swisse.* In the absence of the Medical Superintendent who had gone to Paris to attend a medical conference, we were kindly received and shown round by the non-medical lady-secretary. The intelligence, ability, intimate knowledge of the technique of tuberculosis treatment, and the skill shown in interpreting the X-Ray photographs by this non-medical young

lady were simply astonishing. Through the courtesy of the authorities I had the pleasure of visiting this institution again a few months ago.

This *Sanatorium des Enfants* is nicely situated on an elevation, which commands a beautiful panoramic view and at the same time presents to the children the pleasing sight of traffic on the road below. It is chiefly intended for Swiss children of both sexes, particularly those of the Canton of Vaud, but it admits children of other nationalities too. In 1932 there were in it 98 children, who were distributed as under: –

'Swisses' .	Vaudois	30	
	Confédérés ..	34	64
'Etrangers' (foreigners)	France . ..	24	
	Italy	5	
	Poland ...	2	
	Roumania .	1	
	Spain ..	1	
	Belgium ...	1	34
	Total		98

The Sanatorium was opened in a chalet or a typical wooden Swiss Cottage, and the present magnificent building was constructed in 1910. It is what may be called a *Sanatorium Populaire des Enfants* (a popular or State Sanatorium for Infants), belonging as it does to the public, for it is maintained from the public or State funds, as opposed to one belonging to an individual or body. It is under the medical supervision of a very senior physician, Dr. Morin, and there is also a resident physician who is assisted by a number of Sisters or trained nurses. Besides, the dining hall, kitchen, office, etc, on the ground-floor, there are flats for the residence of the patients, and for each flat there is a Sister and also a lady teacher who gives lessons in the three Swiss languages (French, German and Italian), arithmetic, knitting etc; but there is an additional nurse for the third floor which is specially reserved for little infants. Each flat has its own dormitories, balconies, water-closets, bath-rooms with shower baths, isolation rooms for serious cases, closed wall cupboards for the clothes of the children, kitchen, etc. The sanatorium is provided with a good laboratory, an X-Ray apparatus, a pneumo, thorax apparatus a complete equipment of Ultra-Violet Rays in a separate room where five patients can be treated at a time. The following are the prices of beds – (charges for each bed or patient):

Swiss children : 4 Swiss francs (Rs. 3-8) per day per head

Foreign „ 5 „ „ (Rs. 4-6) „ „

These charges include board, lodging, lighting, central heating, medical attendance, medicines and X-Ray screening. The extras are X-Ray photograph (radiographie) 20 francs (Rs. 17-8) and laundry charges. The charges for board are payable for each month in advance.

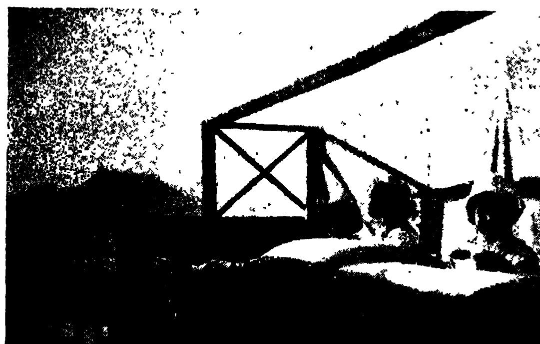
As stated above, this sanatorium is both a preventorium and a hospital for the treatment of children smitten with pulmonary tuberculosis. The ages of the inmates range from two to twenty years. About a dozen are under 10 years and there are only half a dozen who are over 16 years of age. One of the few snapshots taken by me of what may perhaps be fittingly called "mildewed flowers" is given below. It is impossible for me to describe the depth of my sorrow when I saw, in the grip of the deadly disease, these innocent infants and children whom one would have expected to run and play about, to fill their mothers' hearts with the promise of healthy growth and to fill their homes with their joyful notes. As the majority of them are mere infants and children, the four walls of all the dormitories have beautiful paintings of animals and scenes of child life in bright colours. When the weather is good, they spend the greater part of the day on the broad balconies which are provided with curtains for protection against the strong sun,



Mildewed Flowers ,
Sanatorium des Enfants Leysin

when necessary. On each flat the long balcony has iron railings, five feet high, to prevent any children from falling, and there is also a glazed wooden sliding partition to separate the advanced cases from the early ones. There are special yellow glass panes on the balcony and all children use a particular type of linen caps and deep-tinted goggles for the protection of their eyes against the glare of the sun. This is very necessary in a country where the hill-tops, hill-sides, valleys roads and house-tops are covered with snow for nearly seven months in the year. The children come out and play about in bright weather. Three sets of X-Ray photographs of each patient are maintained, namely, (1) one set of large or full size photographs, taken every three months and arranged in neatly labelled big envelopes, (2) one set of

photographs of reduced size pasted in the patient's history register, in which are also noted in logical sequence and chronological order the results of X-Ray screenings with sketches where possible, of sputum, blood and other analyses; (3) one complete set of photographs of reduced size placed in a



"Human Flowers", Le Chalet, Leysin

transparent envelope and hung by the patient's bedside, where there is also a chart of temperature, pulse beats, records of A. P. (artificial pneumo-thorax), special injections, etc. Correspondence is allowed once a week. The education of these children is not neglected. For each flat there is a lady teacher who gives lessons in the morning. I have seen some of the exercise books which are exceedingly neat and methodical. In the bath-room there are pigeon-hole cupboards, and in each pigeon-hole are put the soap, tooth-brush, tooth-paste or mouth-wash (Odol) of each child in such a way that they do not get mixed up with those of other children.

The third floor is a preventorium. Infants and children, predisposed to tuberculosis, live here in large dormitories and on broad, sunny balconies. In each of the dormitories for the youngest infants, from two to six years of age, there are six beds. A small bath tub, looking like a play-thing, is fixed in the wall. There are two Sisters or nurses on this flat and one of them is in constant attendance on the infants. There is an excellent bath-room with seven wash basins and another room with five shower baths. Here there are several girls between the ages of 12 and 14 years, among whom there are two alcoholization cases, one of oleothorax, two of simple pneumo-thorax and one of double pneumo-thorax. The last-named is a boy eight years old. The milder cases are separated from the more advanced ones.

On the second floor there are well developed cases of tuberculosis. The bacillary cases are separated from the non-bacillary ones. A twelve year old girl had come with a big cavity in the lung five months before my visit, but the phrenic evulsion has succeeded in her case and her cavity has almost closed up. There is another child, 13½ years old. In her case pneumo-thorax has succeeded and the cavity has become very much smaller. In another case, age 13 years, A. P. has succeeded.

The first floor is entirely reserved for boys with developed symptoms of tuberculosis. There is a boy aged 13 years in whose case double pneumo-thorax has been successful. It is administered one week in one lung, and in the next week in the other lung, and so on.

The boys do a lot of reading and drawing, and the girls reading and knitting, The various means of treatment adopted here are the Ultra-Violet Rays; pneumo-thorax, both single and double; phrenic evulsion; alcoholization, oleotherapy, tuberculine injections and those of the different preparations of gold. Two cases of the cutting of adhesions in pneumo-thorax treatment were shown us. The doctor of the Sanatorium Chamois, Leysin, is said to be expert in cutting adhesions. An eight year old boy, who was a bacillary case, has been cured in a year and a half only by rest. Similarly, a girl aged six years, who was infected before birth by her mother, has also been cured. On the 'history registers' for girls the labels have red borders, and those for boys have blue borders.



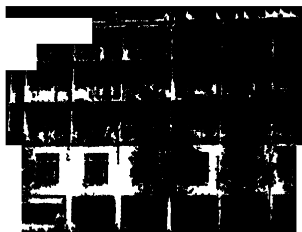
"Human Flowers", Le Chalet, Leysin

For the treatment of "surgical tuberculosis" that is, glands, bones, joints, etc. among children, there are special institutions at Leysin, such as *Les Fleurettes Le Florimont, Le Buis, Le Chalet, La Rose des Alpes* etc., all under the medical supervision of the world-famous Dr. A. Rollier, M. D., but the most important one is *Le Chalet*, which was his first clinic, opened in 1903. By the kind permission of Dr. Rollier, I visited *Le Chalet*, on January 11, 1934, at 10 A. M. In Europe etiquette requires that one must obtain previous permission or an introduction in order that one may visit an institution like

this. I was received by the Manager and was soon introduced to the lady-teacher who speaks French and English fluently. This lady showed me round and explained to me the special features of this institution. On the ground floor, just opposite the office, is a room which is a combined *Salon d'Attente* (waiting-room) and library. It is very well furnished and has a number of large, beautiful pictures. There are 741 volumes in the library, all having thick blue covers on, serially numbered and neatly arranged in glazed almirahs. Besides some adults, there are 30 children, boys and girls, between the ages of 5 and 14 years. At the time of my visit they were having their "sun-cure" on the broad balconies on the first and second floors, and on the solarium at the top. They were also learning their lessons. Very young children and infants are kept together, and of the others, the boys are kept quite apart from the girls. There is a trained-lady teacher who teaches the children French, arithmetic, history and geography. Knitting and sewing too are taught to such girls as can do them, and drawing is taught to two or three children who have a special aptitude for it. The school hours are from 9.30 to 11.30 A. M. and from 3.30 to 5 P. M., subject to health and the weather permitting. There are children from the French and German speaking parts of Switzerland, France, Germany, Jugo-slavia, Tunis, Morocco, two from Palestine and so forth. As there is only one teacher, and the pupils who receive their lessons lying in bed or in lounge chairs, are distributed in three different places, they cannot be taught like the regular school classes. While one batch does some oral work, another does some written work Several students write a very good hand and the dictation done is creditable. The infants have small ball-frames for counting and doing easy calculations The notation and numeration, simple addition and subtraction have been taught intelligently. The older boys and girls do harder sums in arithmetic. History and geography are learnt with the aid of atlases. The infants take their 'sun-cure on the solarium. I was exceedingly delighted with their songs and cheerful appearance. A few snapshots taken by me of these "human flowers", are reproduced in this paper. *Le Chalet* is a *clinique populaire* or a clinic maintained by the Canton of Voud. The charges are low, 5 francs a day and for this reason this house is generally full. Dr. Rollier once in the course of a conversation with me remarked: "Because these children spend the greater part of the day in the open air—on the balconies and on the solarium—they keep mentally alert, and actually do as much work in two hours in the morning as the other children of the local State school do in the whole day."

In the same way there are some very good institutions for tubercular children at Montana-Vermala, which is also in French Switzerland. It is in the Canton of Valais. It can be reached in half an hour by the funicular railway from Sierre, which is a station on the Milan-Simplon-Lausanne line. The chief of these institutions are the Home d'Enfants *Le Mayen*, 250 francs per mensem, "*Lumiere*" *and* "*Vie.*" 5 francs (Rs. 4-6) a day.

Davos is the oldest, largest and finest Alpine health resort in the Canton of Grisons in Switzerland.



Sanatorium des Enfants, Leysin

It is famous all over the world as a health resort and centre of winter sports. Its altitude is from 5000 to 5,500 feet above the sea level. It has two railway stations, namely Davos-Dorf and Davos-Platz. The sanatoria are all at the latter place. From October till April it is covered with snow. Of all the health resorts in Switzerland, Davos is most famous for its long level walks, its fine municipal gardens, its market square, excellent shops, libraries, churches and palatial sanatoria. A very large number of English-speaking visitors from Great Britain and America come here for treatment or sports; and not only the sanatoria, clinics, hotels and boarding houses have English-speaking men and women on their staffs, but most of the shop-keepers and business people speak English. Messrs. Thos. Cook and Son have an agency here. Davos is reached by a mountain railway in an hour and a half. There are three excellent sanatoria for tubercular children maintained here by the Pro Juventute—and a private sanatorium for children, all under the medical supervision and care of Dr. J. L. Burckhardt, Director of Kindersanatorium Pro Juventute,



Clinique Le Chalet, Leysin

Davos-Platz. I had an introduction to him from Dr. D. Siegfried, Director of the Central Secretariat Pro Juventute, Zurich. This group of children's sanatoria is built on a higher level from the main road below. The main building is provided with an X-Ray apparatus, a laboratory and a room for the examination of patients by the doctor. Most of the rooms have six beds each, with running hot and cold water, bath-room, dining hall, kitchen, etc. and the houses have their full complement of nurses, housemaids, etc. The total number of nurses, including four in training, is 15, and the present number of children under treatment is 175. There are two assistant physicians and one head physician, Dr. J. L. Burckhardt. The inclusive charges for infants are 6 francs (Rs. 5-4) a day and those for children are

Age	Summer	Winter
7-15 years	Frs. 4-50	Frs. 5
	(Rs. 3-15)	(Rs. 4-6)

The education of such children as are not seriously ill is not neglected. There are satisfactory arrangements for the teaching of languages, arithmetic, geometry, history, geography etc. There are well furnished regular class-rooms with modern desks, chairs, etc. and the teaching staff consists of four teachers, two being for the regular lessons and two for teaching needlework, knitting, etc.

In the same part of Switzerland there is a new but smaller health resort called Arosa. It is very well laid out, and the beautiful shops, the lakes, the high snow-covered moutains make it a most charming place. It is also a great centre of winter sports. But the altitude is nearly 7000 ft above the sea level and therefore the cold is intense. In the winter the lakes are frozen. Here too there are several "kindersanatoria" or sanatoria for children, which are very good institutions and are well managed, but the place is fast developing into a winter sports centre.

Leysin appears to me to be the most suitable place for Indians. It is easily reached from the Italian ports, Venice and Genoa, and from the French port Marseilles. The altitude, which is 5000 ft above the sea level, is in its favour. For more than six months in the year it is covered with snow. The sanatoria for pulmonary cases and clinics for surgical cases are excellent. The doctors and at least one nurse at each house speak English. It is far less expensive than any other Swiss health resort.

The institutions mentioned above are all well organized and efficiently managed. The infants and children look as happy as they can be expected to in the circumstances. In our country not many cases of early tuberculosis of infants and children are detected, and there is hardly any satisfactory arrangement, specially for their treatment.

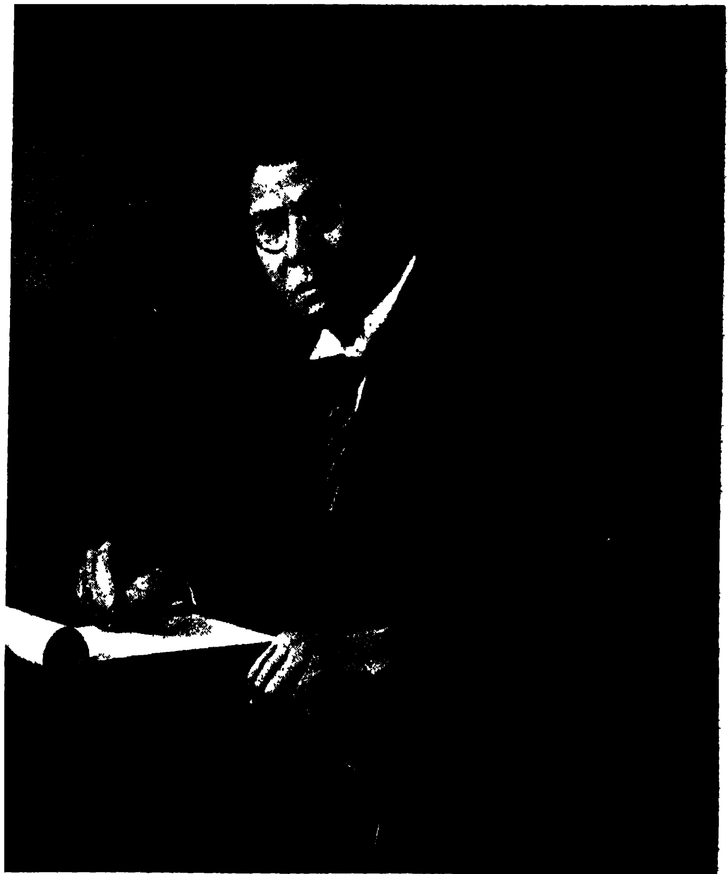
RAJA JAI PRITHVI BAHADUR SINGH

By M. KRISHNAMURTI

AN outstanding, and perhaps the most picturesque, figure at the recent Parliament of Religions which met in Chicago, was a visitor from the East—Raja Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh of Nepal. His visit to the United States of America was greeted with great enthusiasm in the press of the country and his presence at the Parliament, together with His Highness the Gækwar of Baroda, imparted unusual interest to the proceedings. Here for the first time were princes and potentates sitting in solemn conclave by the side of priest and yellow-clad monks in an attempt "to focus the highest spiritual inspiration available on the solution of man's present problems." In the words of the conveners, Raja Jai Prithvi Bahadur Singh's work at this unique Fellowship of Faiths was adjudged to form "the most complete, fundamental and convincing embodiment of the purpose for which the Conference was brought together."

We have said that Raja Jai Prithvi is a picturesque personality. His, however, is not an outward picturesqueness. He has none of the usual pomp and panoply associated with oriental princes. Clad in the simple costume of the West, speaking in soft and deliberate tones, with a manner that has not lost its natural shyness inspite of his extensive travels, Raja Jai Prithvi looks what the *New York Times* described him—"essentially the scholar—not the demagogue." He has indeed none of the accoutrements of the demagogue: neither the catch-words, nor the language and gestures that stir up sudden popular enthusiasms.

The picturesqueness of Raja Jai Prithvi is in his life, which reads like a story-book. The very land of his birth, Nepal, has a mystic glamour all its own. Its soft-eyed, rose-cheeked women have a singularly alluring beauty, and their intense joy of living finds its expression both in their movements and love of colour. The men of Nepal have long been



Raja Jai Prithvi

famous for their bravery and skill in war, but it is not equally well known that they can wield the chisel as deftly as the *kukri* and that the Nepalese wood-carvings are things of rare charm and grace. Before the recent great earthquake, Nepal possessed innumerable art-treasures and beautiful temples, but nature in one of her terrible moods has laid waste the patient labours of many centuries. Nevertheless, the spirit that wrought these last wonders is still alive and will rise again in new glory like the phoenix from its ashes. The Nepalese are a patient and persevering people, and though the recent catastrophe has left their fortunes shattered, their courage remains unbroken. Jealous of their natural seclusion, they have maintained for centuries their policy of isolation and preserved their ancient mode of life undisturbed by outside influences. Only once in the year, during the festival of Shivaratri, are pilgrims from India suffered to journey to the temple of Pashupathinath in Khatmandu: for the rest of the year it is a forbidden land where life goes its old appointed way and custom and tradition have not lost their supremacy.

Even more removed from and almost unknown to the outside world is the principality of Bajang, to whose throne Raja Jai Prithvi ascended as a boy of eleven. It lies in the north-west corner of Nepal and forms the chief feudatory state of that kingdom. So primitive are the conditions in this mountain state that the Raja confessed to an American newspaper-man that he knew neither the extent nor the population of th State over which he ruled for many years. Raja Jai Prithvi was the first of a long line of rulers to start primary education in his state, to found hospitals and build such roads as the mountainous nature of the country allowed.

Born in a family of autocrats, Raja Jai Prithvi is the most democratic of men. His mother's father was the great Maharaja Jung Bahadur, the founder of the present Rana dynasty of Nepal. Another famous Maharaja, Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, was his father-in-law. On his father's side, the Raja is descended from a noble clan of Rajputs who migrated to the Himalayas during the Muhammadan conquests, and there founded the principality of Bajang.

Fate, who loves paradoxes, thus placed the boy Jai Prithvi, who was to grow up into a great believer of the oneness of humanity, in the most aristocratic and exclusive traditions. "My early up-bringing," observed the Raja in a speech he delivered in America, "was calculated to make me a good ruler of my mountain state." "A good ruler", added the Prince somewhat humorously, "means in my part of the world an autocratic, though a benevolent, governor of his people."

His marriage to the daughter of the then Maharaja of Nepal brought the Prince in close association with the affairs of the Central Government, in which he held several important offices. He was also for some time the Napalese envoy at the Viceregal Court in Calcutta. But neither the great offices of the kingdom, nor the cares of his principality could hold him for ever. The Prince had come in contact with Western ideals and education during his student days in Calcutta, and, later, had accompanied his august father-in-law when the latter undertook a voyage to England . at the invitation of the late King Edward. Both in England and France the young prince had abundant opportunities to witness the actual working of democratic institutions. Born and bred to autocracy, he had viewed at first with suspicion, then with growing conviction, the success of democracy in the West. Prior to his visit to Europe, it was not difficult for the Raja to believe that he had been divinely called to the rule of his state, in the good and fatherly government of whose people lay the fulfilment of his life. On his return, he was no longer sure of himself and his mission, and for years he passed through great inward struggle. At last, he laid aside his possessions and the splendour of his offices and, followed by his wife and but a handful of servants, migrated to India, where he has spent the rest of his life in quiet pursuit of his ideal. During this period he has written and published several books, founded institutions and lectured in three continents. He might easily have been famous but for his own reserve and distaste for publicity.

Raja Jai Prithvi is a born thinker. In his voluminous book *Humanism* he has given to the world the result of his labours extending

over years and embodying his philosophy of life. In an article of this kind it is of course impossible to refer even very feebly to the thoughts set forth in a book of nearly one thousand pages. But we may ask here, 'What was the quest that moved this Prince to put away the pleasures and security of his life ?' It was, as always, the quest for a formula that would yield the secret of happiness to himself and to all of his kind. Has the Prince discovered the formula ? He confidently believes so. He declares that the formula that shall yield our race true happiness is the formula that shall adequately express our innate oneness. In the Raja's opinion, all our problems, whether political, economic, social, religious, etc., are but symptoms of one disease. This disease, he explains, is a wrong outlook of life, arising from a false and exaggerated emphasis that men have laid on their superficial differences, disregarding almost entirely their essential unity. Permanent peace and happiness shall be a reality only when we shall have unlearned this vicious lore by which humanity has been divided into different and often hostile groups of caste, creed, race, class, nation, etc.

How shall this be done ? What is the formula that will effectively express our oneness ? Is it Communism ? Or, again, is it Fascism ? Is it Democracy ? Or, to be sure, is it popular Dictatorship, which in recent times, has supplanted several unpopular democracies ? The test that Raja Jai Prithvi would apply to any movement is the question, Does it make men to think and work in terms, not of this or that group, but of their heritage as human beings ? If it does, then, it is the true formula. If it does not, you may be sure, it is only another addition to the long list of disintegrating influences that have broken up our homogeneity and caused intestine feuds.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN

By IDA M. GURWELL

Place : Palmer House, Chicago.
Event : International Congress of Women.
Purpose : Peace and Civilization.

WOMEN, women, everywhere ! Delegates from Europe, from Asia, from America. Jews, gentiles, coloured women leaders, journalists, composers, poets, presidents of womens' clubs and their delegates. Thirty foreign countries sent delegates ; thirty-five clubs and organizations, some national, some international, were represented from America, in addition to scores of individuals who attended because of their interest in the subjects discussed. Women met in the Assembly Halls and overflowed into all the available rooms adjoining. Almost unbelievable in mid-summer with a thermometer vascillating and uncertain, but one that for the entire Conference could be depended on to be somewhere around ninety-five, that here assembled were delegates representing five million women intent on the common cause, Civilization.

These delegates represented the very finest in womanhood. They came with a full knowledge of their responsibility as leaders. The association within itself was elevating and inspiring.

Under the able leadership of Lena Madesin Phillips, President of the Congress, weighty subjects, Gargantuan in size and purpose, were handled in a most efficient way. The meetings under each department head went forward with a minimum of wasted time and effort. Each person was given the privilege of discussion and the right to disagree. One doubts if chairmen of any meetings of even fewer numbers and lesser luminaries ever kept to the purpose of the meeting any better than did these chairmen. No one could be a part of this great five-day Conference without a feeling of pride. Women have come far. We marvel at the efficiency and despatch that made it possible for every important question coming before the Congress to be given due consideration, as well as the careful handling of the mountains of detail that follow in the wake of a meeting of such varied interests and stupendous proportions. It took careful systematizing and exact timing to accomplish this.

The Congress was physically or materially colourful as well as mentally so. One sat on the platform or in the audience near a

noted Chinese educator who wore a kimono; a Turkish girl in an embroidered robe; a professor from Roumania clothed in an elegant gown that carried with it a style that was Paris; a lovely young woman from Italy in the latest New York styles. There was the stout capable woman from Holland, and the youthful slender woman from the Argentine. All with a dash of American interest. Enthusiastic guests come to take with them to their respective countries new solutions for many times old problems.

What questions were discussed at this Congress?

One might better ask, what questions were *not* discussed? The list would be shorter.

The burning issues of the day. The things of paramount interest to women throughout the world. To women who are mothers; to women who are wives and home keepers: and to women earners out in the open market where service and ability are exchanged for a livlihood.

Unemployment, buying power, education, child care, democracy, communism, politics, government, the benefits and evils of the machine age, and many other questions.

There were men too who attended this Congress. Men able to present theories for the betterment of the conditions throughout the world. Each man present earned his right to be there. He championed the cause of Civilization and Peace.

Vivid clean-cut intelligences were presented throughout the entire Conference. They proudly bore the name of women. Such personages as Margaret Bondfield, Ex-Minister of Labour, and Dame Rachel Crowdy from the League of Nations, both from Great Britain. A lawyer from France vigorous and tempermental; a German judge who added dignity and forcefulness when she appeared. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, identified with the great reform movements of Modern India, came with profound knowledge. Perfect English, in addition to the carefully prepared subject matter of her talks, made it a joy to listen to her whenever and wherever she appeared. Abundant parcels of wisdom from the East she gave freely. The Congress was enriched.

From America came Marry Dingman, the President of the Womens' International Committee for disarmament at Geneva. Carrie Chapman Catt gave of her experience through pre-suffrage years into the present, always with a quiet candour that adds strength and dignity. Jane Addams, always kind, supported the opinions of the youth from eight American Colleges who arose in honest reproach of their elders, in their elders, in their denounciation of war and its evils.

Sessions by night and by day. Sweltering perspiring sessions. Big groups and little groups. Luncheons and Dinners, all satelites and supplementary to the more powerful Congress.

Art and Literature held an important place in this vari-coloured Council:

At the Great Century of Pogress, in the Hall of Science is a sixty-foot mural. The artist, Hildreth Meiere, well known for her murals in the dome of the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, through figures of heroic size, portrayed in dramatic episodes the onward march of the American women between 1833 and 1933.

For those who would read, a permanent record of womens' influence in American life is found in Inez Haynes Irwin's book, *Angels and Amazons*. This is a comprehensive history of organized womanhood over a period of a hundred years.

Ever toward a finer civilization.

In connection with the Congress, and an important part of it, was held the International Writers' Conclave. At its head and directing the Educational Activities of the Conclave was Grace Thompson Seton, Author, and former President of the National League of American Pen Women. Here much valuable information was exchanged by writers from different parts of the world. Eleven countries took part in the Conclave. The representatives from these countries were internationally known.

Miss Anita Browne, poet, New York, Founder-Organizer of Poetry Week, gave valuable suggestions for its furtherance. Poetry Week has come to be recognized in America. All Literary attention for the week is centreed on this week set apart for poetry. Radio, Newspapers and other agencies co-operate and poetry becomes the theme of the week.

To Anna Hemstead Branch, Chairman of the Poetry Conference, the Congress owes a debt of gratitude. She brought to the Writers' Conclave much that is fine through her efforts. It was she who exhibited the fine collection of Poetry Manuscripts and Anthologies from Christodora House. Miss Branch conducted groups on poetry throughout the Congress. These discussions on the poetry of the past and that of the modern writer. Poetic thought was placed before the groups for careful consideration. The best from all Nations was presented.

Margaret Widdemer, successful novelist and poet, represented American Women Poets. This Committee consisted of many of America's finest poets.

Mrs. Richard Mansfield conducted the Candle Ceremony in which American poets greeted those of other countries. At this time the poem, "Youth", written by Edwin Markham, was sent to the sixty-nine countries of the world. On this occasion, too, the Anthology of Star poems, in honour of Arcturus, representing forty-eight states, was sent in care of the leading libraries of the world to the women of each country.

Music meetings were held. All important composers, directors of choruses, and orchestras as well as Instructors took part in the Music Conference.

Perhaps one of the most important places in

the Palmer House was the Literature Room. It was rightly named. Here in colourful array were exhibited the books written by women from thirty foreign countries; manuscripts and Anthologies from collections in America, including Miss Branch's Collection from Christodora House. The list of the one-hundred best books written in America during the past one-hundred years, and many other literary delights. A popular room. A constant stream of visitors came to this room. Ideas as well as personal cards were exchanged. The world met here.

Informal meetings were held in this centre. Comtesse Jean de Pange, Author, Representative from the French Council of Women, and Senora Marie Astaldi, Author, Italy, both spoke. The author of this article, Ida M. Gurwell, spoke on "The Internationalism of Literature". It has been the thought of this writer that if we appreciate the best literature from each country, if we are together in our quest of Beauty, hand in hand in our search for true Culture, it would seem we would develop together love for the finer things, and would thus step together into the higher civilization where wars are unknown. As the commercial and industrial country is known by her highways, so is the cultural life of a country known by her literature. "We know those countries best, whose books we read".

Out of the Conference has been born a new Womens' Movement, a call to come out into the fields of modern life

To find fault with the ills of the world but to make no move to correct them, or for their cure; to talk and not to act; to believe but not to act on what one believes! As intelligent listeners heard day after day of social injustices, to the reasons of economic ills, the cause and cure of war, a new slogan was born:

Knowledge: Unity · Action.

What a *trinity* of power!

From the findings of five days' constant presentation and discussion of facts, some of the best minds present wrote the following manifesto. It challenges the women of the world to ally themselves with the co-operative groups, the modern working groups, the best groups in a community, to work for the cause of civilization, and against the common enemy —War.

Manifesto

"Forty years ago the women of the world held their first real International Congress during the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, and set in motion a feminist movement, world-wide in sweep and directed toward the winning of sex equality in social, political, and economic privilege. During these intervening years enormous power has come to women through their gains in personal privilege. And wherever the rights of citizenship, such as free assembly, free speech, political participation, and economic self-expression, are still denied on account of sex, nationality, or creed, that feminist movement must continue to have life and loyalty. It retains our full support and enthusiasm.

"At this succeeding great International Congress of Women, held at Chicago during the Century of Progress Fair in 1933, a second movement, likewise intended to be worldwide in sweep, is launched and directed toward the winning of security and opportunity for all mankind. On the basis of free competition as between the sexes, nations, and races of the world, the welfare of humanity has been inadequately accomplished.

"We believe that every person, to whatever sex, race, nationality, or creed he or she may belong, is entitled to security of life, work, the reward of labour, health, and education; to protection against war and crime, and to opportunity for self-expression. Yet even in parts of the world where feminism has made its largest gains, these fundamentals of security and the good life are sadly lacking.

"Hence it is against social systems, not men, that we launch, our second women movement. We enter now a social-planning era following the harsh experiment with laissez-faire and national aggressions, with a world war, and its horrible aftermath in the economic collapse. All civilization is at stake, and the condition of society cannot be ignored.

"Persuaded that only by intelligent, loyal, courageous, and united action on the part of men and women can governments be induced to undertake programmes designed for human welfare in the large, we consecrate ourselves to the task of winning their support for enterprises of that nature, frankly accepting the need of experimentation.

"The care and protection of all life are peculiarly in woman's keeping, and thus at one of the most tragic hours in the world's history we pledge ourselves to assume this responsibility boldly and whole-heartedly.

"Where the feminist movement is fundamental in any country, we call upon the women of the world to give it their loyalty. Where the social-planning movement is imperative, we call upon the women for the world to join us in carrying it forward.

"Thus we shall not be serving two masters but all mankind, ourselves included."

What did the International Congress achieve?

Civilization is born between wars and becomes maimed and broken at the cannon's first roar.

Let us ever have peace singing in our hearts, and civilization, a higher and finer civilization, will be the echo.

Knowledge: Unity: Action.

THE LITTLENESS AND THE GREATNESS OF MAN

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

"When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained,
What is man, that thou art mindful of him ?
And the son of man, that thou visitest him ?
For [yet] thou hast made him but little lower than God,
And crownest him with glory and honour."
Psalm 8 : 3-5. Revised Version.

THIS fine poetical passage of the old Hebrew psalm expresses very vividly the thought of the littleness, yet the greatness, of man.

As the psalmist looks up into the night heavens above his head, so far-reaching and so wonderful, and sees the moon and the stars shining so gloriously, and moving with majesty through the wide spaces, a feeling of awe comes over him, and a sense of his own insignificance, and he exclaims with a reverence and humility which we can well understand—

"What is man"—puny, insignificant man—"that thou art mindful of him ?
And the son of man that thou visitest him ?"

This is the psalmist's first feeling. But the next moment he catches a glimpse of something in man which transcends all this seeming littleness, something greater than the stars, and he exclaims again. Yet after all,

"Thou hast made him but little lower than God.
And crownest him with glory and honor."

The feeling of the insignificance of man in the presence of the greatness of nature, and especially in the presence of the vastness and splendour of the heavens above, is one that has been very common in all ages. Nor is it wanting today. Indeed, since the rise of modern astronomy, which makes the heavens incomparably more vast and glorious than the boldest mind dreamed in the ancient times, this sense of disproportion between the physical littleness of man and the vastness of his environment, becomes all the more clear and strong.

When the Hebrew writer looked up to the sky what did he see ? A wide expanse which he called the firmament, stretching its dome like a blue tent over the earth. In it were set, in some mysterious way, the sun, moon and stars, movable, having it for their duty to serve as signs for men to mark off the seasons, and to give light to the earth by day and night. All revolved around the earth, were very small as compared with the earth, and were created solely for the benefit of the earth and its inhabitants. The earth was the largest thing the Hebrew thinker knew anything about ; and even that, as it lay in his conception, was very limited compared with our earth of today.

How has the rise of the modern science of astronomy changed all this ! The earth, though it has grown to be many times larger than the Hebrew thinker understood, is now known by us, not to be the centre of the universe, or the largest object in nature, but relatively only a mere speck amidst the immensities of creation. The silent, mysterious, changeful moon, from a pale sky-lamp, has become a world. The sun does not revolve about the earth, but the earth and all her sister planets revolve about him. The stars, from curious wandering torches of the night, have become gigantic worlds, and centres about which worlds revolve. Vast as we think our solar system, even it occupies but a small corner of space, while beyond it stretch worlds, and systems, and galaxies, innumerable and illimitable.

We are startled, amazed, awed, almost struck dumb by the vast, the incomprehensible, the well-nigh unbelievable magnitudes and distances that our astronomers are revealing to us. Professor Shapley of Harvard University tells us of a universe so vast that our sun is 57,000 "light years," that is, 250 quadrillions of miles, distant from its centre ; and Professor Hubble of the Wilson Observatory, tells us of "universes of universes," each one of which contains "millions of suns."

Such is the situation as we see it today.

If the men of the ancient world had reason to feel humble and insignificant in the midst of their little universe, what shall be said of ourselves, in the midst of the universe that modern astronomy reveals, which compared with that of the ancient Hebrew is as infinity to a hand breadth ?

I think we all have seen times when this thought of man's physical littleness in the midst of the universe has come to us with painful and almost overwhelming force. We have asked ourselves, Can it be possible that the Creator of all these innumerable worlds which the telescope reveals, the Architect of this limitless temple of the stars and the galaxies, thinks about or cares for men ? Is it reasonable to suppose that our little lives are any more important to him, or of any more value in the universe, than a snowflake on a mountain top, or a bubble on the sea ?

I suppose all of us have had experiences somewhat like this : You pass through a great crowd of people, no one of whom you have ever seen before, or expect ever to see again. You say to yourself, Who are they ? What is the significance of all these lives ? In what respect do these human beings differ from the birds that fly in flocks over the fields ? or the midges that swarm in the sunshine ? From any other world—even from the moon, nearest of all the worlds,—no one of them can be seen, even with the most powerful of all known telescopes ; so that with a little distance all are reduced to the same level, bird and midge and men.

You stand on some high eminence in the midst of a great city, and see the thronging thousands threading and blackening all the thoroughfares below you as far as your eye can reach, each man seeming no larger than an ant crawling along the pavement ; and how easy it is for you to think of the city as an ant-hill, and all cities and towns and villages and hamlets of the world as simply ant-hills of differing sizes, inhabited by ants of a peculiar variety, but as indistinguishable from a few miles up in the air, not to say from any of the worlds around us, as any real ant-hills of the fields or woods !

If then we are so isolated from our sister planets—members of the same world-family with ourselves,—and if all we do is unknown and of no consequence to them, what shall we say of the incomparably more distant worlds that illumine the night sky and make up the whole universe outside our little solar system ? And what shall we say of the great God of all—the mighty Creator and Ruler of all ? With so vast affairs on hand, will he stoop to notice or care for us, the frail creatures of a day, who people this little dust-grain that we call the Earth—this speck on the far-away rim of his creation ?

Above all, is it not the most arrant presumption for creatures so insignificant as we, to dream of a perpetuation of our being beyond death ? When worlds perish—and worlds a thousand times larger than our own shall we, the ephemeral dwellers on this bit of wandering clay, hope to escape ?

It is in these ways that the marvellous revelations of modern astronomy seem to many minds to belittle man, and press him down into insignificance and hopelessness, robbing him of whatever dignity and importance in the universe he once seemed to have.

And now, What are we to answer to all this ?

You see the matter is not something speculative merely, it is intensely practical. These questions which have suggested are being asked in ten thousand places in the world today. And many very thoughtful and intelligent people do not see how to answer them. Thus they darken many lives. Indeed, who among us is there that has not at some time in life passed through hours when their black shadow has fallen upon himself.

I think there are several considerations which throw light upon the subject before us. And first this :

Mere size is only a slight indication of value or importance. The earth is not necessarily less important than a world a million times larger than itself ; and man is not necessarily physically unimportant because his body is small. An elephant is larger than a man, but it is not for that reason higher in value. Many of the small countries of the world far surpass in importance other lands that are a hundred times more extended. Little ancient Greece outweighs a thousand

vast Siberias ! and London, which is but a point upon the face of the earth, is more important than a thousand arctic or antarctic continents. A single Plato,or Shakespeare, counts for more in the life of the world than whole races of Kaffirs and Bushmen ; just as a diamond, which can be held between the thumb and finger, may have more value than a huge mountain. In the same way, comparing worlds with worlds, it is not unusual to find the smaller much more highly developed than the larger. Our sun has a mass 316,000 times greater than that of the earth, and volume 1,250,000 greater than that of the earth, yet the earth sustains very high forms of life, while the sun probably has upon its surface no life at all. It seems likely that the huge suns of space generally are much less mature than their planets.

Thus we see that the human race is not necessarily unimportant because it has its home in one of God's smaller worlds, any more than an individual is necessarily unimportant because he lives in little Athens instead of in vast Tartary. Mere bulk signifies nothing. Beings of highest nature and sublimest destinies may as fittingly dwell in bodies six feet high as six thousand, and on this fair earth of ours, small though it be, as on the surface of the hugest bulks of matter in the universe.

But even if we grant the revelations of modern astronomy do seem to dwarf man, it should be borne in mind that science is making known to us other revelations, the effects of which are clearly the opposite. There is rising to view a universe below man, no less wonderful than that of the starry heavens above him. And if the effect of knowledge of the one is to overshadow man, the effect of knowledge of the other is correspondingly to exalt him. Thus the microscope makes good any loss of exaltation or dignity that comes to him from the telescope.

A few facts will help us to see something of the range and splendour of this universe below humanity.

If we catch a butterfly in the summer time, we shall find left upon our hand from the butterfly's wing, something which we shall be likely to call dust. Looking at it with the greatest care, we shall not be able, with our unaided eyes, to see that it is anything more than fine dust. But bring a microscope and see what that reveals to us. Now we discover that this so-called dust consists of a mass of beautifully coloured and exquisitely fashioned feathers; arranged in as perfect order as the feathers of a bird, yet so minute that a single square inch of the wing contains a hundred thousand of them.

How small and simple a thing is a water-drop ! Yet a water-drop is a world. A cubic inch of stagnant water is calculated to contain a billion living and active organisms. Says an eminent New York biologist :

> I placed some clean Croton water, which had been boiled, in a clean vial, and broke into it a few stems of the broom from a clothes wisp. In four days the vial was crowded with monads in numbers that surpassed estimate, but of which it is safe to say that the two ounce vial contained more than the entire number of the human race from the days of Adam to the present time.

Ehrenberg, the great German naturalist tells us that there is a deposit of slate in Bohemia covering forty square miles to the depth of eight feet, each cubic inch of which is found by miscroscopic measurement to contain forty-one thousand millions of infusoria.

So it is that the microscope opens to us worlds beyond worlds, where the unaided eye can see nothing, and where until modern science came on the scene it was supposed nothing existed, worlds as wondeful as those made known to us by the telescope, but filled with living beings as much smaller than man as man is smaller than the great suns in the heavens.

A leaf of a tree is a world. The tree itself is a universe. You see little with your naked and untrained eye. But bring your microscope, and put yourself under the instruction and guidance of a skilled scientist, and he will brush away the veil that blinds your vision, and let you see mystery beyond mystery, and wonder beyond wonder, until, everywhere you look, doors open and avenues unroll themselves leading out into infinities of the minute, as endless awe-inspiring as the immensities to which the telescope invites.

Even man's own body is a universe.

> "In each drop of human blood there are three million vitalized corpuscular disks. Considering all the drops made up in this way, man is a cosmos,

his veins galaxies through whose circuits these red clustering planets perform their ceaseless revolutions."

Nor are these amazing facts the end; they seem to be hardly more than the beginning. Our physicists, chemists and others who are penetrating down, down into the minute beyond the reach of any possible microscope, tell us that they are finding entities (called by them protons, electrons, neutrons and other mysterious names) which are almost infinitely smaller still.

Thus we see that man stands midway in God's creation. If there are worlds and systems and glaxies above him, no less are there worlds and systems and galaxies below him and in him. If the infinities in the heavens belittle him, quite as much do the infinities of the grass blade, the drop of water, his own physical organism, and the protons, electrons and the rest, exalt him.

When, therefore, any one persumes to reproach us with our littleness, and pointing up to the starry heavens, asks, Do you believe that the God of those countless worlds pays any attention to you? we may well point down to the infinities of the minute, and reply: I believe that the Universe-Intelligence which never forgets these can be trusted to take care of me.

This brings me to the thought that the greatness of man is not physical but spiritual. It is by virtue of his mind, not his body, that he is exalted. What matters it, therefore, whether the physical universe which he dwells in be great or small? Can the heaping up of vast physical dimensions dwarf mind—mind that knows no dimensions, and spurns all physical limits? Is spirit overshadowed by standing in the presence of the greatest possible aggregation of matter? Can we say of a mountain that it is greater than a thought? or of the vastest ocean, that it makes insignificant the intellect that fathoms it, and turns it into a highway, and speaks across it as if its thousands of miles were inches, and makes servants of its fiercest waves? Do all the worlds the telescope reveals, that cannot think, belittle the human mind that can?

No, however completely modern astronomy may take away the old primacy of the earth among the heavenly bodies, it can never disturb the greatness of man so long as man remains the thinker. He is great with a greatness which is inherent in his own nature, and, therefore, which is independent of any possible discoveries that science can make in the material realm. He is great because he can *know*, and *reason*, and *distinguish right from wrong*; and *hope*, and *love*, and *worship*. These things he can do because he is a *spirit*, for these are the attributes of spirit. But the greatest world the telescope ever saw, considered as a mere physical mass, is as impotent to do one of these things as is the smallest molecule or atom that floats in our earthly air. Here it is that we see the infinite superiority of man to all possible physical magnitudes and greatness whatever, though they be worlds countless as the sands of the sea-shore, filling the immensities of space with their shining splendours.

It should be borne in mind that man feels awe in the presence of the starry heavens not because of his own insignificance, but really because of *his own greatness*. It is the divine in him that thrills at the great sight. A stone or a clod feels no sense of awe. A brute beast looks up with indifference to the same stars and constellations that bring man to his knees in adoration. The brute is indifferent because he lacks mind. The man admires and worships because he knows, understands, feels; has the correlate of the great heavens in his own greater soul. Wrote Victor Hugo:

> There is one thing grander than the sea; that is the sky. There is one thing grander than the sky; that is the human soul.

To *think* the world is to be *superior* to the world. To *know* the stars is to be *greater* than the stars.

The sun is very large in size. His vast bulk makes the earth seem very small by comparison. But what of that? Need that abash man? Can the sun, big as he is, measure himself or weigh himself? or calculate his path through the heavens? or understand even one of the laws which he blindly obeys? But man can do all these things. Therefore man, though his stature be but five or six feet, is greater than the sun.

The science of astronomy tells us much about the galaxies. But did we ever think, it tells us quite as much about man? Man's mind not only keeps pace with every advance

of astronomical knowledge, it is the *cause* of it. If the heavens declare the glory of God, still more they declare the greatness of the human soul, for it is only because man's soul is great that he can recognize the greatness and glory of God in the heavens.

Thought and love are the creative forces of the universe. Because man thinks and loves, he is a creator—a creator in the finite sphere, as God the Infinite Thinker and Lover is the creator in the Infinite sphere.

"All minds are of one family," said Channing. If this is so, then I am related to the Divine Mind. I am not merely a being created by God's power I am kin to him, because I am spirit, as he is spirit; because I know, as he knows; because I love, as he loves. Therefore I have a right to look up in his face even though that face shines with the light of infinite galaxies and say: "Thou art in some large true sense my Father, I am not a *thing* tossed from thy hand. I am thy *child*; thy great nature is in me."

But perhaps the most overwhelming proof of the greatness of man, and of his superiority to all material things, comes to us from the great doctrine of Evolution.

It used to be supposed to the contrary. Evolution was long feared. Because it linked man's creation with natural processes, and suggested his development from lower forms of life, it was thought to degrade him. But now all this is changing. Profound and philosophical students are more and more coming to see that evolution immeasurably elevates man. As he is unquestionably the culmination of all that has gone before him, so he furnishes the most reasonable and adequate explanation of it all. The evolutionary process has travelled a long road from its beginning in fire-mist to what we see on the earth today. But the progress has all been an ascent, and the culmination is *man*. From the inanimate to the animate, from lower forms of life to higher, from brute to man—that has been the order. Thus man stands on the summit of creation—its crown and its goal. When the physical reached the limit of its possibilities, then mind came in. Henceforth mind was king, and man the thinker wore a dignity second only to that of God the Infinite Thinker.

It is not given to us to know in how many worlds the evolutionary process has reached the same height that it has reached here; but if anywhere it has, then it must have produced there in some sense the spiritual counterpart, and brother of man, I mean, some being who can know and understand, as man can; some intelligence able to "think God's thoughts after him," as man is able; some being, the crown and consummation of the evolutionary process in that other world, or those other worlds, as man is in this; and, therefore, some being who in some true sense is God's image and child there, even as man is here.

Thus it seems to be no extravagance if we say that the whole evolutionary process, from the first movement of primordial matter until this hour, has been one long travailing in pain of the Universe to produce (in this world and we know not in how many others) man or his equivalent,—that is, to produce intelligent spirits, children of the Eternal Reason and Love.

Have we not here, in the costly origin and high nature of man, and in the Fatherhood of God, a key to man's destiny? If man has cost the universe so much, and if his nature is so lofty, must there not be awaiting him a destiny to correspond? Is he not intended for a career greater than can be bounded by this inch of earth and this moment of earthly time? Is the Creator of all things irrational, that he should destroy his highest creature as soon as made? Is the Universe a failure, that its most perfect product should be only an ephemera? If man is God's child, and thus a partaker of the highest attributes of the divine, can he die? Must he not be heir to an immortality parallel with that of God?

We may believe that the Creator can easily enough spare some of his worlds, for he has plenty of them. But can he spare a being without whom the worlds lose their significance? That is the question wrapped up with the problem of man's nature and destiny.

Men talk about worlds and systems and constellations overshadowing and belittling humanity! Can the less overshadow and belittle the greater? Can fire-mist, or earth, or rock, or any material thing, no matter how stupendous its volume or bulk, overshadow spirit, or eclipse the glory of mind?

The universe is God's palace, and a marvelous palace it is. But is not a child more than any building? What father of you is there, who if you had a palace, so vast that it stretched from the Great Bear to the Southern Cross, and so glorious that the Milky Way roofed it, and Sirius and a million other blazing suns were the lamps that gave it light, would not straightway say, My child is more than it all?

So, as I go out under the sky at night, with no one near, and look up into the glorious and illimitable heavens, I hear in the silence a voice speaking down from the Eternal Throne: O man, whom I have made only a little lower than myself, thou art more to me than all else. I did not create thee for my palace; I builded my palace—all this glorius palace of green earth and shining heavens—*for thee and such as thee.* Before suns and stars were, I loved thee. Even whilst thou wert yet cradled in far-away fire-mists, I watched over thee. Our destinies are one; nothing shall ever pluck thee out of my hand or my heart.

And then, as the voice from on high dies away, I hear another voice, not less divine, rising out of the silences of my own soul, and responding as deep answereth to deep: O God of my life, in thee do I trust. From thee I came when I entered into this earthly room so beautiful, of thy Universe house. Here thou givest me to live a few brief years with thee, led by thy hand, studying thy wonders in nature and my own soul, learning life's lessons, helping my brothers as best I may, doing the work which thou givest me to do. I thank thee for this earthly sojourn.

Soon shall I go forth again; I do not know where, but thou, my father, knowest. It is enough that I shall be still with thee. Death will but open the door to other rooms of thine infinite house. I am not afraid. All worlds are beautiful where thou art. Even hell would be safe with thee.

I believe that essentially this is the attitude to be taken today by the intelligent believer in astronomy and all modern science,—by one who accepts every word of their marvelous revelations in the earth and the starry heavens.

I believe that the scientist, with all modern knowledge shining full in his face, is justified in saying with St. Paul: "I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor blazing suns and stars, nor astronomic heavens, nor telescope, nor evolution, nor any other created thing "shall ever be able to separate me from the love and care of the Eternal God."

POET ATUL PRASAD SEN

BY S. N. SANYAL, M.A.

THE world knew A. P. Sen as a successful member of the Bar, a social reformer and a respected citizen of Lucknow; but he was also a poet and a lyrist of a high order.

Poet Atul Prasad was essentially a lyrist and his songs are very popular in Bengali; sung at the prayers of the Brahmo Samaj, by school girls and in the drawing-rooms of the aristocracy. Next to the Poet Tagore he is, perhaps, the most popular composer of sweet songs.

Like his Guru, Rabindranath, Atul Prasad has drunk deep of the fountains of the Vaishnava poets like Chandidas and Vidyapati. He is immersed in the love-lore of the Vaishnavas and has depicted the moods of the love-athirst soul of the divine Radha. In the choice of his themes, in music and in metres he is not so varied nor so deeply rich as the sage of Santiniketan. His moods have one central idea—the pangs of the lover for his beloved whom he had seen but has lost sight of. It is the wail of Radha when Krishna left her and went away to Mathura. It is the pang of Shakuntala for King Dushyanta. Far from Tagore, Sen is a kindred spirit to C. R. Das, with whom he claims some relationship.

Most of the compositions of A. P. Sen are either Kirtans or *Baool* songs, both popular forms of devotional music, handed down to us by the Vaishnava Sadhus and *Baool* devotees. Both are easy to sing and best sung in company, especially *Kirtan.*

To appreciate Atul Prasad we are not to look at the arguing Barrister but we should bring

before our mind's eye a tall brownish figure with dreamy eyes and a pensive forehead singing more to himself than to the world. He would fain sit under the *Tamala* tree than in the drawing-room and sing all day long. Days would go by, but who cares. Tears roll down his eyes, his voice is choked with emotion, music is reduced to a hum and then their is a hush, a silence more eloquent than any form of speech.

In his poetry there is no rush, no feverish gush of emotion, changeable and fickle, not many varieties of moods—from intense passion to lethargic indolence like that of Shelley. But there is one resemblance with Shelley. Atul Prasad too perceives the "veil" which prevents a full view of his love. He feels the presence, he knows that she is there, still he cannot transcend the gulf. But unlike Shelley, he has trusting faith in God and Man and the belief that the "veil" would be torn down and that he shall rejoin her. In his trust in the ultimate reunion with his lost love he feels in the same way as poet Chittaranjan. In this respect he shares in common with many Bengali poets the mystic tradition of the Vaishnava savants.

The poetry of Atul Prasad is like a pool of cool and clear water, unruffled by the winds. You would be refreshed and comforted. If there is a slight touch of dejection, it is because separation makes love sweeter and strenghtens the bond of love. In spite of a mournful strain, all through his poetry runs an inner chord of hope and trust in future reu ion with his love. Like Shelley and Keats there is no piteous cry of despair. On the other hand he sings:

"If the world cares not for me,
you will be with me.
If I cannot carry the burden, Friend,
you will carry it for me."

The philosophy of A. P. Sen can be summed up as the perception of divine reality through love and renunciation:

"How long will you search for riches and fame."
or "Love is greater than riches."

By temperament and training Atul Prasad cannot play the juzz nor he can run into mad eloquence for the applause of the gallery. He hates it and his sensitive intellect always refused it. His music is a deep meditative tune sung far from the maddening crowd. It is a soft ode sung by the imprisoned lady in the tower for the knight who shall deliver her. His poem reminds one of the 'Highland Lass' with sickle in hand bending over the ripe corn humming a mournful tune.

As is the case with Rabindranath or Wordsworth, Nature is not eloquent to Atul Prasad. To him Nature in not vibrant nor a living presence with a message for the rejuvenation and resurrection of the world, on the other hand Nature is an ornament for the decoration of his poetry and the beauty of the world. In his case it is not the poet who responds to Nature hearing its silent symphony and going to ecstacies over it. Nature to Atul Prasad is the handmaid of his subjective moods. Moreover, Nature is always loving to him, and he never cares to look at the destructive and ugly aspects of Nature. He likes to see Nature in a well-laid-out garden where she is tastefully arranged and well trimmed. Wild Nature has little fascination for him.

A. P. Sen loves his country as deeply as any other great patriot. He is proud of its great men, of its philosophy, of its religion and of its culture and his heart is heavy when he sees that in this land there is appalling ignorance and a general decadance. With deep sympathy he sings:

"In two houses burns the lamp of learning
but millions are enshrouded in darkness.
This darkness you must dispell—with care,
with extreme care.'

He is melancholy that there is communal dissension but is not despondent, and he believes that the narrow walls of communalism and selfishness are breaking:

"Mother, open the door and look, we have come
your two sons Hindu and Mussalman."

The patriotism of Sen is not the trumpeting blast of a god of the mob calling forth his followers by playing upon their false pride and fasle patriotism ending in turmoil and chaos. It is constructive and evolutionary and deep-rooted.

Born in a Bramho family with a tradition of social reform, he is up in arms against untouchability and the caste system.

"Differences of caste and birth,
divide a nation in hundred divisions,
O Hindu, you will die out if
you do not end the evil."

He belives in social equality but it is not the intuitive recognition of the unity of souls, which prompted Swami Vivekananda to decry untouchability, nor is it the intellectual perception of the social disbilities which hamper the growth of a common nationality, as in the case of other social reformers, but it is the generous sympathy of a gentle soul which is wounded by the wrong done to a brother who has the same desires, same emotions as himself. In the eyes of the poet it is a grossly ugly thing and a very cruel practice. He, however, feels that the time is fast approaching when social inequalities shall disappear and India, ancient and mighty as ever, shall shine forth in rejuvenated glory:

"..............the day of glory shall come,
Look the day is dawning."

and again he sings:

"Say, say all in blended notes of flute and vina,
India again shall take the place of
glory in the comity of nations."

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION : *By A. Krishnaswami. Published by Williams and Norgate Ltd., London.*

What Mr. A. Krishnaswami has to offer in the twelve chapters of this treatise is a series of discussions on the proposed constitution of India, now being framed by its overlords in London. He deals with such problems as the Indian states and federation, federal finance, provincial legislatures, reservations and safe-guards, racial and religious minorities. His point of view is that of the imperialists of England, where statesmanship is at low ebb. As an Indian, he does not even realize that the tide has gone down and only little crabs of statecraft and diplomacy fiddle on the beach.

The author is charmed by the "unrivalled mechanism" of the Round Table confab and naturally sides with its sponsors. In his eagerness to support some of the worst retrograde proposals of the Roundtable-wallahs, he has dragged in by the tail a number of quotations from the eighteenth century constitution of the United States. I wonder why he did not mention the Declaration of Independence, which furnishes the basic philosophy of the American constitution—the Declaration which asserts that the government derives its powers from the consent of the governed.

The book is almost London *Morning Post*-ish in its support of the reactionary fads and theories of the bureaucrats. Mr. Krishnaswami, for example, devotes considerable space to justify communal awards. It seems to us in America that communalism is a disease which cannot be cured with numerous doses of the quack poison of seperate electorates which in the first place caused the distress. Moreover, I am astonished to find that the bureaucrats in India are more worried about the rights of the minority groups in Indian as well as alien than those of the majority. But since I have no access to their conscience, I shall let that pass.

The writer of the book holds the thesis that the new constitution will be a sort of manna from heaven and will inaugurate an era of peace and prosperity—a view not shared by the common sense of the Indian nation, and rightly so. To be sure he admits grudgingly some of its blatant shortcomings, but he stresses unduly the "paramountcy rights," "special responsibilities" "imperial interests" "consolidation" and "performance of the British Empire," and in the end succeeds in presenting a lop-sided picture.

There is little evidence to prove that the author has considered the subject impartially. Among all the Indian leaders whom he quotes to support his arguments are the few lone politicians, universally discredited in India outside the small governing class, which of course has its axe to grind. Indeed, it does not appear that he has heard of the Indian National Congress and given its findings any serious consideration. May be he did, but he forgot. The fact is that the new constitution of India is being drawn up with eyes mainly for the advantage of the United Kingdom, and as such India will never accept it as final. The omens are already far from rosy.

Some of Mr. Krishnaswami's discussions are good, some sketchy, feeble and sophomoric. The book is not downright trash, but it is not destined to longevity. Why did the author omit an index? He should also have added a bibliography.

Sudhindra Bose

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE (A. D. 1346—A. D. 1646) : *By B. A. Saletore, M. A., Ph. D. (London and Giessen), Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung Scholar, Berlin: with a Foreword by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M. A., Ph. D., formerly Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University. In two Volumes, pp. liii+470 and 1—525 (over 1000 pages), with eleven plates cloth bound. B. C. Paul and Co., Publishers, 12 Francis Joseph Street, Madras, 1934. Price for the two volumes, Twelve Rupees or Eighteen Shillings.*

A rich feast for the student of Indian history and culture has been spread by Dr. B. A. Saletore in this work which may be described as one of capital importance, considering alike the range of

subjects treated in it and the careful marshalling of facts, and evidences and of the conclusions deducible from them. This work formed the author's doctorate thesis in the University of London, and the authorities of that body have shown their appreciation of the scholarly labours of Dr. Saletore by making a grant for its publication: this grant, combined with a similar financial support from a gentleman who prefers to remain anonymous, has enriched the historical literature on India with the addition of these two handsome volumes the contents of which will please both the critical student and the general reader. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has in his *foreword* indicated the scope of Dr. Saletore's enquiry, and has signalized how he has utilized all available sources—epigraphical and literary. There is certainly an *embarras de richesse*, as the period extends over three centuries of crowded history, with international connexions, and covers all aspects of life except the strictly politico-chronological. There is an extensive literature on the subject already both primary and secondary, and the carefully prepared bibliography of books, monographs and papers, besides the original sources, which the author has preferred to his book, and with which he has evinced a close acquaintance is a fairly large one, covering over forty pages. As Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says: "the very extent of the subject and the vastness of detail available would baffle any effort in this direction ordinarily, but Dr. Saletore has succeeded in producing a creditable work bearing on the vast subject." There is indeed a wealth of detail under the various heads which makes the picture as full and as living as is possible for a historical synthesis to make it.

The Vijayanagara episode forms one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of India, and modern scholars have been fascinated by it ever since Sewell's resuscitation of its glories, for the average English reader thirty-three years ago. In its days of glory in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries it easily evokes comparison with the spacious days of the Mogul emperors in Northern India in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. Founded during the first half of the fourteenth century with the genius of some of the greatest Brahman statesmen of the day helping the local chiefs of Karnataka to take a stand against Muhammadan aggression from the north, Vijayanagara became the bulwrok which met the Mlechchha onset and saved the Hindu culture and the Hindu soul of Dravidian India, preserving much of the precious heritage of the past which would otherwise have been destroyed as it happened in North India. Vijayanagara has added to the list of illustrious rulers of men at least one great name, Krishna Deva Raya: it created a great city and reorganized the civilization of the South; it fostered trade and the arts and crafts, and literature—in Telugu, and in Kannada. After the disaster of 1565, it continued to carry on its glorious tradition for a century more. The study of the internal life of such an empire has a fascination of its own: Dr. Saletore is to be thanked for giving us an opportunity to read, understand and appreciate this great story.

We do not have chronological statement of its history—of its kings and their fortunes. A knowledge of the background of political history is assumed in the reader. In the Introductory chapter, the author discusses whether the founders of the Vijayanagara Kingdom were Telugu speakers, or Kannadas. The commonly accepted view makes them Telugus; but Dr. Saletore is inclined to regard them as "karnataka by birth and karnataka in valour," who "stood out as champions of all that was worth preserving in Hindu religion and culture." In the two subsequent chapters the Vijayanagara country in general is described, and its various capitals. Then follow chapters on Revenue Administration, and on the Central Government and the Local administration. The administration of justice, and oppression which was inevitable during weak rule in those troublesome times, are then discussed. The relations between the Hindu state and its Muhammadan neighbours are another important point to be discussed in a special chapter. A highly interesting portion of the book describes the organization of the Vijayanagara army. With this the first volume closes. The second volume is taken up with the following topics: The *Varnasrama-dharma*; the Social Institutions; the Brahmans; the Women; Social Legislation, Etiquette and Orthodoxy; Public Service, Honours, and Patriotism; Habitation, Food, and Dress, Corporate Life in Social Matters; and Festivals, Games and Amusements. We have thus a detailed survey of most of the aspects of the life of the Karnataka people of Vijayanagara during three centuries.

Dr. Saletore writes as a Hindu, and as a patriotic Indian; and he sometimes writes with an under-current of enthusiasm for the glory and the heroism that is now past. This under-current of sympathy and enthusiasm, provided it is based on just standards, is a necessary thing even in science: certainly it exalts history into what it is or should be—a science of humanity.

It appears that there is not much of the controversial in this work, which is for all and sundry a mine of information, affording plenty of food for reflexion and suggesting here and there the applicability of the experience of the past to the conditions of the present.

We have here a fine book, the production of fine scholarship. One would have liked a little more, although much has been given: two chapters on Art and Literature (Vernacular and Sanskrit)—the former accompanied by good plates of the typical master-pieces of Vijayanagara architecture and sculpture and other arts so far available—might have completed the picture. Another point which as one who does not read Kannada I would like to bring to the notice of the author: English translations of the Kannada passages (which might advantageously be given in Roman, for one unfamiliar with the Kannada alphabet might like to find out how the thing *sounds* in the original) should have been given. Telugu literature flourished so very much under the Vijayanagara emperors, and it seems Telugu authors have been neglected. Surely here some Andhra Scholar could collaborate with our author. A preliminary chapter recapitulating the main facts and dates of political history would not have come amiss as furnishing the bare skeleton—if only for the general reader, for one who has not specially studied South Indian history.

But these are improvements which it is easy for a lay man to suggest. On the whole it is a real scholarly work, bearing the stamp of the best distinction, and we can congratulate the author on this fine production; and we hope that many more of this kind are to come from him in the future.

MOHAN-JO-DARO: *By Bherumal Mahirchand Esq. Lecturer in Sindhi, D. J. Sind College, Karachi. Published by the author. pp. 93, boards, Re 1.*

An interesting, compilation from what has appeared in the various magazines and other articles and in Sir John Marshall's *Mohen-jo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation* on the antiquities and culture of Mohen-jo-Daro.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE CONSCIENCE OF A NATION OR STUDIES IN GANDHISM: *Gaganvihari Mehta. 70-A, Chakrabaria Road, Calcutta, 1933. Re. 1.*

A collection of thought-provoking essays on Mahatmaji's birthday and other occasions, written in a spirit of devotion to the Great Soul. The title is an echo from M. Romain Rolland's book on Mahatma Gandhi. The discussion of the various vital principles involved shows that Mr. Mehta has approached his subject from the just point of view. "If Right is to be Might, Right too must have vitality and must prove itself in action." For most of us do not yet understand that Gandhiji's method seeks to substitute will for violence, moral energy for muscular strength, love for fear in the scheme of life. Mr. Mehta has a grasp on the fundamentals of such a philosophy and he enunciates them in a style suited to the subject. The book will repay careful study.

DR. BESANT AND INDIA'S RELIGIOUS REVIVAL: *Hirendranath Datta.*

DR. BESANT: WARRIOR. *G. S. Arundale.*

These two Adyar pamphlets, published in February and March, 1934, deal with aspects of Annie Besant's life. Mr. Datta tries to describe her entry into Indian affairs and the stimulating effect of her mission on Indian religions, due to her entirely selfless devotion to the cause of the Indian people and their highest spiritual good. Mr. Arundale vividly presents to his readers the spirit of Annie Besant with its yearnings, achievement and legacies. They are both sincere expressions of reverent homage to the departed great, and at the same time eloquent exhortations to this generation to rise to high endeavour.

BEST SHORT STORIES OF INDIA: *Selected and edited by Phyllis Atkinson, B. Sc. Econ. (Lond.) D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Vols. I and II.*

The contents of these two volumes consist of about a hundred folk tales, originally published in the *Indian Antiquary*, and pertaining to the different provinces of India—Kashmir, the Panjab, the Northern India, Madras, Bengal, etc., with delightful Sketches from F. Ramleder to set them off. The publication has received the blessings of such eminent scholars as Professors Bhandarkar and Aiyangar, who have supplied it with the preface and the introduction If taste and imagination give any clue to the minds and the culture of a people, then these "Stories of India" may be accepted as India's introduction to the world. It is gratifying to note that in their selection the editor has been guided and rightly, by the principle of supplying maximum pleasure to the readers.

The reading of these stories prompts the thought that there must be many other tales current in Bengal and other provinces, and their collection is an immediate necessity. Coming to the individual provinces, we find that the editor must have suffered from shortness of supply; *e. g.*, only stories from Dinajpur—unique as it may be in some respects, the district cannot surely be taken as a representative of Bengal—have been selected for Bengal. It may be allowed to observe also that most of these stories had been published long ago, in 1875 or thereabouts. May we not have, moreover, a regional study of Indian short stories?

Nevertheless, under the circumstances, the publication of these two volumes in a handy form has been greatly opportune, and will serve as an expression of the Indian mind. It deserves to be appreciated by the student of history, of anthropology, of sociology and literature, as well as the general reader for whom specialized studies have no interest.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES: *Delivered at the Beharee Students' Conference (1906-1923) Part I, with a Foreword by Sj. Rajendra Prasad. Compiled by Badri Narain Sinha, M. A. Published by Ramesh Prasad, B. Sc., Mithapur, Patna.*

Bihari Students' Conference, organized for the first time in 1906, was a significant event in Bihar. It was the first sign of national awakening in recent years, the precursor of political conference and separate Congress organization with feeders spreading all over the country; and it was itself a result of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal or its partition in 1905. From its inception to the inauguration of the Non-co-operation movement (there had been no sessions of the Conference in 1922, 1923) is a distinct period; the book contains the Presidential Addresses delivered from year to year during that priod, thus presenting the ideas and ideals that governed the minds of Bihari students there.

Among the presidents quoted here we find Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Annie Besant, Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Sja. Sarala Devi;—these indicate the wide range of their sympathies and appeal, though sometimes they are centradictory, as for example on the vexing problem of the suitability of politics for student life. Those who are specially interested in student organization and movements as well as those who desire to have, by their side, a manual of typical addresses meant for such occasions will be glad to have a copy of the book.

ELEMENTS OF VEDIC RELIGION: *Diwan Bahadur V. K. Ramanujachari. Published by the Author, at Kumbakonam. 1931. Price Rupee One.*

This book reproduces in brief the substance of the contents of Sri Bhashya in a handy form; it should therefore serve as an introduction to the great commentary. Some of the sections are lucid expositions and take up the Vedas as the basis for the authority of the Vaishnava Shastras. Section XII, in which the superiority of the Vaishnava tenet to other systems of faith is propounded, is the breeding ground of controversies, but it is a question for all times. The book deserves publicity among students of Vaishnava philosophy.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

SHREE MEHER BABA—HIS PHILOSOPHY AND TEACHINGS: *By A. K. Abdulla, (Ramjoo); Published by Rustom K. Sarosh Irani, Nasik; Price 12 Annas.*

This is a booklet of 112 pages which seek to give us the philosophy and teachings of a Parsi saint and also his life history. The more abstruse philosophical

questions are explained by means of diagrams which are interesting in themselves apart from the truths they are intended to illustrate. Thus we have a semi-circle for Almighty and another for the Creator with shooting straight lines standing for individuals, and so on. Some of the truths also are deep indeed! Thus: "The compact latent human form takes four straight turns and afterwards, one inverse turn (in all five turns) before it becomes completely manifested." (p. 64.) "Our earth is nearest to the Creator point." (p. 73.) etc. etc.

In ch. vi. we have a few questions answered by the Baba. In answer to one question, he says: 'To anybody who has attained the state of consciousness that I have reached, miracles are child's play" (p. 77). And the secret of this wonderful success is "The elimination of the ego" (p. 79).

In a brief biography in ch. vii. we are told that after leaving College, Baba became 'God-realised' in 1914 (p. 101) and for about nine months "his eyes remained a blank stare." Strong doses of morphia and opium and kindred injections were administered by the doctors; and in 1921, he "became super-conscious plus creation conscious" (p. 102). In 1931 he paid his first visit to the West; and by June 1933 he sailed from India for the *fifth* time. During the last nine years he has been observing silence. But the *A. B. Patrika*, Sunday, August 26, 1934, (p. 18) contains the following news: "Shri Meher Baba, the 40 year old Parsee mystic who has kept a self-imposed silence for eight years, has made arrangements for the production of a film embodying his religious philosophy.... It has not been definitely settled, but Shri Baba himself may act in it......The film is to be shot in Hollywood and India, and it is expected to be ready by next autumn."

One thing that strikes us in this biography is that, just as an Indian scholar of today travels to Europe in order to get his achievements recognized and advertized, so a man with spiritual achievements to his credit also pays visits to Europe now and then in order that he may get himself recognized. This not only proves the importance of Europe but at the same time demonstrates the unimportance of the ego-consciousness in these saints.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

HISTORY OF THE MUSLIM WORLD: *By Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah, M.A., retired I.E.S., sometime Assistant Director of Public Instruction for Muslim Education. Bengal, published by the Empire Book House, Calcutta, price Rs. 5, pp. 647+67 in Appendices.*

This work traces Islamic history from its origins and pursues its developments in different ages and countries. It starts with an amount of the early Caliphs and that of the Abbasid and Omayyad dynasties. Then follows an amount of the developments of Islam under different States and Peoples, the Sasanids, the Samanids, the Ghaznevids and other dynasties of Persia, the Fatimid and Mameluke dynasties of Egypt, the Ottoman Empire of Turkey, and the Pathan and Mughal dynasties in India. Next follows the history of the expansion of Islam in various parts of the world. There is also a chapter dealing with Europe's debt to Islam. The book gives the Islamic view of Islam as a political and civilizing force. It sometimes treats of history as if it were politics. Still it is useful as compressing within a small compass a large amount of information collected from a variety of sources.

X. Y. Z.

RACE AND ECONOMICS IN SOUTH AFRICA: *By W. G. Ballinger. (Day to Day Pamphlets No. 21.) The Hogarth Press, London. 1934. Pp. 67. Price 1 sh.*

In 1928 Mr. Ballinger, an official of the British Labour Movement, was invited by the Native Trade Union, known as the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, to conduct an inquiry, un-official as it well can be, into the position of industrial relationships in that country, particularly from the view-point of the African workers. This succint little account of problems of colour and economics obtaining in the Union of South Africa is the result of Mr. Ballinger's private efforts. There is not the slightest doubt that Negro labour in South Africa is now subject to the severest of handicaps. The problem of the "Poor White" has almost defied any answer which can be deemed to be to the advantage of the native workers of that country. In order to maintain an artificially bloated standard of living among these "Poor whites," the Union Government has steadily been pursuing a policy of industrial and social discrimination, in which the balance of advantage is entirely with the White employer and the White worker. The collapse of tribal organization consequent on legislation resulting in a compulsory periodical exodus of Negroes from their *Kraals*, the question of segregation of coloured peoples, a double schedule of wages for White and native workers consequent on the reservation of certain types of industrial employment for the former, inadequate legislative provision for the legitimate protection of native workers and the problem of a colour war are some of the engrossing topics dealt with by Mr. Ballinger with clarity and fairness. Any student concerned with a study of inter-racial relations ought not to miss this important publication which redounds to the credit of Mr. and Mrs. Woolf of the Hogarth Press. Our only complaint is that the book is not more exhaustive and detailed.

LANKA SUNDARAM

A MANUAL OF RECIPES: *By Nirmal Baran Brohmachary, B. Sc. Published by the author, 11, Baldeopara Road, Calcutta. To be had of The Book Company Limited 4-3 B, College Square, Calcutta. 156 pages, Price Rs. 2 only.*

The author is a Pharmaceutical Chemist of long experience. He has noticed that the raw materials mentioned in the formulae recorded in literature are not often easily available in the market. The ingredients recommended in this book for making various preparations such as scents, face powders, tooth pastes, hair oils, syrups, soaps etc., are easily obtained. In addition there is a large number of prescriptions for making patent medicines.

This is a useful book and we bring it to the notice of the unemployed educated youths.

A. K. MUKERJI

FLOWER OFFERINGS: *Prose-Poems. By P. R. Kaikini, Bombay Book Depot. Pp. 39. Re. 1.*

There are fifty poems. The poet says, "Prof. Y. M. Trilokekar. M. A., Diplomaed in Education.

Paris, of Wadia College, Poona, read and passed the poems for the press." Prof. Armando Menezes, M. A., (Professor of English, St. Xavier's College, Bombay) writes the Foreword. Yet we find ugly errors throughout the poems which offend even the most rapid reader's eye and mar his enjoyment of the poet's effusion.

"When the merry ducks call no more and vanish into the cool shelter of that yonder grove...I cast about this net to catch my long-lost glorious dreams of love and life." It may be good poetry but it is disfigured by the absurd "that yonder" and "cast about". Few things contribute more to the vigour of prose-poetry than correct idioms and phrases, and with such glaring errors, which tend to obscure the meaning, the effect is dullness. "Where yonder yew-tree lightly waves"—Byron. 'The' or 'that' cannot be attached to 'yonder'. "Cast this net" would have been the right expression in prose or poetry. "Cast about" means "devise means". A combination of the two provokes mirth and serves to distract the reader's attention.

"The pulse of life that is felt in all my limbs is the same as that which once surged in the lone lost hearts.." Thoughts raised to a babel height would fall by their own weight without the tremors of criticism. Three relatives were never before in such a weird constellation,—"as that which"; and Prof. Menezes's taunt in the Foreword "the Pharisees of criticism cannot too often be reminded that the letter killeth and it is the spirit that giveth life" cannot protect the present-day solecist. Instead of brandishing his sword to scare away critics, Prof. Menezes ought to have advised the poet to omit 'as' and 'which' and make the piece tolerably presentable to the public. Literary blemishes are often disregarded in the rhythmical pause and onflow of the metrical composition. But in prose-poetry which is nothing but exalted prose a measure of literary craftsmanship is essential to success, even when the thoughts are orange and azure, deepening into gold.

CRITIC

GUIDE TO SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES. *Published by Ram Lal Suri & Sons, Booksellers, Anarkali, Lahore, and edited by M. C. Mohan B.A., ; price Rs. 2.*

The book which was published in 1931 comes out now in its third revised edition in 1934. In this book the author has compiled authentic information on industries that can be run in India profitably by the educated youngmen with small capital. The book deals with the following industries more or less exhaustively : Absorbent Cotton, bakery and biscuit-making, brush manufacture, button industry, cigarette and cigar manufacture, electro-plating, hosiery, laundry, leather industries, metallic manufactures, razor blades, pins and clips, safety pins, tin boxes, wire cloth, wire chains, aluminium wares, paper clips, brass wares, bell metal, brass tubes, brass eyelets, copper wares, motor spokes, nuts and bolts, printing, book-binding, sand paper manufacture, saintary goods manufacture, clips, envelopes, fountain pens, shoe laces, pen holders, slates, pen and pencil making. The book gives the history of the industries, their prospects in the country, their manufacturing process, estimates of capital required, places where necessary training can be had, books and journals dealing with the industry and experts to be consulted on the subject.

At this present moment when the country is sorely in need of guidance on industrial vocation, the publication of such a book is a boon to our countrymen, especially our youngmen. We recommend its study by the educated community of the country and hope this will to some extent help the solution of the acute question of unemployment by attracting our young men towards industrial enterprises.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

INDIA'S PLIGHT : *By Sir M. de P. Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E. Published by The Daily Gazette Press, Ltd., Karachi.*

One may not agree to Sir M. de P. Webb's proposal to remonetize silver, it is impossible not to be impressed with the sympathy, sincerity, lucidity and the forceful directness which characterize his writings. *India's Plight* has already run into its fourth edition which is a sure testimony that its worth has been widely appreciated, and it is perhaps too late to review it in any detail.

While price-level and agricultural income in India has dwindled to half their former value and while exports have contracted by more than fifty per cent, income-tax receipts and land revenue have remained the same. While the volume of imports has fallen the custom receipts have remained the same, so that the price of the imported products have not fallen proportionately. At the same time the burden of our sterling obligation has doubled. Thus the total purchasing power of the country has greatly diminished and the manufacturing industries have been badly hit in consequence. This explains India's sad plight. Apart from the world factors there have been special causes operating in India. Mismanagement of the exchanges have led to a loss of no less than 60 crores of rupees. The Gold Standard was resumed at an inopportune moment at the instigation, says Sir Montague, of the financial interests in London, and this has led to the serious currency contraction which has dislocated our national economy. Then we have the detestable 1-6 ratio established in face of public opinion by the Hilton-Young Commission. Lastly we have the recent linkage of the rupee with the sterling, which has placed our currency system in the hands of the London bankers whose interest it is to raise the value of gold by contraction or otherwise.

To get out of this terrible situation, Sir Montague suggests reduction of taxation, restoration of the 1-4 ratio and what is more important, free coinage of silver. To the first two we agree, though with reservation with regard to the second; but we think the difficulties attending the third would outweigh its advantages. It is true that the production of silver is more or less independent of price and hence there is little danger of new production 'flooding' our country, mainly because India is not a great silver producing country. But what about the huge stock in India amounting to anything between 300 to 1,000 million ounces ? A large proportion of this hoard is in possession of a class of persons in need of immediate cash who would take the first opportunity of converting silver into liquid purchasing power. *After* the silver standard has been established for some time there would be no such rush for coinage, but during the transition period the strain might be too great. No doubt with the monetization of silver the control of our currency system will go out of the hands of the London bankers, but is it not equally probable that it would pass over to the

silver speculators in U. S. A. and Mexico? Moreover, we are not convinced that expansion of currency is not possible under a gold or a sterling standard. We do not in any way support the sterling standard, but on the whole it seems to us that it is easier to persuade the currency authorities to change the currency policy than to ask them to adopt silver. At any rate both the possibilities are at present far from being within the bounds of practical politics.

S. N. SEN-GUPTA

FRENCH

DELA VERITE DAUS L' ART. *Dialogue entre un Oriental et un Occidental. By Lionel de Fonseka (Warnesuriya Wijetunge Samaranayake). Publication Chitra. C. A. Hayman, editeur. En vente a la Librairie des Lettres et des Arts. 150, Boulevard Saint-Germain. Paris.*

In this small book of 139 pages a Singhalese author has sought to expose his idea of "Truth in Art" in the form of a dialogue between an Oriental and an Occidental. The scope of this comparative study of the theory of art in the East and in the West is kept tantalizingly vague, as the terms "Orient" and "Occident", "Oriental Art" and "Occidental Art" are nowhere defined. Greece is not included in the "Occident", while there are only a few stray references to France and Germany, the author's observations being mainly confined to England. Persia, China, Japan and Malayanesia are obviously excluded from the "Orient; and it is not clear if India herself is included, or the author means to speak of Singhalese Art alone. There is no means of obtaining even the glimmering of light in the case of the "Orient" that we have in the case of the "Occident", because no work of Oriental art, no single artist or school of oriental art is specifically mentioned.

All the author's exuberant praise of Oriental Art, as compared to Occidental, therefore eludes close examination by application to specific objects of that art: "In oriental art the conventions belong to the domain of form, where they are natural. In Occidental Art they belong to the essence and are an anomaly" (p. 26). "The architecture of the East gives you the sense of mystery and of the immensity of nature. In the decoration of temples is revealed the sensitiveness of the artist before natural phenomena. He understands them and employs them as symbols." (p. 34). "Your thought is academic while ours is popular." (p. 72). "Art expresses our manner of getting hold of nature, art is our way of perceiving" (p. 124). "In the West all the idealism is in the art, while all the materialism is for life; in the East are reserved all our ideals for practical life" (p 91).

In contrast to this is his wholesale condemnation of all creations of art in the West, particularly in England: "You always try to express your own self" (p. 13). "Ball dance when it is not a giddy galloping is only a sterile confusion" (p. 14). "The conventions of Occidental Art have a morbid character" (p. 24). "Among the romantic poets, the expression of sentiment is a gratuitous falsehood" (p. 25). "Your drama and your romance are didactic." (p. 38). "All your arts are dead arts" (p. 56). "Now-a-days, obviously, there exists amongst you, no rational sentiment sufficiently vigorous to give dignity and grace to the monuments that you construct" (p. 65). "Your philosophy is an abstract speculation entirely cut off from life" (p. 69). "Humanism as an artistic faith has its place among the other cruelties of the Renaissance" (p. 73). "The Romanticism of Germany has produced a generation of artistic monstrosities" (p. 98). "Pre-Raphaelism appeared formerly as an extravagance, but it......is become a pure vagabondage" (p. 101). "For the mass of Englishmen, art has no meaning" (p. 103).—These remarks culled at random sufficiently illustrate the attitude of mind in which this comparative study is undertaken. No attempt is made to trace the historical evolution of Western arts, no impartial exposition of the different theories as they have been shaped and enriched by the varied experiences of life is attempted, there is no sympathy with the artistic aspirations of Western peoples; all the arts of the Occident in all ages and all the theories of art are swept into one basket and condemned.

But the author has a theory of art of his own which he calls Oriental, as if all the arts in the orient have at all times obeyed, like docile student, this Panini of Oriental art. According to the author, Oriental art is primarily utilitarian, and secondarily decorative." In the East all our arts are useful and are fine arts" (p. 60). "The aim of art is first of all usefulness, next embellishment" (p. 77). "In the East we believe that the end of art is decoration" (p. 12). "The aim of art is decoration, expression is not the essential property of art, it is only accessory." That is, according to the author, the artisan who turns out useful objects is, *par excellence*. the artist, and not he who translates into tangible forms the fleeting etherial visions of beauty and perfection and harmony which, since the beginning of creation, have haunted man, the child of Immortality. He has only a cheap sneer for "pure" art, "from which the idea of utility is entirely absent" (p. 30). No more monstrous injustice can be done to Oriental art than to call this the theory of "Oriental art". Of what utility was the tomb of the Empress that the Emperor gathered all the best artists of his age and spent his vast resources in the construction of the Taj Mahal? Of what practical utility were the temples of Orissa and Ellora that whole bands of artists spent the best years of their lives in making each single stone a feast of beauty? The idea of utility is perhaps nowhere more absent than in the art of India. But we look in vain for any consistency in the author's theory. He condemns English novels and dramas because they are didactic and harass people with their propaganda, and again declares that "art loses its dignity if it serves as an instrument of social reform" (p. 48), *i. e.*, becomes an object of utility.

The strangeness of his opinions is indeed such as makes us rub our eyes if we are seeing true: "In India philosophers were legislators and statesmen" (p. 69). "Why does a woman shut her eyes instinctively when she is kissed? Because reaching a certain point, sight becomes incompatible with other senses. Having fulfilled its function it becomes positively irritating" (p 71). "If the Greeks were quite modern, they would have arranged in such a way that the same statues would represent the gods on sabath day [sabath for the pagan Greeks !] and football players on Saturday afternoons' (p. 120). Mixed with these there are acute observations here and there, but all distorted like the world seen with a squint in the eye: " In the East the artist never tries to reproduce

the external forms of nature, but rather the idea which they incarnate" (p 121) ; is it not true of Western art as well ? "Perfect Art exists in the perfect union of the useful and the true" (p 95) ; —is it not true of decorative art only ? "Specializing in art is amputating life" (p. 132) ;—would the author like the Venus de Milo to have her lips and cheeks painted and properly dressed dance a minuet pulled by the strings of the marrionette player, thus confining the arts of the sculptor, the painter, the dancer and of the modestés of the grands boulevards ?

The book is divided into two chapters : (1) Du De cor de la vie, (2) Du De cor de l' Art. Since however the succession of ideas is continuous, the division and the headings of the chapters appear to have no special significance.

"This dialogue," says the author in his Preliminary Note, "is written specially for the Singhalese." In that case there does not seem to be any point in writing the book in French, as French is not a language widely studied or generally understood by the Singhalese. The patient Englishman who listens with exemplary patience to his long condemnation of all the arts of his country—his poetry and drama and romance and painting and dancing and ideas of love and morality and what not—would also have found it easier to understand if the book were written in his own language.

We in India are used to the intellectual hypocrisy of the pseudo-lovers of India, who, without any study of the art or philosophy of India or of their own countries, go into ecstasies over things Indian and decry the achievements of their own countries. It is sad to find an Indian (and the Singhalese are culturally and linguistically Indian) in such company.

SUBODHCHANDRA MUKERJI

SANSKRIT

BRAHMASUTRA : *Chapter II, Pada I with Sankara's Bhasya, the Bhamati of Vacaspati, the Kalpataru of Amalananda and an original commentary called Prabha by the author, with a Bengali translation and elucidation by Pandit Charukrishna Vedantatirtha. Edited by Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh Vedantabhusana.*

It is a happy sign of the times that Vedanta philosophy is passing away from the hands of dilettantes and has been take up as a subject of serious study by the orthodox school of Sanskrit scholars in Bengal. In former days Navya-Nyaya was the principal interest of the Pandits of Bengal and they had neither the time nor the inclination to cultivate a first-hand acquaintance with other schools of thought. But though Nyāya is still the main interest and has not lost a whit of its prestige, Vedanta has recently come to take its due share. And I am not using the language of courtesy or convention in saying that Bengal scholarship in Vedanta owes a great deal to the activity and inspiration of Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh Vedantabhusana. The present venture is an illustration of the expansion of Vedantic culture. In this volume the Smritipāda of the Brahmasutra has been edited with the Bhasya, Bhamati, Kalpataru and an original Commentary on the Bhamati, called prabhā and the whole thing has been translated into Bengali with elaborate notes and elucidations in difficult places. Even a tyro knows that this part of the Brahmasutra together with the Tarkapada (II. 2.) constitutes the most difficult and important portion of Bādarāyana's *Magnum opus*. It is gratifying to note that Pandit Charukrishna Vedantatirtha has not grudged any labour to render these classics intelligible to a modern student. His Sanskrit Commentary is really an admirable performance and for the elucidation of the niceties and difficulties in connexion with the exposition and criticism of the Buddhist philosophical concepts, the author has freely drawn upon the texts of Buddhist philosophy, which have recently come into light. These texts were formerly a sealed book to the orthodox section and in consequence many a dark spot in the Bhamati could not be lighted up. The quotations in the Bhasya and the Bhamati have been traced to their original sources, wherever it has been found feasible and this shows that the editor has not spared pains to make the book up-to-date and thorough. The division of the topics into appropriate sections and the illuminating observations on the nature of the *Adhikaranas* based on a study of the wording of the sutras by the editor add really to the value of the work and the latter particularly show a new line of study which may be profitably pursued by a modern scholar. The editor tells us in the foreword that this method of interpretation of the wording is not a new-fangled invention with him, but was actually taught by the Late Mahamahopadhyaya Lakshmana Sastri, the great savant who may be regarded as the founder of present-day Vedanta culture in Bengal. An independent study of the original sutras on this line may go a long way to solve the problem as to whose interpretation among the Bhasyakāras should be believed to represent the true spirit of Badarayana.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE.

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

THE BHAGAVADGITA OR THE LORD'S SONG : *With the text in Devanagari and an English Translation. By Annie Besant. Ninth edition : Ten thousand. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price annas four.*

It is enough to note about the importance and usefulness of this handy and unostentatious edition of this, the most popular work of the Hindus, that it has had to be printed for the ninth time after 120,000 copies of the book had been exhausted even when a large number of editions of the work are available in the market.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

HINDI

BHAJAN SAMGRAHA : *Fourth Part. Compiled by Viyogi Hari. Published by the Gita Press, Gorakhpur. Pp. 157. Price two annas only.*

This is a collection of Hindi bhajans written by Muhammadan poets who composed devotional poems on the Hindu imagery. Here is an additional example of the inter-action and *rapprochement* between the two religions in the past.

BHUTON KA KITA : *By Anandakumar. Published by the Hindi Mandir, Prayag. Price six annas.*

A ghost story written for children in a charming and attractive style.

BALKATHA-KAHINI : *Fourteenth Part. By Ramnaresh Tripathi. The Hindi Mandir, Prayag. Price six annas.*

The well-known story of Sindwad the sailor and his voyages from the Arabian Nights written for children by a well-known Hindi author. The style is charming and the language attractive and simple.

ANATH NATH BASU

MARATHI

श्यामकांतचीं पत्रें *Shyamkant's letters. Price Rs. 2. Published by Mr. Tikkar. Tilak Road Poona.*

Shyamkant was the son of the well-known Historian Mr. G. S. Sardesai whose distinguished work *The History of the Marathas* is renowned under the title of रियासत published in several volumes. Shyamkant ceased to live in 1925 when he was at Germany. Mr. G. S. Sardesai, being an expert instructor, had brought him up from his childhood by arranging to send him to different places like Bolpur (Santiniketan), Poona (Fergusson College) and Germany, where he was nearly domesticated from time to time. Shyamkant had prolific and facile correspondence with his parents from the above-mentioned places, in English and in Marathi. We see a few selected letters in this volume. The book is nicely edited and attractively published.

V. S. WAKASKAR.

GUJRATI

ENGLAND NO ITIHAS. *By Ambelal Naranji Joshi B. A. Published by the Gujarat Oriental Book Depot, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 628 Price Rs. 2 (1934).*

This is a very readable history of England. Although it is meant for students of the School learning and similar other examinations, it would be found equally useful by others not concerned with the education department. In addition to the political history of England, one finds in it many other interesting features, as the writer has been at pains to set out the biographical aspect of England's well-known Kings, Queens and politicians and has also included in it the universal aspect of history, such as the Social tendencies of a period, its architectural bent. We will give only one instance of work in misdirection. See Sections 9,10,11,12 of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It is also an up-to-date history.

PRALHAD. *By Mrs. Shrimatibā'ā Majumdar. Printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda. Thick Card Board. Pp. 87. Price Annas 6. (1934). Illustrated.*

The story of Pralhad, which every Hindu is supposed to know is divided into nineteen Chapters in this small book. It forms a part of the Sayaji Baljnan Mala series, which till now under the fostering care of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda has published 100 volumes. The story is told in such a chatty style by the young authoress that children, for whom it is mainly intended, are sure to take to it.

K. M. J.

POLITICS IN THE FAR EASTERN OLYMPIC ASSOCIATION

BY DHIRENDRA N. ROY, M.A., Ph. D.,
Professor in the University of the Philippines

SINCE the new awakening of the East the idea of a close contact among its various countries has begun to be popular. It has been received very enthusiastically by those of them which are still under the domination of foreign powers. But there has not been as yet any active continental move toward the realization of the idea. No particular country has taken the initiative to develop an effective technique for it. The term "East" does not suggest any conscious unity of the Oriental people, it still owes its meaning to the West.

The reason why such an active continental move has not been so far possible lies chiefly in the political character which it seems to assume. It is not possible to carry on, in any active sense, an Asiatic movement having political significance, without encountering positive discouragement, if not strong resistance from those foreign powers that happen to dominate over the destiny of many Asiatic countries. The acquired political responsibility of the foreigners may supply them with sufficient grounds internationally justified to suppress such a movement.

But the sovereign powers do not have reasons to discourage any Asiatic movement which is non-political by nature. There are certainly some ways, other than political, through which the peoples of Asia may foster close contact among themselves. One of them is athletics. It is not political by nature and as such not disapproved or objected to by foreign rulers. Yet by means of it the different Asiatic countries can easily come into close contact and acquire a real desire to feel interested in one another. The formation of an All-Asiatic Olympic Association, following the manner of the World Olympics, will certainly afford good opportunities for the Asatic peoples to know one another more directly and intimately than ever before.

And this has been in a gradual process of realization without Asia being fully conscious of it. I do not know how many Asiatic countries outside of those that have been actually taking part in it, are familiar with the new athletic movement known as the Far Eastern Olympics. The geographical limitation as suggested by the name of the movement implies only its simple

beginning in the Far East, while it may expand its boundaries at any favourable moment to throw off its narrow regional form for the sake of the whole continent. The movement is certainly something in which the whole of Asia should feel interested, for it is the movement of youth and youth is going to count most in the solution of all world problems. Unfortunately it has received a sudden set-back, thanks to the short-sightedness of some of its present members, and is facing a crisis which must somehow be averted in order to fulfil its own part in the great Rennaissance of the East.

The beginning of this Far Eastern Athletic movement dates back to 1913. Strange as it may seem, it owes its origin not to any Oriental. For it the credit must go to an American. It was Mr. Elwood S. Brown, formerly physical director of the American-European Y. M. C. A. at Manila, who first conceived the idea of an inter-port athletic meet between Manila and Shanghai and communicated it to Mr. W. Z. Zung, physical director of the Shanghai Y. M. C. A. Mr. Zung highly approved of the idea. In May 1913 athletes from the two principal ports of the Far East met together at Manila and played various friendly games. It was an athletic meet between China and the Philippines. Japan also felt interested in it. But she did not participate in the games, as she was not invited. Her representatives came only as guests to witness the games.

The success in this athletic meet led the two physical directors forthwith to organize a Far Eastern Athletic Association with China, Japan, and the Philippines as members. It was proposed at first that the championship game should take place every two years. But in 1927 the interval was extended to three years and after the meet in 1930 it was further extended to four years. The tenth Far Eastern Olympiad was held at Manila last May. Whether or not there will be an eleventh F. E. Olympiad is a question it is difficult to answer just now. China is said to be preparing for it at Shanghai, the scheduled time for the next meet being May, 1938. But a different plan is going on elsewhere—a plan which is in direct opposition to the further continuation of the Far Eastern Olympic Association.

What happened at Manila toward the end of the tenth F. E. Olympiad last May, is responsible for the crisis that has overtaken this association. Some clumsy political question has entered into this non-political venture—a question that concerns only Japan and China but has involved the other member-countries in a very embarrassing situation and has, according to some opinions, caused the wreckage of the association itself. How it has done so is an interesting story.

Originally the Association was composed of three members only—China, Japan, and the Philippines. But later two more countries, Annam and the Dutch East Indies, were also admitted to its membership. The constitution of the Association contains the provision in Article Three that "a country may be formally admitted to membership and representation only by the unanimous vote of the member-states comprising the Association." It is said that the requirement of a unanimous vote for the admission of a country to Association membership was introduced into the Constitution in 1930 at the instance of Japan so that should Korea choose to apply for membership Japan alone by her own vote of dissent would be able to prevent it. But this happened at a time when Japan had in her mind only Korea and no Manchuria. The story of "Manchukuo", although it is not yet a finished story, is quite well known to the world. Whether Japan is right or wrong in her present policy in Manchuria is not the point. But Japan by creating this new state in the land of the Chinese has certainly caused a great international furore affecting her national prestige. She has so far failed to mitigate the situation by any direct political means. So she has been compelled to try other possible means. In the last World Olympiad, held at Los Angeles, she used her utmost endeavour to accomplish the admission of "Manchukuo". But it was a futile endeavour. The World Olympiad Committee could not approve of it.

In the last Far Eastern Olympiad she sought to do the same again.

> "About a month and a half before the opening of the Tenth Far Eastern Olympaid at Manila on May 12, Japan sent an official communication to to the Olympic Commitee applying for the admission of 'Manchukuo' to the competitions. Naturally, China objected on the legal grounds that no such state as 'Manchukuo' existed on the map, and if ever athletes from the North-eastern Province of China... .....participated in the competetions, they should by world recognition be a part of the Chinese delegation."

Japan realized that China had a strong case to back up her opposition. Besides there was the constitutional difficulty of which China would certainly take full advantage. Article Three which has been to the advantage of Japan in case Korea should seek admission to the Association, has now stood clearly in her way to have "Manchukuo" admitted to membership, inasmuch as China would never vote for it and "Manchukuo" could not be a member without the unanimous vote of the member-countries forming the Association. So Japan sought to have Article Three amended.

Upon her request a conference was held at Shanghai on April 9 in which delegates from China, Japan, and the Philippines were present. Japan proposed in this conference an amendment of Article Three to the effect that "two-thirds approval be sufficient for the admission of any new state to the Federation." Evidently the move was to dispose of China's opposition against

Japan's plan. But the conference, as was expected, came to a deadlock.

> "China threatened to withdraw from active participation in the Manila Meet if 'Manchukuo' was to be included, while Japan intimated that she would take a similar step should the puppet state be barred."

Filipino delegates, finding that all the expensive preparations at Manila would be spoiled, sought to break the deadlock by suggesting a compromise. This was that the question should be discussed at Manila after the conclusion of the Olympic Games.

The games were played amidst great pomp and show. Incidentally, I should mention here that to hold the Tenth Far Eastern Olympiad the Filipinos made splendid preparations at Manila. They raised by lottery a huge sum of money (more than one million pesos) and spent it in building a magnificent stadium, containing a semi-oval concrete grandstand accommodating 12,000 people.

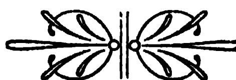
The conclusion of the games was followed by the tenth session of the Far Eastern Olympic Congress. As scheduled the "Manchukuo" question was brought up again for discussion. The little assembly assumed the importance of a League of Nations conclave. Japan introduced the proposal to amend Article Three. China opposed it as vigorously as before. The Fillipinos being the host members were in an embarrassing situation They sought a compromise once again. They proposed an amendment of Article Ten to the effect that the host country of the Olympiad be given the privilege to invite any country to participate in Olympic Games. China saw that this left a loop-hole for the admission of "Manchukuo" when Japan would be the host country, and opposed it. At the second meeting of the Congress the Japanese delegates wanted the Filipino proposal to be put to vote. The Chinese delegates "refused to vote on the ground that delegates from Annam and the Dutch East Indies, the two new member-states of the Federation, were absent, pointing out that even if the Japanese and Filipino delegates voted in favour of adoption of the proposal, it would not be constitutional as a two-thirds vote was required to legalize any adoption of new proposals. Their voice unheeded, the Chinese delegates walked out of the conference". This impasse, however, did not signify China's withdrawal from the Association.

There was a third meeting of the Congress in which only Japanese and Filipino delegates were present. It is said that the Filipino officials of the local organization failed to locate the Chinese delegates and inform them of the meeting. But the absence of the Chinese delegates from the meeting was a real advantage to the Japanese. They introduced a resolution to dissolve the Far Eastern Athletic Association and to organize in its stead a new and larger association to be called the Amateur Athletic Association of the Orient. The Filipino delegates quietly acquiesced.

Right or wrong, Japan has announced the creation of a new Athletic Association. Its officials have been elected. The constitution of the new Association is almost the same as that of the old Association except the troublesome Article Three which blocked the admission of 'Manchukuo.' It has been also proposed that Japan and the Philippines would jointly issue invitations to various Oriental countries to participate in this Association. The meeting is to be held at Tokyo early this October to discuss complete plans for the new organization. According to present plans, invitations to join will then be sent to Manchukuo, China, the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, and India.

China, on the other hand, considers all this as mere farce. Mr. Sung, secretary of the China National Amateur Athletic Federation, says, "The alleged dissolution is completely illegal and nothing less than a farce. How can two out of five members dissolve any organization ?" Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Relations, has similarly regarded the affair at Manila. The Chinese do not think that the Far Eastern Athletic Association is dissolved. They have already started to make preparations for the next Olympic Meet at Shanghai which is due to be held in 1938.

All this is most unfortunate. The movement that has, for twenty long years, been going on in this part of Asia, to foster the fine spirit of neighbourhood and slowly push its frontiers, has received a very rude shake from unscrupulous politics which should not have been ushered into it. At any rate, the year 1938 is going to be a very interesting year for the Athletic Orient. Japan is determined to hold at Tokyo, in 1938, the first meet of the new Association with "Manchukuo" as one of its members. While, on the other hand, China is also preparing for the eleventh meet of the old Association. If both of them send invitations to other Oriental countries to participate in athletic competitions those countries will certainly be in a fix.



SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WHITE PAPER:

I. COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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THE object of this paper is to examine (*i*) the proposals made by His Majesty's Government in what is known as the White Paper on Indian Constitutional Reform, for the purpose of preventing commercial discrimination in India, and also (*ii*) the explanatory confidential Memorandum* on the same question, dated the 3rd November, 1933, which the Secretary of State for India submitted to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Indian Reforms on the 6th of November last. The Memorandum did not make any new proposals. Its purpose was to set out, to quote the words of the Secretary of State, with greater precision the objects which His Majesty's Government had had in view in framing the proposals regarding commercial discrimination as embodied in clauses 122 to 124 of the White Paper.

The general principles, according to the Secretary of State, upon which the proposals of the Government in relation to commercial discrimination have been based may be briefly stated as follows:

(1) Section 96 of the Government of India Act which, reproducing in essence Section 87 of the Government of India Act, 1833, lays down that

> "no native of British India, *nor any subject of His Majesty resident therein*, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any office under the Crown in India"

and the passages to that effect in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858; and (2) the following resolution of the Round Table Conference adopted on the 19th of January, 1931:

> "At the instance of the British commercial community, the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects, and that an appropriate convention, based on reciprocity, should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights".

It may be observed here by way of comment that there is no reference to the question of commercial discrimination either in Section 87 of the Government of India Act, 1833, or in Section 96 of the (existing) Government of India Act. The object of both the Sections has been to ensure that no person should be disqualified from holding any office under the Government in India by reason of his place of birth, creed, or colour, and that fitness alone should be the criterion of eligibility. Perhaps it would be argued that the underlying spirit of the Sections should be taken into account in connexion with the question of commercial discrimination.

The expression "commercial discrimination" is very compendious, and has been used in the Indian Round Table Conference and also in the White Paper to signify discrimination against British commerce 'both in India and with India, in all its diversified fields of Banking, Shipping, Finance, Trading and Industry.'

Now Commercial discrimination may be either of an administrative or of a legislative character; and proposals have been made in the White Paper for the prevention of both kinds of discrimination. On the administrative side, the Governor-General or the Governor will, it has been proposed, have each in his own sphere—a special responsibility for the prevention of commercial discrimination; and will be entitled to act, subject to the directions contained in his Instrument of Instructions, otherwise than in accordance with his Minister's advice, if he considers that such advice will involve discriminatory action in the administrative sphere. It will be for the

* Vide *the Secretary of State's Evidence before the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform*, Part II, (pp. 290-93), 3rd Oct. to 7th Nov., 1933.

Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, to determine *in his discretion** when his special responsibility in this respect is involved by any given circumstances.

It may be noted in this connexion that the original phrase used in Paragraphs 18 (e) and 70 (d) of the White Paper, namely, "the prevention of commercial discrimination," has been expanded in the Memorandum referred to before, to "the prevention of discrimination in matters affecting trade, commerce, industry or ships." The expanded phrase is certainly more comprehensive in its scope.

As some illustrations of what may be considered to be cases of administrative discrimination, I may quote the following extract† from the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare given before the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform on November 6th, 1933 :

> Marquess of Zetland‡ : Supposing a Provincial Government calls for tenders, it may be for the Public Works Department, for contracts for road making or building or anything of that kind, and supposing tenders are put in by both Indian and British firms, and supposing that the British tender on its merits is quite obviously the best, but supposing it is not accepted by the Provincial Government, but a tender by a purely Indian firm is accepted, it seems to me that that is the sort of case of discrimination which might arise. Would the Governor in those circumstances be justified in calling for the tenders, examining them and saying 'No, on the merits of the case, it is quite clear that the tender put in by the British firm is the most advantageous to the Provincial Government, and for that reason, and for that reason alone, laying down that the British tender would have to be accepted ?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare: "Certainly, if it was a serious case. I could quite imagine that there might be doubtful cases, in which it was very difficult for the Governor to convince himself that the tender had been given, we will say, on racial lines, *but if it was a serious case, then I should say, it would be the duty of the Governor to intervene.*
>
> Sir Austen Chamberlain§ : Suppose the Governor found that tenders were awarded to Indian firms, irrespective of price, I suppose you would hold that that was discrimination, and that the Governor should interfere ?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare; I should think certainly, in a case of that kind, *the Governor would demand an enquiry and would satisfy himself or not satisfy himself that there had been discrimination. If he was satisfied that there had been discrimination, he would intervene.*
>
> Sir Austen Chamberlain* : Take the case where tenders are not called for publicly, but where it is alleged that the Government, having both Indian and British firms well fitted to tender, calls for tenders from the Indian firms only. Would that be an occasion for the Governor to act ?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare: *I would certainly say it would be a case for the Governor to hold an enquiry and satisfy himself whether or not there had been discrimination.*
>
> Sir Austen Chamberlain† : Would it be within his power if, as a result of the enquiry, he found there had been discrimination, to cancel the contract ?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare: *His power is unlimited and undefined.*
>
> Sir Austen Chamberlain‡ : Could he hold up the contract pending an enquiry ?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare: *Yes.*

Further, in reply to the question of Lord Salisbury§ 'whether it would be practical, as a matter of fact, for the Governor to interfere in cases where the Indian Government obviously preferred on several occasions an inferior Indian tender to a better British one,'

Sir Samuel Hoare said :

> I think it must depend upon what importance the Governor himself attaches to the particular case ; I can quite imagine (in fact I admitted it just now to Lord Zetland) that there may be very difficult border-line cases, in which it would be difficult for anyone to say whether this or that tender had been accepted for this or that reason, but I am assuming that where it really was a case of serious discrimination the Governor would certainly have his attention called to it. These are not the things that happen without anybody knowing about them at all, and in that case, the Governor should intervene.

Moreover, the Secretary of State made it definitely clear, in reply to two further questions** of Sir Austen Chamberlian, that what was intended to prevent was '*improper discrimination between two companies incorporated in India on any ground of race,*' and that he would not treat it as an improper discrimination 'if the Indian Government, to encourage the growth or creation of an industry, placed an order with a Company, whether British or Indian, incorporated in India, and *impartially as between those two,* but excluded companies established elsewhere, even though they were established in the United Kingdom.' Thus his point was that there must not be any discrimination by administrative action

* All italics in this article are mine.
† *Vide the Secretary of State's Evidence*, Part II, pp. 296-300.
‡ Q. 15417. § Q. 15418.

* Q. 15419. † Q. 15421. ‡ Q. 15422. § Q. 15423.
** Qs, 15429 & 15430.

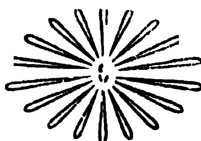
against British Companies in India. * Nor should a *Company incorporated in the United Kingdom but trading in India* be ordinarily subject to any disabilities in this respect on account of the fact that it has been incorporated in the United Kingdom or that its shareholders are of a particular composition or class or nationality. This is evident from the replies to questions 15384 and 15410 given by Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir Samuel Hoare respectively in the course of their evidence before the Joint Select Committee. As a matter of fact Sir Samuel Hoare clearly stated in his reply that the Government did not make any distinction in its mind between legislative and administrative discrimination. He observed, however, later on that he would not regard it as discrimination on part of a Provincial Government either to restrict its 'tenders to Companies operating in its own Province' or to purchase its stores from manufactories established under its own supervision'.†

A careful perusal of the replies of Sir Samuel Hoare, as quoted above, will convince the reader that, under the proposals of His Majesty's Government in relation to the question of commercial discrimination, it will be left entirely to the discretion of the Govenor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, to determine whether there has been made any discrimination in any particular administrative act by a Federal or provincial Minister, and, secondly, the power of the Governor-General or the Governor in this respect will be "*unlimited and undefined*". One can easily imagine from this the amount of freedom which the Indian Minister will enjoy in regard to matters under our consideration under the White Paper Scheme of Government. It may be argued that this state of things will obtain only during the period of transition. But it is nowhere stated in the White Paper how long the period of transition will last. Besides, it is extremely unlikely that the British Companies in India will ever agree to surrender the privilege which it is proposed to confer upon them, once they have got it. Such magnanimous renunciation, however praiseworthy, will be against human nature. Nor again should we ignore in this connexion the probable effect of the proposals, if they are given a statutory form, upon the development of the comparatively young Indian industries or the newly started Indian Companies, as the latter will have to compete with well-established and well-organized British concerns with enormous resources in men, money, skill and experience at their back. It may be argued that in accordance with the principle of reciprocity agreed upon at the Round Table Conference, Indian Companies will enjoy the same privileges in the United Kingdom as it is proposed to confer on British Companies in India. I shall show in my next article how delusive is the appearance of reciprocity in this matter.

Lastly, it may be noted here that there is nothing, as Sir Edward Benthal admitted before the Joint Select Committee in his reply to a question of Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas on July 13th, 1933, in the present Government of India Act regarding either administrative or legislative discrimination. Thus the position will be worse in this respect under the new Scheme of Reforms as proposed in the White Paper.

* In making this point he remarked, however, that he did not think that anybody was assuming that in every public tender in India British Companies from England would necessarily tender. That does not happen now.

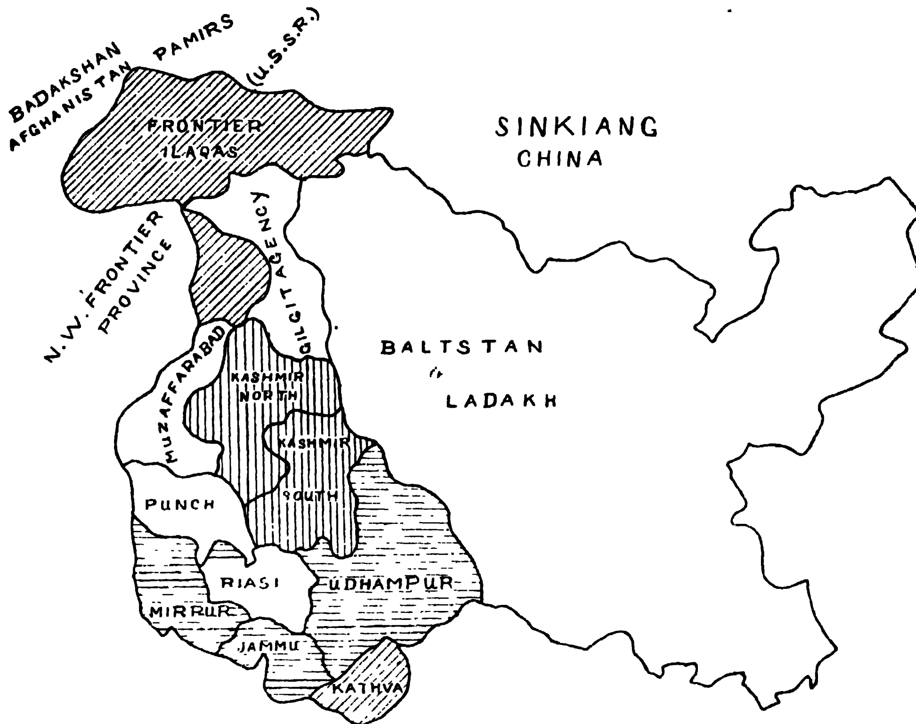
† *Vide* replies to questions 15431-15434.



THE FACE OF THINGS IN KASHMIR

By R. S. PANDIT

IN the plains of India when the hot winds are at their worst who does not long to go to Kashmir with its snow-peaks, the soft friendly hills clothed in blue-green pine and fir and its wealth of flowing water and who, if he has once been in that "Earthly Paradise", does not long to go there again? The end of May found us on the Grand Trunk Road from Allahabad heading steadily for the Himalayas, the abode of snows, and dividing the Panjab by the glare of the headlights of the Nash. Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter Indira who had passed the Matriculation and had a brief holiday before joining Tagore's Institute at Santiniketan was with us looking forward eagerly to the sight of the old homeland.



The government of the Maharaja have recently spent Rs. 58,00,000 in constructing a motor road over the Banihal Pass. There is a tunnel on the top of the Pass; emerging from it one sees below the valley unfolding itself in all its loveliness. On the Kashmir side of the Pass the snow is still to be found and the wild flowers make the dust-laden tourist forget the hot furnace of the plains and his further journey lies through Elysian fields within sheltering mountains and avenues of fruit trees and tall poplars along the winding Vitasta (the river Jhelam) to the Venice of the East. Srinagar—the City Royal—is one of the oldest cities of the world and derives its name from the capital founded in the remote past by the Emperor Asoka the Constantine of Buddhist India.

In ancient Kashmir the Hindu kings had a system of passports like that of China and exit and entry into Kashmir were strictly regulated, the passes of Kashmir which were called Dvar or Gates being especially closed against foreigners. Albaruni, the contemporary of the Turkish Conqueror Mahmud, writes about the Kashmiris in the 11th century:

> "They are particularly anxious about the natural trength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other People".



The Banihal route was until recent times closed to Europeans, which was a al in part of the old system. Now all restriction: abolished, for visitors are as welcome a Switzerland.

Close to where the ascent begins on the Kashmir side is the village of Vernag about miles from Srinagar. Those who go to Kasl by the much frequented Rawalpindi route generally miss seeing Vernag, where, according to Kashmiri legend, was the source of the Vitasta. This place, which is at a height of 6,100 feet, has a magnificent spring known in ancient times as the Nila Naga after Nila, the lord of the Spring-deities, and patron saint of Kashmir. The Nagas, according to legend, were semi-divine beings who resided in the form of serpents in the limpid pools and lakes of Kashmir; they caused hail-storms, thunder and clouds, and when they took the shape of human beings they were recognized by their locks which streamed with water! The Muhammadan population of the valley has not yet ceased to adore the ancient spring deities. The spring at Vernag was enclosed in a fine stone basin by the Emperor Jahangir, who was half Turco-Mongol and half a Rajput, his mother having been a Rathor princess of Jodhpur. From the Emperor's own pen we have a description of this lovely spring of ice-cold water. (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Oriental Translation Fund, p. 92.) While returning from Kashmir Jahangir died at Chingas near Rajauri and his last wish was that he might be conveyed to Vernag and buried there.

On the Bund opposite the Post Office at Srinagar, while watching the golden oriole flit from one willow tree to another, I was surprised to hear Russian being spoken. A smattering of Russian acquired during University days at Heidelberg helped to make the acquaintance of some Russians, men and women, who turned out to be refugees in Kashmir from Chinese Turkistan. They had escaped from the USSR, after the revolution and lived ever since as refugees in Chinese Turkistan, but they had to leave it when, upon the outbreak of revolution against the Chinese administration, the political situation became very grave. The Russian refugees had come, some of them over the boundary between China and India, *via* the Mintaka Pass (13,000 ft) in the snow of January, while others had turned west from the Mintaka Pass into Afghanistan. The latter found themselves in Badakshan, were ordered to move on and eventually came through what are known as the Frontier Ilaqaas (territory) of the Kashmir State *via* Gilgit to Srinagar. They had thus crossed Passes which few Europeans have ventured to cross. Our conversation was short-lived. It was interrupted by an English woman who described herself as a "British officer's daughter"; she warned the refugees that it was the British Government which was maintaining them and not the Indian National Congress, which was under the influence of Jawaharlal Nehru, whom she described as a "Professional Communist" and in sympathy with the Godless Jews of Moscow. Late at night one of the

Russian refugees came on behalf of the group to express regret for the behaviour of the English woman.

Every English visitor is not interested in playing golf or in fishing, shooting and dancing. Some have interests of a more intellectual kind. Among these apparently were Mr. and Mrs. D. L. R. Lorimer, who had arrived from England and who were on their way to Baltit, the capital of Hunza, a feudatory state under Kashmir. When I met them in Srinagar, they said they were hoping to spend about a year in Hunza, studying the Burushaski, which like the Basque has, it is said, no affinity with any other language. The Burushus, whose language Mr. Lorimer proposes to study, number in all about 20,000; they reside on both sides of the Hunza river, which is as large as the Chenab in the Panjab and which divides the territory of Hunza fr the feudatory state of Nagar. It is interesting to note that Mr. Lorimer was formerly Political Agent there and that along the gorge of the Hunza river which penetrates the Karakoram Range lies the path over the Hindu Kush into Chinese Turkistan, which is used by runners carrying the mail to and from Kashgar; that across the border of Hunza is Soviet territory with its Fort at Sirikul and that Baltit is in communication with Simla!



Muslim procession with Abdulla, the Tiger of Kashmir, (Sher-i-Kashmir) in the centre



Maharajgunj, the of the riots

India, once the social and military concern of the British, has become in recent times one of the leading interests of the world. In modern India traditional values are being judged from new standpoints and with new standards. The cry of revolt is heard everywhere; old beliefs are being undermined and authority cast aside. The working classes, the peasantry and the lower middle classes, crushed by various kinds of exploitation, want immediate relief and food for their hungry stomachs. The land tenure or Zamindari system is breaking down and the majority of even the landed magnates are impoverished. In Kashmir, where, too, change in its swiftness is sweeping the old landmarks away, the people are affected by economic distress similar to that prevalent in India. To get a close up of the present political situation in Kashmir, the position of the Maharaja and of his relations with British Government, it is necessary to briefly review the political history of the Jammu and Kashmir State.

The Maharaja's dominions are larger in extent than even those of the Nizam according to the latest surveys over inaccessible mountain regions and they are a conglomeration, as was the Hapsburg empire, of states and peoples widely divergent in origin, religion, race, language and economic conditions. The State of Jammu and Kashmir, unlike other states ruled by Indian Ruling Princes and Chiefs, occupies an important strategic position on the northern frontier of India. It is the only state where the population is predominantly Muhammadan. Part of the population within its territory is warlike and fierce like the tribes on the Afghan frontier, whereas a part is emigrés from Central Asia, Mongol in type and Buddhist by religion.

In 1819 Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Panjab, had wrested Kashmir from the Afghans and it remained a part of his dominions until 1846. After the death of Ranjit Singh the Panjab was annexed by the British, who sold Kashmir for one million pounds sterling to the Dogra Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh, who had sided with the British. Since then the British have never ceased to look at Kashmir with the eye of covetousness and to regret the error. While Kashmir was yet part of the Sikh Khalsa under a Governor sent from Lahore, the Raja Gulab Singh, after annexing all the petty hill states between the Jhelum and the Ravi, eventually acquired Kisthwar, which touches the country of Ladakh, sometimes called Western Tibet. In 1831 the Raja sent his general, Vazir Zorawar Singh, to invade Ladakh. The Dogra commander advanced to Pushkum in the Wakkha valley on the main Kashmir-Ladakh Road and

reached Leh. At first the ruler of Ladakh was made a feudatory of Jammu but eventually his country was annexed. Zorawar Singh marched into Skardo, deposed the chief and put his son on the throne. He raised contingents of Baltis and Ladakhis, and with his Dogras advanced in the winter of 1841 for the conquest of Tibet. The Dorgas are splendid fighting men. On the 12th of December, when the Dogras at a height of 15,000 feet above sea level were losing their hands and feet from frost bite and were burning their gun-stocks for lack of fuel to keep themselves warm, the Tibetans delivered an assault. Zorawar fought at the head of his troops but was unhorsed and wounded by a bullet in the shoulder ; he continued gallantly to fight with his sword, left-handed, till he was killed by a spear ; his force was routed, only a few survivors reached Leh. Thus perished the brave Zorawar Singh in the distant region of the snow-bound North. Another brave Dogra general conquered for the Rajas of Jammu what are now, known as the Frontier Ilaqas (territory) of the State, including Gilgit, during the years 1868-1871. This was Hoshara Singh, who conquered Gilgit in 1868, and his gun, placed to mark the position from where he fired, is still *in situ*. The Frontier Ilaqas of the State are: 1. Hunza, 2. Nagar, 3. Punial, 4. Ashkoman, 5. Yasin, 6. Koh, 7. Ghize; the last two are inhabited by semi-independent tribes. At Gupsi there is a fort which is garrisoned by a few companies of Dogras. Chitral on the North-west frontier of India was also, until the time of Lord Curzon, under Jammu. Lord Curzon took Chitral from the late Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and brought it under direct British influence. The ruler of Chitral, who still enjoys the ancient Kashmiri title of Mahattara (now Mehtar), has been granted a salute of guns and the title of His Highness by the British and Chitral is garrisoned, because of the proximity of the Afghan frontier, by British Indian troops who have taken the place of the Dogras. The British for some time have been exerting diplomatic pressure on the present Maharaja to induce him to cede to them Gilgit and the Frontier Ilaqas, which were conquered by the sword of the Dogras. At the present time all the Frontier Ilaqas are under the charge of a British Political Agent who controls their affairs. Gilgit is similarly under the controlling power of the British Political Agent, although for all civil purposes it is like other districts of the State under a Wazir Wazarat. Appeals from the District and Sessions Judge of Gilgit lie to the High Court at Srinagar and in revenue matters to the Revenue Minister of the State. In Gilgit political power is, however, exercised by the Political Agent, Gilgit Agency, who is under the British Resident in Kashmir as well as directly under the Viceroy at Simla. The Political Agent enjoys the privilege of a salute of eleven guns. There are three Assistant Political Agents. Yasin, Punial, Hunza and Nagar are under Assistant Political Agents. The Judicial system in different areas is a curious *melange* of tribal methods and modern judicial procedure and the Jirga system obtains just as among the tribes of the North-West Frontier of India. Chelas has a fort which is garrisoned by the state troops but the British Political Agent collects the revenue, called "Tribute", which is sent to the State treasury at Gilgit. Such is the extraordinary dual control in these territories, which are vulnerable to attack from Afghanistan and Central Asia.



a Nehru on the Like to Gulmarg



Sacred fish at Vernag

It is interesting to note that the people of Nagar, who call themselves Shin or Dard, are by religion Muhammadan and, like the Persians, Shias in faith. In Hunza, on the other hand,







1. Vistar Nag where th Kashi Brahmans were massacred
2. The Laughing Sider
3. Kashmiri picknickers in Nishat Bagh.

the people curiously enough, like the inhabitants of Chitral and North-Eastern Afghanistan, are followers of the Aga Khan. The chiefs of Hunza and Nagar are called Mirs and they claim descent from Alexander the Great, who is the hero of these territories and of their legends and epic songs. According to their traditions their horses are also descended from Alexander's charger Bucephelos. Similar legends are current in the North-West Frontier Province, the centre of the Graeco-Buddhist culture and art, where the chiefs still claim descent from a princess of this region (Gandhara) who is said to have married Alexander. Red hair and blue eyes are common in Nagar and Hunza, and the people have the Greek taste for wine and the dance. For half the year, however, the people are cut off from all communication with the outside world after the snows begin to melt when the rivers rise to extraordinary heights, fill the lower reaches of the gorges and render them impassable. In Yasin the people follow a religion called Maulai. The Baltis of Baltistan (sometimes called Little Tibet) and the people of Ladakh are Mongolian in type like the Tibetans; the Baltis are Muhammadans and the Ladakhis are Buddhists. In the Frontier territory, which is a Tolstoyan paradise,, there are no mosques, no patwaris (revenue officials), no courts, no land records. The territory comprises 48,000 square miles, but is so sparsely populated that the total population is barely two hundred thousand. There are eighty villages in the whole of the Gilgit Wazarat and only three hundred villages in all the Frontier Ilaqas. The British jealously guard this territory as their military Rakh (sanctuary); they do not allow any European to pass beyond Astor without the permission of the Resident, while the subjects of the Maharaja are allowed to go up to Gilgit but not beyond into the Frontier Ilaqas even for purposes of trade.

Past history shows that Kashmir like Nepal was in touch with Tibet, Central Asia and distant China. The earliest reference is to be found in the Chinese Annals of the Tang dynasty, which record the arrival of an embassy from Mu-to-pi (Samskrit Muktapida), King of Kashmir, during the reign of the Emperor Hiuen-Tsung (713-755) and after the first Chinese expedition against Po-liu (Baltistan), which took place between the years 736-747. The king requested an alliance against the Tibetans and the despatch of a Chinese auxiliary force which was to encamp in the midst of his country on the shores of the Mahapadma Lake (*i.e.*, the Vular) and offered to find provisions for an army of 200,000 men. According to the Sanskrt history of Kashmir the king Muktapida perished like the Dogra Zorawar Singh in the North, fighting the enemy in the "Sea of Sand", probably the Desert of Gobi. Invasions of the Darads are repeatedly mentioned in the Sanskrt history of Kashmir. In the fourteenth century a Tibetan chief, Rinchana, invaded Kashmir, married the Hindu Princess Kota and made himself king of the country. Mirza Haidar, a Mughal free-lance, had accompanied the Khan of Kashgar in 1533 in the invasion of Ladakh and later occupied Srinagar. The Mirza again invaded Kashmir and ruled it from 1541 to 1551. He has left us a valuable work, the Tarikhi-i-Rashidi, which is a history of the Mughals of Central Asia. Thus British apprehensions about

the northern frontier of Kashmir, which has for its neighbours Afghanistan, the USSR. and China, are not groundless, and they furnish an excuse for interference in the affairs of the Maharaja, who is the ruler of Jammu and Kashmir and the overlord of Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit and a number of small states. By the "advice" of the British Resident a Sarai for the merchants of Kashgar and Yarkand has been built at Srinagar. It is a brick building, enclosed like a jail, with only one gate for entrance and exit guarded by the Police and watched by the Agents of the secret service.

The Maharaja of Kashmir, like almost all rulers of Indian States at the present time, has been brought up under English tutors and educated in one of the Colleges specially founded by the British Government for the education of Ruling Princes and Chiefs during their minority. Such education is imparted in the hope that the princes might become easily subservient to the Viceroy and when they are invested with the powers of government of their own territory they might, like district officers in British territory, take their orders from the British Government of India. But even well-laid plans sometimes miscarry, and the British Government have not found their wards always amenable to discipline; and the Maharaja has not, in spite of diplomatic pressure, parted with Gilgit and the Frontier Ilaqas, which the British are anxious to acquire.

In 1931, about the time of the second Round Table Conference in London, communal riots broke out in Srinagar. The origin of the riots was in reality economic. The prevailing economic depression had hit the people of the valley very hard. The stream of English visitors from whom they formerly earned money in summer to pay for their living in winter was largely diverted to Europe by attractive cheap passages and special allowances granted under the Lee Commission by the British Government in India. The agitation in Kashmir was engineered by Muslim communal organizations in the Panjab, such as the religious organization of the Quadianis. Conflict first arose among the Muslims of Kashmir *inter se*—between those who were of the old faith and the converts who had come under the influence of the new propaganda, and it raged round the question of the right to preach in certain mosques. After a time the religious jealousies of different Muslim sects culminated in disturbances and State intervention followed. Some of their leaders were arrested and taken to the jail below the fort at Hariparbat and their trial took place in prison. A crowd which had collected at the time of the trial was fired upon by Dogras and forcibly dispersed. The crowd retreated with the dead and the wounded to Srinagar in their rage, where they looted Maharajgunj, the principal bazar of the city. The Muhammadans forgot their factions and







4. Group of Baltis with their ponies in the background
5. Ruins of Martanda, the magnificent Sun-Temple founded by Lalitadity (700-736 A. C.)
6. Yarkandi merchant in the Serai at Srinagar.

took vengeance against the State by an attack upon the Kashmiri Brahmans, known as the Pandits, who were to them the visible symbol of the State administration. For centuries they have been the sole literate class in Kashmir and had been in charge of offices of state during Mughal, Afghan and Sikh rule. They were murdered, their property was looted and their women were man-handled. Vitasarnag, a village near Srinagar and a holy place of the Pandits, suffered in particular. The Dogra administration looked on

with apathy at the riots which raged for three days in Srinagar. They were unmoved by the losses of the Kashmiri Pandits, who as a class had demonstrated by political parades and speeches their sympathy with the Indian National Congress and had closed their shops as a mark of respect at the time of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi. Their sympathy with the socialistic programme of Jawaharlal Nehru, whom they hold in deep affection and esteem as their kinsman, had also made them suspect in the eyes of the local administration. To the British the talented Kashmiri Pandits are politically obnoxious as the nascent leaders of an intellectual revolt against present conditions in Kashmir and as the possible media for the successful introduction of Soviet propaganda into India. The communal riots were utilized to check the active propaganda of the Kashmir Pandits on the lines of the Nationalists in India on the one hand and to throw discredit at the same time on the administration of the Maharaja. The British government found a lever to extend their power in Kashmir. A British Prime Minister was considered necessary to maintain law and order and the services, of two Indian members of the Civil Service, one Hindu and one Muslim, were lent to the Maharaja for the efficient administration of the State At the present moment these highly-paid officers help to carry on the work of the administration. The Maharaja is said to be a man of energy, ability, self-confidence and many gifts, but he does not get a chance to display them and his main activities appear to be confined to playing Polo, maintaining a fleet of automobiles and a stud of racing horses and in building and decorating new palaces for himself.

After the riots various commissions and committees were appointed, some of which were presided over by British officers, to investigate the grievances and recommend reforms, as is usual in such cases. The upshot of these was that the rioters, murderers and others were allowed to go scotfree and a legislative assembly was granted to the people of the Jammu and Kashmir State, which is expected to hold its first session in November, 1934. Following the British method of reform for India, while nominally creating a body not unlike the debating society of a a college, all power is reserved for the Government of His Highness. Officials and nominees of the State are to form the majority in the Assembly. Separate electorates are created; which are bound to reinforce communal tendencies, while the Buddhists of Ladakh are to be represented not by a member to be elected by themselves but by a Kashmiri Pandit lawyer of Srinagar nominated by the government! Urdu, which is neither the language of Jammu province nor of Kashmir, neither the language of the rulers nor of the ruled, is declared to be the official language by the British officer presiding over the Commission, which further provides that no one shall be eligible for election as member of the assembly who cannot write Urdu in the Perso-Arabic script.

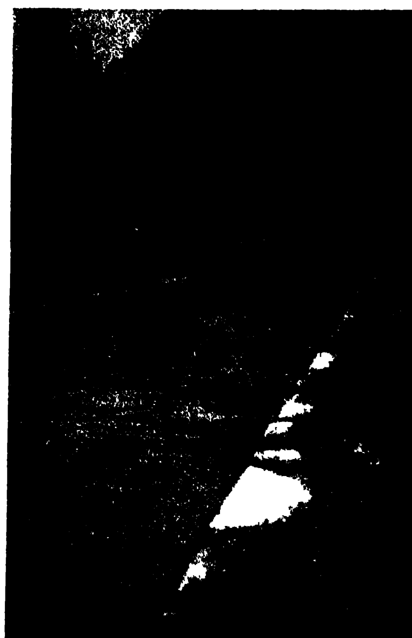
The Muhamadans of Kashmir are beginning to realize that the Constitutional Reform is not a new Jerusalem. The small capitalists, the traders and the repressed who side with the Government are called the "party of the Goat", whereas those who form the opposition are known as the "party of the Tiger" after the leader Abdulla, who is known as the Sher-i-Kashmir (Tiger of Kashmir) and who undoubtedly has a place in the hearts of his countrymen. It will take years to erase the imprint of slavery and blind submission to authority. A new Kashmir can only be built by free men and not by those in whom the instinct for freedom and voluntary action do not exist. After the Pandits had been humiliated and made to pay a heavy price Muslim agitation was in turn repressed through British officers from the North-West Frontier Province, whose services were "lent" to the Maharaja. The only newspaper in Kashmir now is the *Martand* (Sun), which is the organ of the Kashmiri Pandits. It is being conducted with the greatest difficulty under a strict censorship and the constant threat of confiscation. The liberty of the subject, of free speech and of public demonstration or meeting are hedged round by limitations and are in fact non-existent.

The Pandits, literally the Intellectuals, are like the Jew, trained in the school of adversity. For centuries they have been persecuted, harried martyrized and slain. Like the Jew, history proves, that the Kashmiri Brahmans have never bowed their heads to their persecutors and have preferred death to dishonour; unlike the Jews, however, they are not concerned with finance nor has money ever been the Brahman ideal. At the back of the mind of the older generation who are proud Pagans, lurk memories of the glory of Hindu Kashmir, its art, sculpture, painting and music and the joyous worship in the temples to the ruins of which still clings spiritually the faded aroma of the past. The sacred shrines have been destroyed and their exquisite carved stones form part of Muhammadan graveyards. Some of the shrines are being used as mosques. Gazing at each of them the Brahman, like the Christian at Saint Sophia, sees it overlaid with melancholy--a temple dedicated to error. While the older generation is thus easily moved by the communal propaganda of leaders of the Panjab Hindu Sabha, the simple Kashmiri Muslim, who is poor and illiterate and easily swayed by whims, promises and self-advantage, becomes the prey of Muslim communal leaders of the Panjab. Prominent among these is Sir M. Iqbal who, as Fate has willed it, is a Kashmiri Brahman by race, his family--Sapru—having been converted to Muhammadanism. The truth is that the religious beliefs in Kashmir are survivals of the remote past under the official

veneer of Brahmanism and Islam. The sacred places of Buddhism are now centres of Muslim orthodoxy where the worship of the bone relics of the Buddha has been replaced by the adoration of the hair of Muhammad's beard.

According to the last Census of 1931 the total population of the Jammu and Kashmir State is 3,646,243, of which the number of Muhammadans is 2,817,636 and the Hindus number 736, 222. In the valley of Kashmir over a million are converts to the faith of Arabia, while the Kashmiri Brahmans, who are the only surviving part of the original Hindu population number about 60,000. They had formerly a monopoly of the posts and offices in the State; under the new reforms they are being weeded out and replaced by members of the majority community. The stress and stain of the last three years has compelled them to look elsewhere for a living than in the service of the State. With the exceptional intellectual qualities of their race the Kashmiri Brahmans are sure to find the new policy a blessing in disguise. Revolutionary changes have been made by the community in the direction of social reform; women under thirty have given up the traditional Kashmiri dress and adopted the Indian Sari for the sake of economy; widow remarriage is encouraged and hundred and twenty Kashmiri Brahmans have recently married non-Kashmiri women from the plains of India of different Hindu castes, while in Kashmir four marriages have taken place in which the brides, who were Muhammadans, were accepted as Hindus. This is new for Kashmir and among the proud and aristocratic Brahmans is somewhat surprising, but in the Dard villages of the Indus Valley we find a curious state of affairs. Buddhists and Muhammadans inter-marry and religion changes at each generation, the children of Buddhists becoming Muhammadans and those of Muhammadans becoming Buddhists. The fact is that, unlike the Kashmiri Muhammadan, who is intensely religious, religion is not taken seriously by the Dards. In Ladakh, where mixed marriages between Muhammadans and Buddhists are not uncommon, the two extremes of polygamy and polyandry meet and end in the compromise of monogamy. The Muhammadan objects to share his wife with other men and the Ladakhi woman refuses to share her position with any others of her sex!

But luckily the young men of Kashmir, both Hindu and Muhammadan, are turning their backs on the past. They are not raking up forgotten struggles and dead emotions. In June Abdulla, who had been released from prison, was permitted to take out a procession in honour of the birthday of Muhammad. Though it was a religious procession, slogans of "Hindu-Muslim Ittihad Zindabad" ("Long live Hindu-Muslim Unity") were raised and mingled with slogans in Arabic to honour Islam. The Kashmiris, both Hindu and Muslim, have a deep love for their own country and are proud of their culture; their history is one of persecution and exploitation by foreigners for several centuries; they have a common language and economic interests. The Dogras as well as the British are equally alien exploiters to them. The Kashmiris have realized that their country is the milch-cow of the State and that they are pawns in the game of imperialism. The Kashmiri peasant is a hard-working, honest and peace-loving man who lives on the



Vernag; garden of the Moghals

verge of starvation; the Kashmiri workman is the least-paid skilled artisan in the world. The luxurious life and high salaries of the British officers and others in the service of the State, which is in the grip of economy, present an amazing contrast to the insanitary conditions in which the citizens have to live in Srinagar with its frightfully narrow streets, which effectively shut out light and fresh air. Whoever remains silent about these appalling conditions is a traitor to humanity. The young Kashmiris have realized that their destiny is in the melting-pot together with that of India and that relief will only come to them when it comes to the rest of India from all kinds of exploitation with the extinction of feudal rule, of medieval conditions, the abolition of all privilege and the building up of a new social structure based on justice and equality.

COMMENTS & CRITICISM

"Christ or the Kaiser of Christendom"

In the August number of *The Modern Review* I find an article by Mr. Manilal Parekh entitled "Christ or the Kaiser of Christendom" in which he says a number of hard things about Christian Missions as carried on in India and other lands for the past century or more. Writing as a baptised follower of Jesus Christ, yet claiming to be a Hindu of Hindus he charges Missions with a five-fold Imperialism, *viz.*, religious, racial, cultural, political and economical, and contrasts the so-called National Church in India with the Kingdom of Christ.

This article contains many things to which a reply might be offered. In the space which through the courtesy of the editor of the *Review* I am allowed to occupy I can only refer to a few.

In the first place I must question Mr. Parekh's reading of history. Referring to the Mutiny of 1857 as giving the occasion for a great outburst of missionary activity on the part of western lands, he says, "From 1858 onwards we have in India the now much-boomed Mass Movements". If Mr. Parekh will read the book entitled "*Christian Mass Movements in India*," by Dr. J. W. Pickett, he will find that he is quite mistaken in saying that "this is the genesis of the Mass Movements in India". Some of the greatest of these Movements were well advanced years or even decades before the Mutiny, and in other cases were the result of work done long before that event, and had no connection with it. He will also find that in almost every case Mass Movements were not *sought* by the missionaries in whose areas they took place.

In the next paragraph Mr. Parekh says, "The situation is only a little better in China where we have the words "Rice Christians". Surely Mr. Parekh does not mean to suggest that any abusive term which people happen to use about Christians is to be taken as a term that can rightly be used. From the days of the New Testament onwards Christians have always been subject to abuse. It is true that at one time it was the fashion in certain quarters in China to sneer at Chinese Christians as "rice Christians". But who were the sneerers? Some of them at least were Europeans in commercial circles who made no profession themselves of being followers of Christ, or of being disinterested, and in their ignorance they could not see how a Chinaman could give up the religion of his fathers unless he was paid for it. When it was found that many thousands of the so-called "rice-Christians" laid down their lives for Christ when attacked by the Boxer rising of thirty years ago, some who had ignorantly used the phrase admitted their mistake, and since then it has not been much heard of.

I confess that I do not know what Mr. Parekh means by "the so-called National Church". I have rulei[illegible] of two groups of Christians who have used official name, both connected with Madras. Neither over the [illegible] ever consisted of more than half a dozen congregations. The Christians of India are, in the first instance, connected with the Churches in the West to which they owe their origin. As time goes on and the Churches grow the desire naturally arises that the divisions which were inevitable at first should not be perpetuated, and so a movement for the union of the Churches has arisen. As a result of this Churches in the South which owed their origin to the labours of missionaries from England, Scotland, America, Germany and Switzerland have found it possible to unite under the designation of the South India United Church; and in Northern India a similar Union has taken place. The Movement is proceeding, but I fail to see in what way it is to be condemned as imperialistic.

As to the fact that Government reckons Christians as a community, Mr. Parekh fails to point out that the leading Indian Christians have protested against this, and are ready to take their place in general electorates. In any case Missions are not responsible for what Government may think it necessary to do.

I am far from defending everything that has been done in Christ's name by His missionary servants. They are human and liable to make mistakes. But I do not attach much weight to the remarks which Mr. Parekh quotes as made to him by certain people. Any one who has a high ideal may suffer from depression as he deplores the contract between the ideal and the actual, and in his depressed moods say things that do not represent his sober judgment. I am surprised at the reference to Korea, regarding which an Anglican bishop is said to have remarked, "It is all bribery". Presumably he was speaking of his own community. It so happens, however, that the vast majority of the Korean Christian have become such through the work of two American Missions, which have taken extraordinary care to see that from the very beginning the people who profess the Christian faith build their own churches and support their own pastors, and so give not the slightest ground for the charge of being "rice Christians".

J. H. MACLEAN

"China's Red Army"

One article, titled "China's Red Army" by Suresh Vaidya in the September issue of *The Modern Review* on page 260, is so full of misrepresentations that one suspects or is tempted to suspect it to be mere false propaganda. Being interested in creating mutual understanding between India and China on the basis of facts, I take the liberty of laying before the reader briefly the plain truths:

1. The Communist leader Mao Tse-tung happens to be a native of my neighbouring district Hsian-tun in the province of Hunan and also a classmate of mine in a district higher primary school at Changsha. He graduated from the Hunan First Normal School and was a primary school teacher for some years but no "Peking University man" at all so far as I know.

Now aged about forty-two, he is, I can safely assert, ignorant of any foreign language, and though able to express himself fairly well by oration and composition in the colloquial style of Chinese, his knowledge of Marxism is based on the Chinese translation of the manifesto of the Third Internationale, while Marx's great work on Capitalism is absolutely Greek to him. He and his comrades named their party "The Chinese Communist Party" to be submerged in the Nationalist Party of Kuomintang but started their open and separate revolt from 1928 in the province of Kiangsi in Central China.

2. The first-grade military leaders of the Communists are Chu-Te who is equal to Mao Tse-tung in power and always quarrels with him; Pen Te-Wha who really differs in principle from Mao; and Kong Ho-Ching who has surrendered himself to the Headquarters of Government troops at Nanchang since the middle of last June. Ho-lung, a purely illiterate bandit-head over fifty years old of my native province Hunan, utilized by Chu and Mao as an instrument of plundering and devastating, has no conception of Communism whatever and is now doing his old job of robbery with his men in the mountainous regions.

3. There is no such name as "Soviet China" known among the people at all. It is only within the small area of communistic occupation in Kiangsi that a sort of Soviet Government was attempted to be set up, which is, in fact, rather abstract than concrete. Kiangsi is a mountainous province surrounded by Chekiang in the east, by Fukien in the south-east, by Kwantang in the south, by Hunan in the west, by Hupeh in the north, and by Anhwei in the north-east. The communists are at present encircled up within six districts of high mountains and deep valleys along the bordering line of Kiangsi, Fukien and Kwantang, and their future is obviously doomed to failure.

4. General Chiang Kai-shek, personally taking charge of bandit-suppression, rehabilitation, and pacification works in Kiangsi of which the villages have been for the most part burnt down and the land-tillers have been driven away in large numbers by the Communists' policy of "Massacre", cannot bear to overwhelm that poor province with so many fighting troops, or to use heavy cannons and bombing 'planes, lest the cultivated soils and the terror-stricken rural folks should suffer from total destruction. Otherwise, would you believe it possible for any poorly-equipped army of "approximately 10,000" to be a match for "500,000 troops" with the latest equipments and "100 bombing 'planes" and "other latest devices of warfare" in this human world ?

5. The return of "the exiled Chinese warlord Gen. Chang (not Chiang) Hsueh-liang" from Brighton last spring was simply a matter of his own accord, and had nothing to do with summons or orders from the National Government. He is now residing in Hankow and enjoying his private life, hundreds of miles away from the Communism-poisoned area of Kiangsi. And the late accident near Foochow, as reported by the Reuter's telegram from Hongkong, August 3, was in truth not an "invasion of communist troops from the interior", but merely a disturbance by the scattered as well as the disbanded soldiers during the Fukien War last winter who have become bandits and make use of the Communist banner for camouflage.

6. The national mentality and environments of China are by no means receptive to the ideas of the so-called "Chinese Communist Party" whose policy is one of "Force and Terror", "Violence and Deception" so as to "frighten and drive all the people into their line", as they themselves disclosed in the scheme and programme of the party. The Chinese workmen in the city mills and factories may have some fancy for communism, but the rural peasants who are eighty per cent small landholders and tillers really hate the communists whose actions are no better than those of the ancient Huns. Hence "the Red Army" has no "growing popularity" and no "support" at all among "the Chinese peasants in general". And it is nothing but a big lie to say that "Soviet China is a country having a stable government......"

Chen Yu-Sen
(Professor of Civics).

"Why India lives"

Origin of the word 'Hindu'

Mr. Nagendra Nath Gupta in his article "Why India Lives" in the September issue of *The Modern Review* gives the following explanation of the word 'Hindu':

"The word Hindu is a Persian word meaning black. The word Hindu marks a distinction of colour and Hindusthan is the land of the dark people etc."

So far the general belief seems to be that the word 'Hindu' has a Persian origin, that it means 'dark', as quoted above, or is a Persianized modification of the word Sindhu; and it is taken for granted that the word came into existence after the Muhammadan Conquest of India.

But few people are aware that the word 'Hindu' was in existence long before the Muhammadans came into India or even before Islam came into existence, and that the word has an Indian or rather Sanscrit origin.

It is rather interesting to note that the derivation of the word 'Hindu' is given by the celebrated Chinese scholar and traveller Yuan Chwang in the memoirs of his travels. He says:

"The unceasing revolutions of mortals' existence are a dark long night; were there not a warden of the dawn they would be like the night with its lights, which succeeds the setting of the sun. Although the night has the light of the stars, that is not to be compared to the light of the clear moon. As, since the sun of the Buddha has set, it (India) has a succession of holy and wise men to teach the people and exercise rule, as the moon sheds its bright influences. On this account the country (India) had been called 'YIN-TU'."

"A later Chinese writer after Yuan Chwang, like several authors, explains the giving of this name (moon 'TIEN-CHU') to India by saying that the country was called Moon because it was as great and distinguished above the other countries of the world as the moon is great among the stars of the night—'VELUT INTER IGNES LUNA MINORES'."—*Yuan Chwang's Travels*, by Thomas Watters.

V. M. KAIKINI

"The Secondary Schools in Bengal"

I have read the article 'The Secondary Schools in Bengal' by Mr. Bhupendra Lal Dutt in the September issue of *The Modern Review*.

The writer has very skilfully brought out facts about the existing secondary schools in Bengal. That the non-Government schools are faring well gradually cannot be denied. That the Government schools contributed only about one-ninth of the students in the last Matriculation examination has also been

pointed out by the writer, (Government School Students 13,663—non-Government School Students 124,167). That the number of Government schools being very limited, the number of students sitting from them is also in proportion small—is a plain truth.

To give the finishing touch to the subject so very ably dealt with by Mr. Dutt, it will not be very unfair to speak a word or two more about it. His article centres round the question of scholarships in the last Matriculation Examination—though the heading is Secondary Schools, etc.

From what he has shown us about the scholarships secured by Government and non-Government schools the result may be tabulated as follows:

	Government Schools	Non-Government Schools
General Scholarship	1	8
Divisional „	8	33
District „	10	62
	19	103

So Government schools, according to his own figures, have captured at least one in every five, whereas we have seen above that the number of students is one in every nine. It has been an enigma with me as to what led Mr. Dutt to conclude that the Government schools have failed in respect of scholarship results to prove their worth as model schools. It would be a happy thing if Mr. Dutt would be conscious of the small proportion of Government schools. The Government schools have really surpassed what they ought to have done in proportion. In cases of General Scholarships they have simply maintained their position somehow but this may be said in favour of the Government schools on the point that many of these General Scholars acquit themselves to their own credit. They form a separate class by themselves. Then again, there is the question of general passes, where I believe the Government schools stand incomparably high in proportion.

Just another unpleasant truth. The non-Government schools are trying to better their results as there are the Government schools to compete with to run the race.

Finally, may I be permitted to say that the remedy lies not in robbing Peter to pay Paul, but to increase the number of Government schools to bring the number of scholarships to an equal basis, with better-paid and better-fed teachers than even in our Government schools now.

BIRENDRA KUMAR GUPTA

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MRS. S. A. HUSSAIN IQBAL-UN-NISSA BEGUM, of the Mysore Education Service, has obtained the Diploma in Education of the Leeds University. She was also a delegate to the International Conference of Girl Guides, which opened in Switzerland on August 10 last.



Mrs. S. A. Hussain Iqbal-un-nissa Begum

MISS PADMAVATHI, Secretary, Hindi Jnanayatri Mandal, Bangalore, has been awarded the Lady Meharbai D. Tata Memorial Scholarship. She has proceeded to England for higher studies in Sanitation, Rural Re-Construction and Social Welfare Work. Miss Padmavathi, whose Vernacular is Canarese, has passed the highest Examination in Hindi of the Panjab University with distinction. She is the first Coorg lady to proceed to England.



Miss Padmavathi

The Caucasus—A Racial Curio Shop

The Kubatchi are held in the lowest repute all over the Caucasus, depicted as veritable monsters from hell. Nobody seems to know just why, but when the talk is of demons, ghosts and conjurers, of weird customs and barbaric habits it invariably ends with mention of the mysterious village of the Kubatchi.

Among the people of the Caucasus they enjoy a unique position. None cares to intermarry with them or even to encounter them; they are looked upon with fear and awe. They are sword makers by profession, and every one in the mountains swears by their blades, convinced that a Kubatchi saber assures its wielder invincibility--provided the maker has not bespoken otherwise.

Nobody knows where these Kubatchi came from nor to what racial strain they belong. Strange things recurrently happen among them. At certain intervals, the entire population will go down into subterranean caverns and, out of sight and ken, spend as much as an entire week allegedly praying to their god. One of their customs has long agitated the whole region to conjecture and has very likely caused most of the



Svanetian families, when besieged, used to retreat to these towers



Village of the Kubatchi



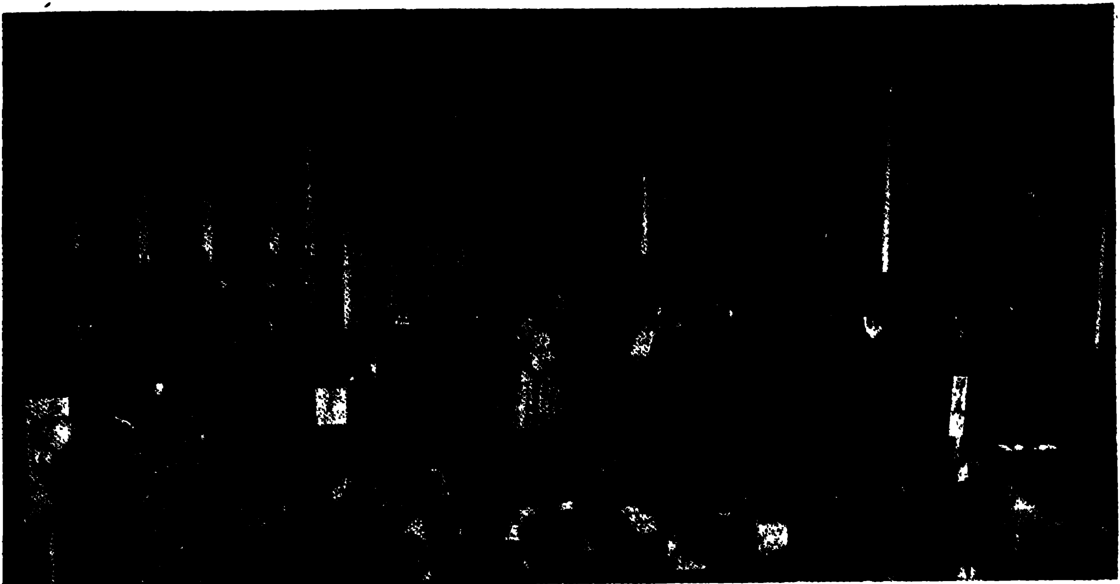
An old Kubatchi spells mystery to the people of the Caucasus

subversive rumours. Once a year, the mountain people say, every Kubatchi woman must spend a night on threshold of her house, her face covered by a black mask, motionlessly sitting and looking up at the stars. Any man, whether neighbor or stranger, may approach and possess her; in fact, it is considered the highest honour the woman can receive. However, for any one to remove the mask from her face would mean immediate death. In justification of this strange custom, the Kubatchi claim that their god has so ordained them to do. Children who spring from this sanctimonious prostitution belong to the community and are brought up under special care, apart from the rest.

The village of the Kubatchi is situated high up among the mountian peaks. Living in a wide periphei about it are the most extraordinary people on earth. More than eighty different tribes inhabit the high-flung terrain; and not one speaks the same language as its neighbor !.

For ten years, now, the Soviet government has tried to force its proletarian ideology on the region With startling results, to say the least ! When, for example, Bolshevist propagandists appeared and attempted to rationalize "holy prostitution" out of favour no Marxian dialectic was of any avail. The Kubatch insisted that their custom was in complete accord with the new style; every woman could do as she pleased, and--sad to say every Kabatchi woman looked upon the prohibition of the custom as tyrannical and humiliating.

To the west of the Kubatchi village, is a large village of the Chechens, a numerous and powerful people, embracing some three hundred and sixty thousand members. In this village the Bolsheviki had taken special pains to bring about an acceptance of the new order of life. The Chechens gladly accepted everything: schools, motion pictures, lectures, even the Soviet form of government. But it so happened



Opening of the Buddhist Conference
The Conference-Hall



The Japanese ladies are welcoming the foreign delegates with dance and music

that all members of the local council attended the mosque for prayer before each meeting, and in one respect remained adamant in their belief in the blood feud. Every Chechen, it would appear, has an avenger to evade or someone upon whom he must wreak vengeance..

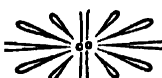
In Abkhasia the streets were thronged with full-blooded negroes ! Half-naked pickaninnies gamboled in the dirt, negresses sat in front of their huts, Nor was this village the only one of its kind: there were three, occupied exclusively by negroes. As late as seventy years ago, Abkhasia was an independent principality, ruled over by the powerful house of the Shirvashides, whose revenue came from exporting Abkhasian beauties to Turkish harems. The Sultan got the cream of the lot. One day he decided to return the compliment and sent a present of a few negro families, who were put to work in the palace at Sukhum. When the princely house fell, the descendants of these negroes were given land on which they now live in utter peacefulness. It was left to the Bolsheviki to fetter them with some useful occupation. The Congress of Suppressed Minorities, held a few years ago in Baku, was attended by their representative, who demanded the liberation of his enslaved brethren in Africa !

Their neighbours, the Abkhasians, are of noble lineage. According to their own legends, they are descendants of Prometheus, who stole the divine fire and as penance was chained to a Caucasian rock. This rock is still pointed out to visitors. The story goes that the Abkhasians and their neighbours, the Mingrelians and the Svanetians, were dowered with a beauty that should prove their doom and all but did so, since in no other part of the world was the trade in human flesh ever so rampant and devastating as here.

Asia

The Pan-Pacific Buddhist Conference, Tokyo

The Pan-Pacific Buddhist Conference was held in Tokyo on the 18th July last and continued its deliberations till the 25th. Seven hundred delegates from different Buddhist countries attended it. The All-India Hindu Mahashabha also sent two representatives to the Conference.



VERY LIMITED FACILITIES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

SIR George Anderson, Kt., C. S. I., C. I. E., M. A., Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, writes in *Progress of Education in India 1927-32*, published this year :

"47. It might have been hoped that, having been freed from wasteful overlapping and duplication which is an almost inevitable concomitant of the affiliating system, unitary universities would have proved to be economical; but such is far from having been the case. Indeed, the main criticism levelled against unitary universities is on the score of expense.. ...

"48. One of the main causes of this high expenditure is the unregulated competition which now runs riot between universities, affiliating as well as unitary. Each university seeks to be a self-contained unit, bent on providing ample facilities for higher education and research in almost every conceivable subject, heedless and often ignorant of what is being done in other universities. This danger of overlapping is particularly great in the domain of science, in consequence of the high initial and annual expenditure involved.

"It is difficult to suggest remedies to prevent this insidious form of extravagance, but India should have a university system which will promote higher learning and research, which will provide suitable training for her young men and women, which, above all, will be within her means." Vol. I, pp. 77-78.

Writers of official reports should use measured language, in harmony with facts. In the passage quoted above, Sir George Anderson has failed entirely to keep this ideal in view.

What is his idea of a university system for India "which, above all, will be within her means" ? He has not given any estimate of the expenditure, within India's means, which she should incur for elementary, secondary, collegiate and university education. If in any sphere of the activities of the State in India its expenditure is excessive and out of all proportion to its revenue, it is certainly not that of education. But from the language used by Sir George Anderson one may suppose (1) that the sums spent from public funds on education in India are enormous, (2) that educational expenditure is the biggest or one of the biggest items of public expenditure in India, and (3) that out of the more than 1200 (twelve hundred) crores of India's public debt a large portion was incurred for education. But none of these three suppositions would be correct. Neither the Central nor the Provincial Governments ever borrowed a rupee for educational purposes, educational expenditure is neither the biggest nor one of the biggest items of state expenditure in India, and **the total amount spent from public funds in the whole of British India for education of all kinds and grades is comparatively insignificant—is in fact smaller than the educalional expenditure of the London County Council.** Details are given below to show that this is a strictly accurate statement.

It is entirely unnecessary to take any particular kind or grade of education to show that India does not spend an excessively large sum of money on it. The whole amount spent from public funds on education of all kinds and grades in 1931-32 for a population of 271,780,151, inhabiting British India, was Rs. 16,84,25,628. To this amount Government funds contributed Rs. 12,16,07,093, District Board Funds Rs. 2,80,01,313 and Municipal Funds Rs. 1,58,17,222. So, for the education of 27 crores of people Government spent in 1931-32 about 13 crores of Rupees, or less than eight annas per head per annum. It is to be hoped that this is not, to use Sir George Anderson's words, an "insidious form of extravagance." Why, by the by, does he use the word 'insidious,' which means 'treacherous', 'crafty' ?

Let me now turn to the educational expenditure of the London County Council, referred to above. The population of the Administrative County of London was 43,85,825 in 1931. Its estimated educational expenditure for 1933-34 is given in Whitaker's Almanack for 1934 as £ 12,717,354, or

Rs. 16,95,64,720, according to the present rate of exchange.

So, it comes to this, that for the education of 44 lakhs of people the London County Council spends about 17 crores of rupees, and for the education of more than 27 crores of people the Government, District Boards and Municipalities in India combined spend less than 17 crores of rupees. Seventeen crores of rupees is not the whole of the educational expenditure in London. For instance, the University of London spends much more than the aid which it receives from the London County Council. But taking the expenditure of the London County Council alone, it comes to more than Rs. 38 per head per annum.

Undoubtedly, we are a very poor people, though our country is rich in natural resources. But even for very poor people, an educational expenditure of some annas per head per annum from public funds is not extravagant.

Sir George Anderson complains of "wasteful overlapping and duplication" and of "the unregulated competition which now runs riot between universities, affiliating as well as unitary." The reader will excuse a repetition of part of his other charges also. Says he :

> Each university seeks to be a self-contained unit, bent on providing ample facilities for higher education in almost every conceivable subject, heedless and often ignorant of what is being done in other universities. This danger of overlapping is particularly great in the domain of science. .. "

Sir George Anderson's ideal, if ideal it can be called, seems to be that no two universities (or is it colleges also ?) in the same country or province should teach the same subject or subjects—particularly in science. If they do, there would be "wasteful overlapping and duplication" and "unregulated competition running riot."

A good ideal should be good for every country. Let us, therefore, see whether there are in England "wasteful overlapping and duplication and unregulated competition running riot." In England, with a population of 37,794,003, there are eleven universities. I shall take into consideration only three of them : Oxford, Cambridge and London. They are within a distance of a few hours' journey by railway from one another. There are *university professors* of the following subjects in all the three, *in addition to readers and lecturers and other teachers in their colleges*:

> Anatomy, Anglo-Saxon, Arabic, Archaeology, Astronomy, Biochemistry, Botany, Chemistry, Chinese, Civil Law, Economic History, English Literature, Experimental Philosophy, Fine Art, Geography, Geology, Geometry, German Language and Literature, Greek, Hebrew, History (Ancient), International Law, Italian, Latin, Law, Logic, Mathematics, Medicine, Metaphysical Philosophy, Mineralogy, Moral Philosophy, Music, Pathology, Physics, Physiology, Political Economy, Political Theory and Institutions, Pure Mathematics, Sanskrit, Spanish, and Zoology.

This list has been compiled from Whitaker's Almanack for 1934. If, instead of enumerating the subjects common to three universities, I had mentioned those common to any two, the number of common subjects would have been greater. I do not think the classes in Arabic, Chinese, Hebrew, and Sanskrit are overcrowded in either Oxford, Cambridge, or London. Yet all the three universities teach these languages. So, there *is* overlapping, duplication, competition, etc., in England, and in Scotland, too. But there is no attempt to prevent these 'evils' there, though 'Reform', like Charity, should begin at home.

Sir George Anderson, no doubt, says that "considerable improvement has been made in this direction in the United Kingdom by the University Grants Committee," and adds that "the attitude of the Committee is explained by the following extract from the report of the Hilton-Young Committee on the University of London":

> "We think it appropriate in this connection to quote from the Report of the University Grants Committee. 'Our conviction, which is in accordance with the national traditions, is that the Universities must be free to control their own destinies and to develop along their own lines. It has therefore been our constant endeavour, in the administration of the Treasury grants, not to impair the autonomy of universities or to diminish in any way their sense of responsibility. With this aim we have always recommended, and shall continue to recommend, that so far as possible the annual Treasury grants should be given as block grants in aid of a University's general income, and that, provided the obvious limits of financial prudence are not transgressed, it should ultimately remain with each University itself to decide in what precise way its income, including the Government grants, should be distributed over the field of its activities ; for without control of finance there can be no effective control of policy."

This extract does not show that the University Grants Committee in the United Kingdom has done anything to prevent the so-

called overlapping, etc. That Committee does not even mention such things. On the contrary, it supports the policy of University autonomy. No doubt, it lays stress on financial prudence, which is quite necessary, but is trite, too. If in India Government thinks that any university is not prudent, it has simply to warn it.

The body called the Inter-University Board in India has definitely proposed something that goes against University autonomy—a thing so highly prized—and quite rightly too—by the University Grants Committee in the United Kingdom. The Board wants that a certain group of Indian Universities should teach and carry on research in certain subjects, other subjects being assigned to other groups. There is no such grouping of the Universities in Europe and America that I know of. It seems to me that the Board's proposal would still further limit the very limited facilities for higher learning and research, particularly in scientific subjects, which exist in a large country like India.

Sir George Anderson thinks that our Universities are "bent on providing ample facilities for higher education and research in almost every conceivable subject." It may be safely presumed that the subjects which are taught in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London by university professors are "conceivable." So Sir George may be asked to point out which Indian university teaches almost all these conceivable subjects. One may go further and ask whether all the Indian universities combined teach and carry on research in almost all these "conceivable" subjects. They are mentioned below. The list of "conceivable" subjects could have been made much longer, if European continental universities and American universities had been taken into account.

Aeronautical Engineering, Agriculture, American History, Anatomy, Ancient History, Ancient Philosophy, Anglo-Saxon, Animal Pathology, Anthropology, Arabic, Archaeology, Architecture, Assyriology, Astronomy, Astrophysics, Aviation, Bacteriology, Belgian Studies and Institutions, Biochemistry, Biology, Botany, Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature, Celtic, Chemical Engineering, Chemical Technology, Chemistry, Chemistry as applied to Hygiene, Chinese, Chinese Art and Archaeology, Chinese Language and History, Civil Law, Classics, Classical Archaeology, Colloid Science, Colonial History, Commerce, Comparative Anatomy, Comparative Philology, Dietetics, Divinity, Dutch History and Institutions, Ecclesiastical History, Economic History, Economic Science and Statistics, Economics, Education, Embryology, Engineering, Engineering Science, English Language and Literature, English Language and Medieval Literature, English Literature, English Law, Entomology, Civil Engineering, Civil and Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Highway Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Municipal Engineering, Exegesis, Epidemiology and Vital Statistics, Ethnology, Eugenics, Experimental Philosophy, Experimental Physics, Fine Art, Forestry, French, French and Romance Philosophy, Genetics, Geography, Geography (Economic and Regional), Geology, Geometry, German Language and Literature, Greek, Hebrew, Helminthology, History (Ancient), Byzantine History, Central European History, English History, Imperial History, International History, Legal History, Medieval History, Modern French History and Institutions, History and Culture of British Dominions in Asia, History of Art, History of Medicine, Imperial Economic Relations, Immunology, Imperial and Naval History, Industrial Relations, International Law, International Relations, Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Italian, Jurisprudence, Latin, Law, Commercial and Industrial Law, Comparative Law, Constitutional Law, Roman Law, Laws of England, Logic, Logic and Scientific Method, Mathematics, Mathematics (Applied) and Mechanics, Mathematical Physics, Mechanism and Applied Mechanics, Medical Entomology, Medical Industrial Psychology, Medical Protozoology, Medicine, Mental Philosophy and Logic, Metallurgy, Meteorology, Metaphysical Philosophy, Military History, Military Studies, Mineralogy, Mining, Mining Geology, Modern History, Moral Philosophy, Morbid Anatomy, Mycology, Natural Philosophy, New Testament Exegesis, Obstetric Medicine, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Old Testament Studies, Optical Engineering, Papyrology, Pastoral Theology, Pathology, Persian, Petrology, Pharmacology, Philosophy of Mind and Logic, Philosophy of Religion, Philosophy of the Christian Religion, Phonetics, Physical Chemistry, Physics, Physiology, Plant Pathology, Plant Physiology, Poetry, Political Economy, Political Science, Political Theory and Institutions, Portuguese Language Literature and History, Pure Mathematics, Psychology, Public Health, Radiology, Roman-Dutch Law, Romance Languages, Rural Economy, Russian Language, Literature and History, Sanskrit, Social Anthropology, Social Biology, Sociology, Spanish, Statistics, Surgery, Theology, Town Planning, Zoology.

It is not my contention that every one of these subjects ought to be taught in India; but most of them should be—and will be when Indians are able to control India's public income and expenditure.

From the list given above it will be evident to teachers and students in India's universities that it is not true that "almost every conceivable subject" is taught in them. That fact can be made obvious in another way. A very large number of teachers would be necessary

to teach "almost every conceivable subject" in universities. A comparison of Indian universities with British universities—I do not wish to bring other Western universities into this comparison—will show how ill-equipped our universities are to teach "almost every conceivable subject". The following statement gives the names of the British universities and the number of their professors, &c.

Universities	Number of Pr
England—	
Oxford	450
Cambridge	388
Durham	267
London	1,243
Manchester	275
Birmingham	246
Liverpool	321
Leeds	343
Sheffield	185
Bristol	260
Reading	152
Total for England	4,130
Scotland—	
St. Andrews	152
Glasgow	306
Aberdeen	162
Edinburgh	390
Total for Scotland	1,010
Wales	379
Totals of above	5,519

The figures do not include the staffs of Colleges, Halls, "Schools" (of London University), etc.

The population of England, Scotland and Wales in 1931 was 44,937,444. Each of the Provinces of Bengal, United Provinces, and Madras had a larger population that year, namely, more than 50,18, and 46 millions respectively. So, the total number of the professors, etc., in the British universities should be compared with the total number of the university professors, etc., in each of the provinces of Bengal, United Provinces, and Madras. The figures are given below.

In Bengal there are two universities, *viz.*, Calcutta and Dacca. In the Calcutta University there are 239 professors and other teachers; and in the Dacca University, 107 professors and other teachers: total for the two universities, 346. This is a much smaller number than 5,519, the total for the 16 universities of Great Britain.

In the United Provinces there are five universities, *viz.*, Allahabad, Benares Hindu, Aligarh Muslim, Lucknow, and Agra, with 105, 0, 105, 120, and 0 university professors and other teachers respectively: total, 330. This, too, is a much smaller number than 5,519, the total for the universities of Great Britain.

In Madras there are three universities, *viz.*, Madras, Andhra, and Annamalai, with 28, 6, and 68 university professors and other teachers respectively: total, 102. This is very much less than Great Britain's total of 5,519.

The whole of the Indian Empire, including Burma and the Indian States, of which the population is 352,837,778, as against Great Britain's 14,937,444, contains 18 universities, as against Great Britain's 16. The total of the university teaching staff of these 18 universities is 1012. This is less than one-fifth of that of Great Britain. Therefore, assuming that the intellectual capacity and equipment of university teachers in India are equal to those of the university teachers of Great Britain, the whole of India offers less than one-fifth of the facilities for higher learning and research possessed by Great Britain. Even if we added the number of the professors and other teachers in the constituent colleges of Indian universities to the number of university teachers proper, the total would come to only 2299, less than half of Great Britain's 5,519. Lastly, *though in giving the number of Great Britain's university teachers I have not included college professors and tutors*, let me in the case of India include the professors and other teachers in affiliated colleges. Even in that case, the total of all university and college teachers comes to 7,383. Considering the extent and population of India this is quite inadequate, to say the least. The area and population of the Indian Empire are 1,808,679 square miles and 352,837,778 persons; and the area and population of Great Britain are 89,041 square miles and 44,937,444 persons.

Sir George Anderson has complained that in India "each university" is "bent on providing ample facilities for higher education and research in almost every conceivable subject." The facts and statistics given in the foregoing paragraphs will, I hope, convince unbiassed readers that the facilities provided are very far from being ample and that they are also very far from being in almost every conceivable subject.

Sir George Anderson makes it a grievance that "the Indian university system is still overburdened by an excessive number of students" (page 63, Vol. I.) He has not said whether the students whose number he considers excessive are students in university departments and classes, or also those in constituent colleges, and in affiliated colleges, too. For comparison with Western countries —say, Great Britain—only university students proper, *e. g.*, post-graduate students, ought to be taken into consideration, as in Western universities our graduates are generally not given the same academic standing as their graduates. I shall, however, give the numbers of students of university departments and classes, of constituent colleges, and of affiliated colleges, too, in India.

The number of students in the sixteen universities of Great Britain is 53,386. This figure does not include 11,296 external students of the London University, nor its 10,184 University Extension students. If we have to take into account our college students also, I should include the 553 students of University College at Exeter, 682 students of University College at Nottingham, 1,297 students of University College at Southampton, 1,375 students of University College at Leicester, and 206 students of University College at Hull. Thus the total number of University and College students in Great Britain is 78,979. This is, of course, exclusive of the numbers of students in the many agricultural Colleges, technical institutes and other institutions for higher professional and vocational training in Great Britain, of which we have very few in India.

In the 18 universities of the Indian Empire there are 10,458 students in university departments or classes, 15,475 students in constituent colleges, and 79,310 students in affiliated colleges : total 105,238.

Great Britain with a population of over 44 millions has 53,386 university students ; the Indian Empire with a population of over 352 millions has 10,458 university students. The Indian figure is very small. Great Britain has 78,979 university and college students : India has 105,238. As India's population is eight times that of Great Britain, India ought to have 631,832 university and college students (instead of 105,238, which she has), in order to be equal to Great Britain in higher academic education.

I have said in a previous paragraph that Bengal, United Provinces, and Madras have each a larger populatton than Great Britain. The numbers of university and college students in these and some other provinces are compared with that of Great Britain in the tabular statement printed below.

Country or Province	Population	Number of University & College Students
Great Britain	44,937,444	78,979
Bengal	51,087,338	27,623
United Province	49,614,833	10,687
Madras	47,193,602	20,976
Panjab	24,018,639	16,971
Bombay	26,398,997	14,499

N. B. The population figures for the provinces include those of the States attached to them except partly in the case of Madras, where they exclude Cochin & Travancore.

In estimating the spread of high education in any country or province, its population should always be borne in mind. For the Provinces of India the numbers of students given are for 1932, for Great Britain it has been compiled from the Statesman's Year-Book for 1934.

I have said above in this article that the total educational expenditure of the Central and Provincial Governments in British India in 1931-32 was Rs. 12,46,07,093. In that year the total revenue of the Central and Provincial Governments was Rs. 203,72,52,000, according to the Statesman's Year-book for 1933. Therefore, in British India in that year Government spent a little more than 6 (six) per cent. of its revenue for the promotion of all kinds (general, professional, vocational, technical, industrial, etc.) and grades (university, collegiate, secondary and primary) of education. Such being the extent of the total expenditure, it is for Sir George Anderson to convince the public that there has been an "insidious form of extravangance" for the promotion of any grade of educaiion. The progressive States of the world, and even progressive "States" in India, spend a larger proportion of their revenues on educating their people. But that is another story.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Russo-Japanese Non-agression Treaty

Many apprehend that war-clouds are gathering on the Far Eastern horizon. In the face of this it would not be unfair to dream of a non-aggression treaty between Russia and Japan, which will help the warring nations to restore peace and order in the Eastern frontier, for a period of time. But conditions have been laid down where statesmen stumble and the matter has been dropped for the future. Dr. Suchiro shows in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*, how the idea originated :

When Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa stopped over in Moscow on his way home from Europe in December, 1931, to accept his new post as the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the authorities of the Soviet Government met him and suggested a non-aggression treaty to be concluded between the two countries. The same project was aired again in connection with the problem of recognition of Manchukuo by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government made another overture on the same proposal towards the end of last year. As the Soviet authorities realized that the Japanese Government was disinclined to reconsider the matter, they severely criticized Japan, giving the impression abroad of grave relations between the two countries.

The Japanese Government, however, does not seem to be particularly opposed to the proposed non-aggression treaty with the Soviet Union. When Mr. Koki Hirota, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was formerly Ambassador to Moscow, was ready to return to Japan from Moscow in October, 1932, he said in effect in an interview with newspaper reporters that even Italy and Turkey which are most hostile to Communism have no trouble with the Soviets since they concluded non-aggression treaties with that country, and that it might be to the interest of Japan from this consideration to accept the Soviet proposal. He indicated thereby that he harboured no intention of rejecting the Soviets' proposal.

It is true that he has been preoccupied since he assumed his present post with the work for alleviating the aggravated relations between the United States and Japan since the outbreak of the Manchurian incident. He considers that the measures to create a favourable atmosphere for the naval conference scheduled to be held next year are of the first and foremost importance. Under the circumstances, it is likely that the discussions of the Japan-Soviet non-aggression treaty and other problems pending between the two countries would have to be deferred for the time being. There is no doubt, however, that the discussions are bound to be resumed in the future.

Marco Polo's Predecessors

Mr. Marion A. Habig in an article in *The Catholic World* gives an account of the European travellers to the Far East before Marco Polo :

Far back in the history of the old World we find the beginnings of American history Columbus owed much to the old medieval travellers who explored the mysterious Orient It was in the hope of finding a westward route to the eastern lands which the intrepid travellers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had visited and described that the Great Mariner ventured out upon the unknown deep. From his own letters we learn that he mistook Cuba for Cipango (the medieval name for Japan) ; and after he had reached the American mainland, he wrote to Ferdinand and Isbella on July 7, 1503, that he had "arrived on May 13, in the province of Mago, which is a part of Catayo" or Cathay, as the northern part of China was called in the Middle Ages.

The story of Marco Polo's travels in Asia has often been told ; but there were pioneer travellers who preceded him, and until recent years, at least in the English-speaking world their pathfinding journeys and enterprises have remained almost wholly unknown. Dr. Clougherty of the Catholic University of Peking wrote some years ago : "While the name of Marco Polo is known throughout the civilized world, little or nothing is known, except by Orientalists and in other limited circles, of his Franciscan contemporaries who, a generation before the Venetian's entry into China, traversed the country of the Tartars and left to posterity the most vivid and detailed records of their journeys." Columbus, however, knew them and was as much indebted to them as to *The Book of Ser Marco Polo.*

The International City

When nations of the world are keen for an armament race, philanthropists dream of how wars can be prevented. Mr. H C. Andersen, a Norwegian scluptor, has push forward the idea of establishing a 'World's Centre City of Communication' where nations of the world will meet on neutral ground. We quote below his ideas from *World Unity* :

In view of the frequently expressed desire for amity and co-operation between all nations, and the economic depression from which the world is suffering, the present moment seems appropriate for again bringing before the public a scheme for founding an *International City and World Centre of Communication,* that is to say, a city belonging to all nations, in which all would meet on neutral ground.

The International City offers a definite advantage to each individual nation, since each would have its own buildings, administrative quarters and permanent representatives. Hence its products, whether industrial, scientific or artistic could be presented to the world at large in the particular manner most suitable from the producers' point of view; and in placing them on the market of the International City, the producers would be placing them on all the markets of the world. All countries, whether great or small, would have equal opportunities in this respect, and no product would be unsuitable for presentation at the International City, provided it was of interest to any country in the world.

Each country might advantageously devote a certain part of its building in the International City to the exhibition of its geographical, mineralogical, and agricultural charts, showing the rock strata, typography and mineral deposits, as also the areas suitable for the different crops, tracts of land still uncultivated and many details of the same nature. By this means the comparative study of the characteristic features of all countries could be made with the utmost facility.

Malaya and the Malays

Mr. V. K. Sabapathy shows in *The Indo-Malayan Review* that the name of modern Malaya owes its origin from Malayar or Malays, who lived in the classical age in the hilly tracts of the Western Ghats. He Says :

The word, "Malay" is a pure Tamil word, meaning hill or mountain. In the classics, Western Ghauts in Southern India are spoken of as 'Malay Nadoo," meaning hilly country or mountain country, and the people who lived there went by the name of Malayar or Malays. The Tamil chieftain who ruled this country was known as Malaya-man Kari-Kari, the Lord of Malaya - the mount

Malaya is referred to from the earliest times in Sanscrit literature. In Sanscrit the term Malaya is applied to the Western Ghauts. Satapat Brahman—one of the earliest Sanscrit compositions—makes specific mention of Malaya, the mount in the Northern mountains, now known as the Western Ghauts, the peak on which the ark of Manu rested after the flood which submerged the continent where the Indian Ocean now stands.

The Chinese traveller Houen Tsang, who travelled throughout India in the early part of the 6th century A D, while speaking of Malay Kuta, says, "South of this were the famed Malava mountains, the Southern portion of the Malabar Ghauts, which produced sandal wood and camphor."

At the time of which I am writing the present Malabar was under the sea. The Western Ghaut alone stood

Dr. Francis Day, civil surgeon, Cochin, refers to "a manuscript account of Malabar where it is said that little more than 2,300 years ago the sea came up to the Western Ghauts" He also says that "tradition and an examination of the geology of the country both lead to the conclusion that the sea formerly washed up to the Western Ghauts." Mr. Phillips Lake, of the Geological Survey of India, points out that Malabar stood 500 feet lower than at present and the sea washed the foot of the Ghauts

Until the 15th century A. D. all traders and merchants and emigrants to the Far East from Malaya and Malabar were Tamil-speaking people.

"Manimekala," one of the five great Tamil Epics of the 1st century B. C., speaks of the Tamils trading with the islands of Java and Sumatra, also with China and Indo-China. W. H. Schoff says in "Periplus" : 'Thousands of years before the emergence of the Greeks from savagery, Egypt and the nations of ancient India came into being and a commercial system was developed for the inter-change of products within those limits." He also writes : "The growth of civilization in India created an active merchant marine trading to the Euphrates and Africa and Eastwards, we know not whither."

The trade with the Far East continued unabated because of the far-flung Hindu kingdoms. It was as the result of these commercial enterprises that traders and other adventurous colonists from Malaya settled in the highlands of Sumatra and other islands of the archipelago. Gradually such settlements became multiplied as time rolled on until in the course of some centuries, and with the break up of the empire in Java, the Petty Malay chiefs of Sumatra arrogated themselves kingly powers in different parts of the island. To this settlement the name of "Sumatrai" was given by the colonists. What name the island bore before the settlement is not known. This name 'Sumatri" is known in Sanscrit as 'Samutri' 'Samutri' is also the native official designation of the king of Calicut in Malabar.

Sir Frank Swettenham was quite correct when he wrote, in his book "British Malaya," that "there are good reasons for believing that the Malays are the decendants of people who crossed from the South of India to Sumatra, mixed with a people already inhabiting that island, and gradually spread themselves over the central and most fertile state.

The Kalinga Kingdom was founded by Dravidian tribes about 2800 B. C. It was a very flourishing kingdom in Deccan. It included Bengal and Orissa. It was the Kalingas, it appears, who established the town of Sinhapura, now known as Singapore, while they were building an empire in Java.

Speaking of Indo-China, Colonel Gerini (Researches on Ptolomey's Geography) says :

"From several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-China from Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the Peninsula by land through Burma, and its Southern coast by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations."—The Southern Indians were no doubt Malays.

He also says : "Even previous to the time of Buddha (Buddha was born 557 B. C) the Dravidians of Bengal—evidently the Kalingas—conquered the country of Annam and gave the name of Bong Long to to their new colony in the East. The descendants of Lak Lum of Bengal resigned in Annam for a long time from the 7th century B. C. to 258 B. C."

Warmington, author of *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* remarks that "the Indians of old transported living animals by sea to China, to the Persian Gulf and to Africa." Fa Hian, Chinese traveller, visited India and Ceylon about 400 A D. On his return journey he got on board a great merchant vessel which carries about 200 men, and landed at the Southern coast of China. Of Sumatra he says there were large settlements of votaries of the Brahminical religion.

Slavery in the Modern World

A century ago, on August 1, 1834, every slave in the British Empire was set free. Many heroic souls fought and died for this noble cause, but Mr. Lawrence Schroeder shows in *The Inquirer* that the iniquitous traffic still exists :

Of course, we know that freedom does not mean license, and that discipline is essential to right development, and that obedience and command are complementary. How does the theory work out when we think of the child-slavery in China ; of great gangs of men, women and children chained to each other, driven like beasts by their brutal captors, for sale in one or other of the fifteen countries of the world where that kind of slavery is allowed ?

Since 1922, when the League of Nations took action, forty nations have given their word to suppress slavery, and as a result thousands of slaves have been liberated ; but the trade still flourishes—a challenge to the good-will, the pity, the finer mind of humanity. We can at least determine that human beings will not be treated as mere bodies, but as souls with feelings for home aud country, and with possibilities of happiness within their own specific environments.

I suppose that the root cause of the evil not only in slave-dealing countries, but in the presumedly more enlightened civilized nations is the lust for material power, expressed in the mad desire for riches, and in the accummulation of possessions : and yet there is the pregnant word of the Great Liberator Jesus—"Man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth."

Rather is it that which possesses us that matters—a mind touched with a sense of the beauty and power of the spiritual Kingdom, wherein freedom is the condition of such achievement as spells happiness ; and a soul that finds the meaning of itself in gracious and helpful association with its fellows.

Such a wonder of realization is beyond the experience of the five million fettered and degraded bodies, whose orbit is bounded by the lusts and brutalities of their masters. What must we do ?

Buddism and Extremism

Bruno Petzold's reflections on the establishment of the International Buddhist Society, Tokyo, are quoted below from *The Young East* :

A wave of extremism is to-day inundating the world an extremism that displays the twofold colour of communism and nationalism. Both are taking pride in their fanaticism and enforce their recognition by a dictatorship which is all the more unscrupulous, as it has behind itself the elementary impetus of the masses. Religion is either declared as superannuated, or has to submit blindly to the rulers, in order to be tolerated by extremism.

Buddhism, in principle, rejects this extremism. It teaches the 'middle path, (chu do) between the two extremes. Already the Buddha of Hinayana taught the theoretical middle path between eternalism and nihilism, and the practical middle path between eudaemonism and ascetism, by rejecting these two extremes as low and pagan ways, as ignoble, unprofitable and not leading to salvation. What constitutes the middle path discovered by the Tathagata is the Aryan Eightfold Path, that is to say Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Mode of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Rapture. This is the Middle Path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace, to insight, to the higher wisdom, to Nirvana. Mahayana Buddhism elevated the doctrine of the middle path to the sublime heights of metaphysics by stating that Absolute Truth is what is in the middle between existence and non-existence, *ie.*, between the glittering world of phenomena and the dark abyss of the void. The highest formulation which the view of the middle path attained is the doctrine of the harmony of the opposites, *i. e.*, the doctrine of the identity of countries which can be called the ripest fruit of Mahayana, and which shows a surprising similarity to the most mature views of occidental philosophy.

Modern Persia

His Excellency Mirza Taquizadeh, Persian Minister at Paris, has recently dilivered an illuminating lecture on Modern Persia in London. Extracts from it are reproduced below from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

The history of "modern" Persia, in the proper sense of the word, begins with the Persian Revolution of 1906. Up to that date, Persia was from a variety of causes much behind the times. In spite of her liberal-minded and not unintelligent people and with all her assets of philosophy and literature in the past, she had in some respects remained in a state of civilization not dissimilar from that of the Middle Ages in Western Europe.

It is convenient to divide the 28 years which have elapsed since then into two clearly defined periods, namely, the first from 1906 to 1921, which may also be subdivided into two parts of five and ten years respectively ; and the second from 1921 up to the present time, which we may name "The New Era."

Those first five years up to 1911 were actually the most intesesting of that period—when hopes for the success of aspirations which then animated the optimistic and enthusiastic reformers illuminated the horizon and spurred on the people of Persia to work passionately for their salvation.

The change in the form of Government and Administration was both great and fundamental. As in all revolutions, destructive or negative reforms at first naturally outnumbered the constructive achievements Nevertheless, it constituted the secular law in a country where for a long time it had been almost unknown ; it created the Civil Courts of Law, as well as ordering the executive and administrative Departments of State, more or less on modern lines ; and it established through the Constitutional and Budgetary laws legal restrictions for entering into any kind of engagement with foreigners as well as for Revenue Administration, both of which were, until then, uncontrolled.

Persia, in spite of her neutrality, was not spared the horrors of the Great War, which, coupled with a severe famine and a series of epidemics, went far to exhaust the resources of the country materially, while the anxiety of the people for the continuation of their independence and national existence in face of ever-increasing pressure drove them to disappointment, apathy and even despair. It may justly be said that the heart-beat of a nation in such a state is temporarily

suspended, since there can be no development to record, and a mere chronicle of events cannot be rated as history.

Providence, however, favoured Persia, and the crisis revealed a leader. A great change came with the ascension to power of the present ruler ot Persia, His Imperial Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi, our August Sovereign.

Persia has certainly no desire, at a time when there is still some hope that friendly discussion may lead to international disarmament, to exaggerate her defensive preparations Being one of the most pacific countries in the world she is anxious only to ensure her own safety and peace. She has concluded clearly defined pacts of non-aggression with many of her neighbours, she has been a member of the League of Nations from its inception, and remains one of the most zelous supporters of that international institution.

Persia has sometimes been accused of adopting an anti-foreign attitude and of pursuing a course of exaggerated nationalism. I believe this accusation to be totally unfounded. Persia desires to work undisturbed for the peaceful realization of much-needed reforms. She is willing to encourage foreign enterprise in the country, but claims as a condition of such encouragement that her rights should be respected by the countries of these enterprises and that co-operation shall mark the abandonment of all prejudice on their part.

The nationalists of Persia have, since the revolution, always maintained that Persia will work out her own salvation if her freedom of action is not disturbed, though foreign observers may not infrequently have expressed their doubts or even sincerely held a contrary opinion.

I am sure no ground for misunderstanding will be left on our side, and I am fully convinced that harmony and friendship will characterize our relations with all nations who are willing to regard Persia as an equal and fellow member of one and the same family.

"This simple, serene and lovely figure"

In an address in The Berry Street Conference Mr. John Haynes Holmes has paid a glowing tribute to Mahatma Gandhi and other personalities of our age. The following appears in *The Christian Register* :

Of Gandhi, how can I speak ? It was at the moment when I was as though perishing, in 1919, that I found this sainted man. My discovery of him I can only record in the words used by John Keats to record his discovery of Chapman's "Homer" :

Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken ;
Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific -and his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise—
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

In the midst of the fall of nations, out of the horror of war and revolution of bloodshed, fire, and fury, there suddenly arose this simple, serene, and lovely figure. To a world of violence he brought the gospel of *Satyagraha*, or non-resistance ; to an age of hate, he spoke the old and almost forgotten word of love ; to a generation caught in the snares of death, he offered release into the peaceful ways of life. In the darkest hours of my experience Mahatma Gandhi brought into my soul what I have always felt that Jesus must have brought into the souls of his disciples. And if there is any one thing out of all my years that brings me comfort, it is that I have lived to see humanity swing to Gandhi, as a planet swings in its celestial orbit to the sun.

Such are the four immortals of our age—Einstein, who has recharted the pathways of the stars ; Freud, who has redesigned the patterns of the soul ; Lenin, who has remade the structure of society ; Gandhi, who has restored the sanctities of religion ! Have these men renewed my hope ? Have they revived my faith ? Have they reconciled me to my world ? Let me redraw in a brief series of propositions, or theses, the outlines of those convictions to which I cling—the shadow of that grim and stern reality which, like a dark-bound shore seen through a rift of storm, may save me ere I sink.

Adult Education in America

After reviewing the Progress Report on the San Francisco School of Social Studies Mr. Alexander Meiklejohn suggests that America should now adopt a comprehensive scheme of Adult Education. Some suggestions are quoted below from *The New Republic* :

The time has come for the establishing of a new branch of public education in America. It is no longer enough that we teach children. It is not enough that we lead many of our young people through high school and a few of them through college. Every day makes it clearer that the amount of learning, and the kind of learning, that an American needs for proper living cannot be won in the years before twenty-one. Our scheme of government and of life can succeed only if, in their more mature years, men and women will engage in careful, enthusiastic and guided study of common values, common dangers, common opportunities. In a word, we must have a comprehensive scheme of adult education.

The end to be served by this new teaching will not be vocational. We Americans are already well able to train ourselves for jobs. There is no need for a fresh start along that line. On the other hand, the purpose is very badly described as that of "fitting people for the new leisure." That notion has in it too much of individual irresponsibility, too much of mere escape from obligations -from significant loyalties and endeavours--to serve as a basis for a national movement in popular teaching. The primary aim of adult education goes far deeper than either of these relatively superficial glimpses of its meaning. That aim is the creation of an active and enlightened public mind. The deepest question in American life today is not economic or political ; it is educational. It is the question of the thinking power of a democracy. Can our people understand and direct their own living or must someone else do their thinking, make their decisions, for them ? As a democracy we are pledged to try the first of these two programmes. And to make that attempt successful is the aim of adult education. At this point we do need a fresh start.

It should be noted in passing that the programme here suggested is not that of the indoctrination of Americanism. We need the practice of democracy rather than the preaching of it. And the practice of democracy in teaching is one of "free inquiry." It seeks to create and develop the will and the

capacity for independent judgment. It regards its own beliefs as open to study to criticism, to revision. To fall short of such self-criticism is to betray the deepest principles of our American life. There is among us no treason so black as that which would, by methods of insinuation or of violence, "impose" democratic principles, keep them safe from hostile opinions. We cannot teach democracy unless we trust it in action, practise it in our teaching.

It need hardly be said that the task of creating a national system of adult education is a very difficult one. In terms of quantity, the difficulties are obvious enough. Into the field in which newspapers, churches, libraries, theatres, lecture platforms, books and magazines, art museums radio centres, concert-halls, are already at work, teachers must go. And they must go in sufficient numbers and with sufficient clarity of purpose to criticize and modify these other agencies as well as to co-operate with them Theirs will be the primary responsibility for making vivid and attractive the studying activity in which every good American should be engaged. To do that will be, in sheer quantity, an enormous undertaking.

But the qualitative difficulties are even greater. How shall a people that has not built up the habits of study be led into the forming of those habits? Who shall be the teachers? What "materials" shall be used? What "methods" shall be followed? Here is a teaching problem as difficult as it is important. A democracy must arouse and sustain the creative intelligence upon the postulating of which its whole scheme of government and of living rests, with whose success or failure its own existence stands or falls. How shall it be done?

Soviet-American Trade Relations

In order that peace may be maintained in the Far East, Russia and America should now collaborate together. Though Soviet has been recognized by the latter, yet a deadlock has crept into the Soviet-American relations regarding the settlement of debts and claims. V. M. Dean's suggestions for a better solution of the question appears in *Foreign Policy Reports*, an extract of which is quoted below:

The renewal in Washington on July 25 of Soviet-American negotiations regarding settlement of debts and claims represents a determined attempt to eliminate a problem which has threatened to embitter relations between the two countries. It is reported that the U. S. S. R. has offered to pay a lump sum to be determined by agreement, which would liquidate the debt of the Provisional government and the claims of American nationals. This sum, however, would not be paid outright, but would gradually be collected by the United States in the form of additional interest paid by the Soviet government on American credits, which the U. S. S. R. wishes to secure as an integral part of the debt settlement. The Washington negotiations are consequently expected to concentrate on two points: the amount which the Soviet government is willing to pay and the United States is ready to accept in liquidation of debts and claims, and the sum which the American government is prepared to advance to the Soviet Union in the form either of a loan or of long-term credits for Soviet purchases in this country. It is hoped that a settlement of debts and claims will break the deadlock which has occurred in Soviet-American relations since recognition of the Soviet government by the Roosevelt administration in November 1933.

Recognition of the Soviet government has as yet failed to justify either the sanguine expectations of its advocates or the gloomy prophecies of its opponents. Establishment of diplomatic relations, while it has terminated an anomalous situation, has not materially increased Soviet purchases in this country, which continue to depend on the extension of substantial long-term credits guaranteed by the American government; these, in turn, have been made contingent on settlement of Russia's indebtedness to the United States government and of the claims of American citizens. At the same time recognition has not noticeably stimulated the importation of Soviet goods competing with similar American commodities, nor has it given an impetus to Communist propaganda. The development of Soviet-American relations from the level of ordinary diplomatic intercourse to that of close political and economic co-operation depends, as in the past, on the measure of financial assistance which the United States is prepared to give the Soviet Union and on the willingness of the two countries to collaborate for the maintenance of peace, especially in the Far East.

Confucian Philosophy

August 27 was officially observed in China as the anniversary of the birth of Confucius. To commemorate the occasion, the editor of *The People's Tribune* reviews some of the philosophical teachings of this immortal sage and says:

That ancestor worship and filial piety form the foundation of Confucian philosophy is common knowledge, but there are others of his teachings which have such intimate bearing upon social problems of today that it is really astounding to realize these plans for establishing human happiness were drawn up considerably more than two thousand years ago. Conditions, too, in the days of Confucius were strikingly similar to those existing today—political disintegration, social unrest, intellectual anarchy, and moral disorder. "The world had fallen into decay," writes Mencius, "and truth had faded away. Perverse doctrines and violent deeds had arisen. There were instances of Ministers murdering their Sovereigns, and of sons murdering their fathers. Confucius was afraid."

But this being "afraid" did not mean that he lacked courage, otherwise he would never have essayed the tremendous task of travelling throughout the country educating the rising generation to an appreciation of their responsibility for establishing higher social ideals by a process of intellectual reorganization. Confucius, as a social reformer, insisted upon the necessity of every member of the community faithfully discharging the duties proper to his or her station. It was his aim to educate the people in such a way that they would do the right thing because they knew it was right, and not simply because they feared the legal penalties in store for wrong-doers. "If the people be led by laws and their conduct be regulated by punishments, they may try to avoid the penalties, but they will have no sense of shame. Lead them by virtue and standardize them by the rules of propriety, and they

will not only have the sense of shame, but they will also become good."

That the principles laid down by Confucius and his followers were not put into general practice throughout China was due to obstructive tactics on the part of the well-to-do and the absence of effective administrative machinery to carry theories into effect. Confucianism is not a religion, but a school of philosophy whose teachings include axioms generally recognized today as being sound in logic even if still somewhat impractical in regard to execution. Confucius was a democrat in the best sense of the word : his sympathies were with the poor, and he was convinced of the original and inherent goodness of human nature. "He who governs by his moral excellence may be compared to the North Star, which abides by its place, while all other stars bow toward it." Again, "good government obtains when those who are near are made happy, and those who are afar are attracted ;" "what is right or wrong is decided by what is good for the people, and what the people decide is Heaven's will."

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Problem of Depressed Areas in Great Britain

The following introduction is annexed to Mr. E. D. McCallum's essay on the above subject, in *International Labour Review* :

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of unemployment in Great Britain since the War is its persistent concentration in certain industrial areas of the country. In years of prosperity and years of depression alike, unemployment has been twice as severe in these areas as in the rest of the country. Their principal industries seem to be permanently unable to employ the number of trained and efficient industrial workers available ; this creates a position whose seriousness must continue to require attention, even if the present signs of economic recovery are maintained throughout the country as a whole. It is this situation which creates what has here been called "the problem of depressed areas".

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Rejoicing in Cuba

Great rejoicing was witnessed throughout Cuba on the news that U.S.A. has renounced her contractual rights of intervention and financial supervision in the country. The following note appears in *The Commonweal* :

Two months after granting independence to the Philippines the United States renounced her contractual rights of intervention and financial supervision in Cuba. The signing of the new treaty (which was ratified by the Senate in Washington without a dissenting vote) was greeted in Havana by a salute of twenty-one guns ; church bells pealed and sirens and whistles blew. Crowds in the Cuban capital gave Ambassador Caffrey an ovation. In a radio speech hailing the new understanding President Mendieta declared, "Today Cuba, with her sovereignty unimpaired, salutes all other nations." The United States by abrogating the Platt Amendment of 1903, also relinquishes her supervision of Cuba's foreign affairs, her right to establish further naval bases and the continuance of certain sanitary measures which she instituted. She retains the naval base of Guantanamo. Article IV of the new treaty provides for the outbreak of a contagious disease, in which case either government may suspend communications with the other "without its act being considered unfriendly." At the same time the Foreign Policy Association announced that on the invitation of the Cuban authorities it would inaugurate on June 15 an impartial survey of the economic and social conditions of the island. Under its auspices an American commission of distinguished professors and other authorities will be sent to prepare a report for the people of Cuba and of the United States, recommending a relationship of mutual advantage to the two nations. The Rockefeller Foundation is to finance the work.



INDIAN PERIODICALS

More Pusas—the only Solution

The Pusa, agricultural research institute, will soon be removed to the neighbourhood of Delhi. This has elicited divergent comments from unexpected quarters. In this connection Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao has contributed a thoughtful paper in *Advance India.* In this vast agricultural land a number of institutions like the Pusa Institute should have been already established for research work. It is a pity that instead of supplying this want, the Government are bent on removing the Pusa Institute from Bihar, where it is most needed. So Dewan Bahadur Rao writes :

I venture to say that in coming to decision on these questions there are many other relevant considerations which cannot be ignored. In the first place, it will be admitted, as pointed out by the Royal Commission, that an ideal site for a central research institute which can suit the needs of the whole of India is doubtless impossible of attainment.

The climatic and agricultural conditions of the country differ widely from province to province and research work connected with all the crops and soils cannot obviously be carried on at one centre for the whole country. This fact has been admitted by the experts and officers of the Government of India...... Examined by the Royal Commission, they suggested the desirability of organizing agricultural research in two or three centres to suit the varying conditions of the country.

In giving evidence before the Commission, Mr. G. S. Henderson, the Imperial Agriculturist, Pusa, stressed this point and his criticism of Pusa was that it was a single station, whereas he contended that there should be several institutions. Pusa could be improved upon in every way. I could have one place where irrigation is practised, another place representing Southern India, a centre representing Bengal conditions and possibly a centre in Central India.

Organization of research work by crops has been advocated by Dr. Clouston, the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India, *i. e.*, the research in regard to the wheat should be carried in the wheat tract, the research regarding rice should be carried in the rice tract and that relating to cotton in the cotton tract. He, therefore, laid stress on the need for the establishment by the Government of India of additional research stations controlled by the Government of India. He expressed the view that there is a room for *duplication of institutes similar to Pusa, in Southern India, to deal with the wet crops and rice crops, to which it is not possible to devote attention at Pusa.*

Further pressed on the subject, Dr. Clouston stated that "we have already a cane-breeding station in Southern India. We should like to have a rice station in Madras and Bengal. We should rather like a wheat station in Jubbalpore or somewhere else in northern India."

It is only on these lines in the development of more Pusals that a satisfactory solution of the problem can be reached.

Christianity and Nationalism

Dr. T. G. P. Spear of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, writes in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* :

Christians should not fear to be nationalists or to love their native lands. Our own countries, like our homes and our childhood experiences, are things we can never escape from, even if we would we owe to them much of the best that is in us, our inherited traditions, our ideals and standards. Let each sing his "Bande Mataram" and not fear to acclaim with John of Gaunt his country ;

This other Eden, demi Paradise,
This fortress built by nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war

The Christian spirit will sanctify all that is best in national traditions. It will enable us as pilgrims of eternity to see, in "our own dear lands," the type of the celestial city which is for ever laid up in heaven--that city of God in which we strive to live and move and have our being. Most men love their country because it is their home. Christians should love it because they see in it the symbol, imperfect though it be, of the eternal Kingdom of righteousness, which they seek to establish upon earth.

Sri Ramkrishna's Humorous Remarks on His Marriage

Swami Saradananda writes in *The Vedanta Kesari* :

At times the Master would indulge in much fun over his marriage. Indeed, how amusing they were! We shall present the reader with a sample here. One day at Dakshineswar the Master was sitting at his noon-meal and talking in a light vein with Sjt. Balaram and a few other devotees. The Holy Mother had started that day for Kamarpukur, to spend a few months there on the occasion of the marriage of Ramlal, the Master's nephew. The Master (to Sjt. Balaram): What is the meaning of the (my) marriage? What is the use of the wife when I cannot keep in order even the cloth on the loins?

Balaram smiled a little and kept silent.

The Master: Indeed! I have now understood. (Showing a little curry picked up from the plate.) It is for this only. Otherwise who else would cook for me with so much care? (Sjt. Balaram and the other devotees burst into laughter.) Really, who else will take care of my food with so much interest? They

have all gone away to-day. (The disciples failed to understand whom he meant.) I mean Ramlal's aunt (the Holy Mother). She has left for Kamarpukur on account of Ramlal's marriage. I stood quite unconcerned and saw the party going. Truly, the mind was not in the least affected on this account, as if they had no connection whatsoever with me. But a little later, the anxiety came as to who would hereafter cook for me. You see all sorts of things do not agree with me. Nor can I myself always be sufficiently attentive to my food. She knew which things would be agreeable and would prepare different courses accordingly. That is why the thought came as to who would now take her place.

The Master's Jokes

In the same paper writes *A Disciple* of Sri Ramkrishna :

"Ah, my dear Baburam came to Sri Ramkrishna while he was a mere boy. Sri Ramkrishna used to make great fun with them. Naren (Swami Vivekananda) and Baburam would roll on the ground with laughter. Once, while living in the Cossipore garden, I had been climbing the steps carrying a pitcher with five pounds of milk. I felt giddy and the milk spilt on the ground. My heels were dislocated. Naren and Baburam ran there and took care of me. There was a great inflammation of the feet. Sri Ramkrishna heard of the accident and said to Baburam, 'Well, Baburam! It is a nice mess I am in. Who will cook my food? Who will feed me now?" He was then ill of the cancer in the throat and lived only on farina pudding. I used to make the pudding and feed him in his room in the upper storey of the house. I had, then, a ring in my nose. Sri Ramkrishna touched his nose and made the sign of the ring by describing a circle with his finger, in order to indicate me He then said, 'Baburam, can you put her (making the sign) in a basket and carry her on your shoulder to this room?' Naren and Baburam were convulsed with side-splitting laughter. Thus he used to cut jokes with them. After three days the swelling subsided. Then they helped me to go upstairs with his meals.

Khan Abdul Gaffar at Santiniketan

On his conditional release from jail Khan Abdul Gaffar went straight to Santiniketan. *Visva-Bharati News* writes in a supplementary issue :

On the 31st morning of August we had the pleasure of receiving Khan Abdul Gaffar, the Frontier Leader in our midst. He arrived by the morning train from Burdwan and was received at the station by Rathindranath Tagore, Karma-Sachiva of Visva-Bharati, and a few *adhyapakas.* Before an assembly of students and other members of the Asrama in front of the Library Building, Rabindranath welcomed the illustrious guest in a few well-chosen words. He said the Khan Shahib's visit was a memorable event in the history of the Asrama and that it was fortunate for the students to have the opportunity of meeting him. It had touched them all, the President continued, to find his confidence in the Visva-Bharati expressed in the fact that he had chosen to send his son here for education when he was away in jail.

Khan Shahib replied saying that he felt deeply overwhelmed with the warmth of the reception. He was highly pleased to visit the place, where he saw things much more than he had heard of. The great Poet's ideals appealed to him as being truly necessary for India's uplift. He hoped that his community would imbibe the Poet's noble ideas about education based on true spirit of religion. The feelings of communalism that threatened to stifle all of India's aspirations were largely due to misinterpretation of religion.



Khan Abdul Gaffar

His visit to the Asrama was a very hort one for he left the next morning for Patna, *en route* Wardha. But he did not spare himself and managed to go over all the departments at Santiniketan and Sriniketan and evinced great interest in all that he saw. There was a farewell ceremony just before he left, in the yard in front of Uttarayan when Rabindranath read an address to

him in Urdu, an English rendering of which is given below

Dear friend,

You are with us only for a while but even that is a rare good fortune for us. This is my hope that you will not think it a mere exaggeration or an expression of civility when I say that your presence has created a new strength and vigour in our hearts. Love is never taught by the word of mouth; the soul of a true Lover is Love's own touch-stone. When we come into contact with it, the value of whatever sentiment there is in our own hearts gets magnified manifold.

We have you here with us only for a short period but we will not measure the worth of the event by the standard of time. Those really great, whose hearts are for all, who belong to all the lands of the world, transcend also the bounds of moments; they are for all time. Believe me, the memory of this short visit of yours to the Asrama will ever remain fresh in our hearts

Truth is the very foundation of your life, and I am sure that you radiate its influence all around you. We have realized this too that all our own efforts are everyday being frustrated for lack of this devotion to truth. You have come to this land whose unhappy being is shattered into fragments, in order to fulfil the purpose of Providence to save her from the poison of fratricidal hatred with which she is drugging herself to self-destruction. I have not the slightest doubt that you have been able to stimulate the heart of our folk here with some of that great force of character which is your own. Pray accept the grateful homage of all of us. This is our earnest prayer that you be long spared to help this land, sick, unto death, toward vigorous health and truth.

The Menace of War To-day

In *The Ashram Review* (formerly, *C. S. S. Review*) the Rev. G. C. Dewick writes:

In 1918, we all thought that the Spectre of War was "laid," at least for our generation. But to-day it hovers over us with grim and menacing insistency. In 1918, boys and girls coming out of the schools and colleges in most nations of the world were thanking heaven that they at least were free from the danger of having to undergo the terrible ordeals through which their immediate predecessors had just passed. Today (at least in most of the countries of Europe) one cannot speak to a group of young men without realizing that they anticipate that most of them will end their lives by violent death in some battle-field or air-raid. Of late especially, the menace of war seems to have grown more threatening every month; and at no time since the close of the Great War in 1918, has the apparent inevitability of another war been more present to our minds than it is today.

And yet, the strange thing is that no one—or almost no one—desires war. I wish it were possible to say that no one *at all* desires war; but I fear that the evidence is all too plain that there are certain industries, notably those connected with the manufacture of armament, that are prepared to put their own profits before the welfare of humanity and are definitely using their influence in the direction of encouraging another world-war as soon as possible. But these form a small minority in the midst of humanity at large. There are also a few who hold that war is so inevitable that it is useless to try to avert it; some of these, because they believe that it is foretold in the Bible as part of the Divine Plan for the world; and others because they think that it is predestined by the 'laws of Science,' as part of the structure of the Universe. But the great majority of men and women emphatically refuse to accept this point of view. When confronted with the menace of war, their instinctive reaction is: "It *ought* not to happen!" and further "It *need* not happen!"

The Temple Entry Bill

The Temple Entry Bill has recently fallen through in the Legislative Assembly. The Bill sought to remove legal obstacles against the *Harijans* entering Hindu temples. This regrettable event has evoked the following editorial comments in *Stri-Dharma*:

Turkey and Persia offer us living examples of what legislation, backed and promulgated by a strong national government, can do to transform public opinion overnight and to create a new point of view almost within the rising and setting of the sun. But in India it is not so. The onus of carrying out all reform and also enforcing reform legislation has been put upon the private individual, reform worker or organizations. If social reform work is to be effective and fruitful, it should be strengthened by adequate legislation. Of course, we realize the need for constant propaganda and education of public opinion. We merely suggest that legislation and propaganda should co-ordinate at a given place where either one would be futile without the other. To achieve this the closest sympathy and co-operation should exist between official and non-official workers, and an identity of interest is essential to ensure such sympathy and co-operation. When we are on the eve of wider responsibilities it is very necessary to remind our future representatives and also all these Indians who will hold high office how essential it will be for those men and women, who will enter the councils as the representatives of the reformed and progressive point of view to keep closely in touch with the workers outside and to do all in their power to reinforce the work that is being done by organizations and individuals to bring about a healtheir and happier state of affairs in the country. For the present we many take this as a lesson and press forward more than ever before to create the right attitude in the public mind towards the question of the right of Temple Entry to Harijans! Let this failure be a stepping stone to a successful campaign against this inhuman and cold philosophy.

International Control of Narcotics

The National Christian Council Review writes editorially:

While the Assam Province, where apparently the opium evil had long been established, is trying to eradicate it, in response to public opinion, our readers will be interested in knowing how the evil is being attacked at its source by the League of Nations.

Owing to the more extensive and stricter application of the International conventions relating to narcotics there has been a steady decline in the volume of the licit trade in opium, coca leaves and manufactured drugs, that is to say, the amounts licitly manufactured approximate more closely to legitimate world requirements and this licit production no longer escapes to the same large extent into the illicit traffic, as was the case in past years. On the other hand, clandestine manufacture has developed and in its turn supplies the illict traffic; it is still on the increase, mainly in countries where raw materials are produced and where control is difficult. Thus clandestine factories of drugs have sprung up in Bulgaria (with a simultaneous increase in the production of the raw material: opium, 65,000 kg in 1934, as compared with 4,000 kg. in 1932) and in China, where clandestine manufacture seems to have been introduced by foreigners driven out of Europe, constituting a serious danger both to China and to countries into which the drugs are smuggled.

In connection with this, the committee also drew the attention of Governments to a new and important fact: the movements of a chemical substance, acid acetic anhydride, which is used mainly for the manufacture of heroin, the increasingly large imports of this substance into Bulgaria and China would seem to point to a huge manufacture of heroin, which must find its way into the illicit traffic.

The committee greatly concerned at this state of affairs and at the increasingly serious situation in China, from the point of view both of poppy growing and opium consumption and of the rapid development of the clandestine manufacture of morphine and heroin, mapped out a plan of co-operation between the Chinese Government and the foreign authorities in China.

The Scope of Competition

In an important paper in *Indian Journal of Economics* Prof. Sir J. C. Coyajee writes:

We have to bear in mind that the true nature of the concept of Free Competition has been very ably and keenly discussed by economists for decades. Its limitations in connection with the idea of "maximum social ophelimity" were debated by Pareto and even earlier by Marshall in his chapter on Maximum Satisfaction. Very recently too a great deal of analysis has been devoted to problems of Imperfect Competition. Admittedly basing herself on the analysis of Marshall and Pigon, Miss Joan Robinson has shown that "the analysis of perfect competition is only a limiting case of the general theory" and that "it can no longer occupy its former dominant Position in the theory of value." Thus the analytical economists have been themselves seeing the limitation of competition and have been adding to the contents of their "box of tools" for the keener and deeper study of competition as well as of monopoly. To demonstrate the vast existing range of imperfect competition is to show the smaller importance of ideas of pure competition and monopoly. Indeed, it is through the progress of economic analysis that we are being led to adopt a more correct and modest view of the economic position and importance of Competition—making ample allowance for the limitations of competition both on the theoretical and practical sides. Competition must decrease while collaboration and regulation must increase in scope. Moreover, whether in the past or in the present there has been and is no case of an economic society working on the bases of ideally and absolutely free competition, for the simple reason that the requisite institutions for the success of such competition were and are lacking. We can go further and admit that as an ideal it is better to aim at a rational and humane ordering and organization of affairs than to acquiesce in the struggle for existence. But facts must be faced and after all has been said and done although the merits of collaboration are many it will never be possible to oust and replace competition entirely. It is well to attempt to control competition; but in one shape or other it will always be an important factor in our whole scheme of economic and social life as long as there is a struggle for survival in society. True the of competition will be more and more restricted eit by "formal control within the business conceived by the coming in of an authoritative economic order." But there can be no doubt that in some form or other competition will manage to survive. "The parties, the forms, the fashions, the intensity and the ends of the struggle many change; but the norm of competition among persons, good industries, ideas, institution and culture must remain." A great deal certainly depends upon the way in which competition is defined and upon the sense which we attach to the word in the controversy regarding the proper scope of competition. But however defined or regulated, there seems to be no prospect of competition being abolished or entirely done away with.

Regulations for Ashrams in Cambodia

Prof. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, M.A., D. Litt. in his "King Yashovarman's Regulations for Ashramas in Cambodia" in *Prabuddha Bharata* writes:

Yashovarman (889-910 A. D.) was one of the greatest monarchs of Kambuja (the Sanskrit name of Cambodia) It was he who founded the town of Angkor (Sanskrit Nagara) which became one of the most magnificent cities in the whole world during the Middle Ages.

Three Sanskrit inscriptions of his reign (recently edited by M Coedis) give us the regulations laid down by the monarch for a Vaishnava, a Shaiva and a Buddhist Ashrama respectively, which was constructed by royal command in the immediate neigbourhood of of his capital (Angkor).

The three inscriptions have much in common.

This Decree (शासन) of Sri Yashovarman is to be obeyed in the Ashrama by the Kuladhyaksba (कुलाध्यक्ष) as well as by his servants.

The Kuladhyaksha shall see to it that the Ashrama flourishes and that the Ashram Jana (people) are well protected.

If the king comes here with his queens the Kuladhyaksha should show him the honour due to a divinity For according to Vyasa "He who is devoid of respect towards the king, who is the Guru of the whole world, will see none of his gifts, sacrifices and offering bear fruit."

After the king the Dwija (द्विज) should be honoured

above all others ; if there are several of them, their conduct should first be taken into consideration, then their good qualities, and finally their learning.

Particularly (among the other visitors to the Ashrama) the brave should be honoured, who have proved their valour in the field of battle · for the defence of right depends on them.

The Ashrama regulations of king Yashovarman of Cambodia came to a close with the following noble stanza :- The Earth, the Waters, the Winds, the Clouds the Sun and the Moon - have they the slightest personal interest in contributing to the happiness of created beings ? The noble rule of life which the truly great follow is this : to minimize one's personal interests and to strive to promote the interests of others.

Indian Insurance Law *re* Indian Provident Societies' Act

In an important paper in *Commerce* (September 22, 1934) Mr. S. C. Ray, M. A., B. L., Editor, *Insurance World*, and Manager, Aryasthan Insurance Co. Ltd., indicates lines in which the Indian Insurance Law should be modified. An abstract of his suggestions has already been quoted in this section (*vide The Modern Review* for June 1934). In this connection he also lays stress on the need of amending the Provident Societies' Act under which many mushroom societies, miscalled Provident Insurance Societies, are growing up almost daily. Mr Ray's suggestions on this branch, too, deserve notice. He says:

While discussing the question of insurance law in India it is not possible to leave aside the Provident Societies' Act under which innumerable insurance companies have sprung up in India in recent years. The dividing companies, registered under its provisions have become a terrible menace to the progress of Indian insurance and unless this Act is suitably amended immediately, we shall have to face dark days in the near future The maximum risk undertaken by a provident company must not under law exceed Rs. 500 on a single life. But the loss of even this small amount for an average Indian is a great strain and so it is necessary that these Provident Societies should be regulated in such a way that the insured people may not suffer. Their only safe-guard is Section 17 under which the Registrar of Joint-Stock Companies can institute some enquiry in regard to the affairs of a Provident Society.

I strongly advocate the revision of the provisions of the Indian Provident Societies' Act under the following lines :

(1) Every company should deposit Rs. 5,000 before registration and increase this deposit by addition of 3 of the renewal premium income every year until the total deposit reaches Rs. 50,0.0.

(2) All insurance schemes should be examined by qualified Actuaries and companies should be allowed to carry on business only under such schemes as are found to be scientificaly sound.

(3) Provident Societies shall not be allowed to style themselves as insurance companies as in such cases the lay people will not be able to differentiate them from companies carrying on regular life insurance business.

I am glad to find that the Jodhpur State has already made a move in this direction by requiring Provident Societies to deposit Rs. 5,000.

Rabindranath's Paintings

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore recently held an exhibition of his paintings in Bombay. Mr. G. Venkatachalam wrote a critique on Rabindranath's paintings in *Triveni*. Part of it is given below :

When he recently held an exhibition in the city of Bombay, his pictures literally puzzled and mystified the Indian public. One noticed worried looks in the eyes of visitors, and heard all sorts of amusing comments. 'You call this art ?' snapped an outraged society lady, herself a widely travelled woman and a writer, but of nervous temperament. 'We don't understand these pictures, frankly we dont,' observed many well-meaning friends and admirers of Tagore and his poetry. 'This art is beyond us', confessed a young girl artist, and added cynically, 'One must be born, I suppose, in Bengal to appreciate it.' Here and there one met a person who showed interest in the pictures and discovered some artistic merits in them. If Tagore's paintings do not arouse any enthusiasm or admiration for his art, they at least set people thinking about newer modes of artistic expression than one is generally used to.

Tagore's works are not to be judged by the ordinary accepted academic standards, for the simple reason that they are not painted after any accepted style, school or tradition. No rules of the art are applicable to them. They are just creations of playful moods and unfettered joy, and so they share the nature and significance of all original impulses. Laws and rules do not give birth to art ; art creates its own idioms and expressions. Thus there is really no criterion by which original creative efforts like those of Tagore's could be judged. They must be appraised on their own intrinsic worth, their inner vital quality

Tagore was not trained in any academic school. He never studied the art of painting under any master, nor does he consciously copy or follow ony style or technique. The creative urge in hjm plays with lines and colours which take definite shape and design under the spell of his genius. He never strives after any perfection of form or idea but just lets his fancy or imagination create figures or portraits, scenes or symbols, effortlessly and without prejudice. They are like the play-creations of a child, simple, spontaneous and beautiful.

Some are crude and unfinished ; some are delightfully drawn with an eye for precision of line, balance and composition. Whatever may be their æsthetical merits, there is no doubt that everyone of them is intensely alive with a dynamic vitality like a piece of sculpture. There is grace, beauty, movement and suppleness in every line and curve that he draws. His art is really an inspired art ; and there is freshness and originality in all his single figure studies and group compositions. The poetic and lyrical nature of his pictures are obvious. As he says himself : 'My pictures are my versification in lines. If by chance they are entitled to claim recognition, it must be primarily for some rhythmic significance of form which is ultimate, and nor for any interpretation of an idea or representation of a fact.' Even the most unfinished picture of his has this 'rhythmic significance of form,' and it is this that makes his art so interesting.

Tagore seldom bothers himself with the regular paraphernalia of an artist: studio, easels, palette, brushes, pigments, canvases, glues and the rest. He paints as he likes and on all kinds of papers, white or coloured, rough or smooth, big or small, even on bits of newspapers. Some of his striking pictures were done with the aid of a simple fountain-pen or piece of cloth or his own thumb and fingers. His portrait studies executed in this style are exceedingly clever. His landscape sketches have a distinct atmosphere, and he now and then paints them in colours. He has a partiality for ordinary liquid colours and it is amazing the rich colourful effects he gets out of them. His decorative designs are genuinely original and some of them ultra-modern and very intriguing.

On the whole Rabindranath's paintings have an originality, sincerity, truthfulness and vital quality to be ranked as high as any of the modern masters. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's pithy statement that Tagore's pictures are not childish but childlike is about the sanest criticism so far offered on this new phase of Tagore's genius.

How the Press Act of 1910 was forged

The interesting story of how the Press Act of 1910 was forged has been narrated in *The Indian Review* thus:

The Radical statesman [Lord Morley] was averse to this unnecessary addition to the Statute-book, but what could one man, however exalted and forceful do against a whole brood of opposing reactionaries? It is curious how from Royalty down to the Civilian there was such strong opposition to the legitimate and just aspirations of Nationalist India. Sir Sidney Lee, in his "Life of King Edward VII" has told the story of the King's directions to the Cabinet supporting the Commander-in-Chief's demand for "a drastic Press Act especially for the Army." But Morely and the Cabinet were adverse to it. Morely gave way anyhow probably in deference to the Viceroy's wishes the Viceroy who had so warmly supported him in his Reform Scheme. One is amazed at the ugly manœuvres played behind the scenes to bring the Radical democrat round to support the unwanted Press Act. Says Mr. Kincaid, I. C. S. (*Retired*) in his recent book *:

I was summoned to the India Office by Sir William Lee Warner, the senior member of the Council of the Secretary of State. He first bound me over to strict secrecy, and then told me that he was trying to induce Lord Morely to agree to a proposed Press Act in India. Sir William wanted me to write something to the Press —preferably the *Times*—to strengthen his hand. He was finding Lord Morely very difficult. I promised to do my best best. I asked my friend Enthoven, who knew Valentine Chirol, for a note of introduction to him. Armed with it I went to the office of the *Times*. I sent my card and Mr. Enthoven's note, and was received by the Director of Foreign Intelligence, as he then was called in the specious pre-Northcliffe days of the *Times*. He was very cordial and said that he would consider anything that I wrote. I sent him, one after the other four articles: (1) on 'Kichak Wadh' a seditious play by G. W. Khadilkar; (2) 'Mr. Tilak and the seditious Deccan Press'; (3) the Chipawans of Chiplun'; and (4) "Ancient Indian Theories of Government.' They were all accepted, and the first was translated into almost every language by the European Press. The second and third articles were commented on in leading articles. In view of the Public interest aroused by my articles Valentine Chirol was sent out to India to get 'copy.' This led to the publication of 'Indian Unrest.' This again was the cause of an unsuccessful libel action brought by B. G. Tilak against Sir Valentine Chirol, the *Times* and Macmillian & Co.

Sir William Lee Warner and I held our tongues. Lord Morely was wild to know who had written the articles. With the artless guile of a Radical minister he pretended to think that they were from the pen of Valentine Chirol himself, and wrote to congratulate him. The Director of Foreign Intelligence was equal to the occasion. He thanked Lord Morely very nicely for the congratulations and expressed himself very pleased that he should like the articles. Soon afterwards Lord Morely sanctioned the passing of the Press Act.

* *Forty-four year a Public servant*, pp. 118, 119.)

A Plea for Cultural Readjustment

Prof. J. M. Kumarappa writes on the above subject in *The Aryan Path*:

If Modern India is barren of high aspirations and creative ideals, if she suffers from intellectual poverty and inertia, is the cause far to seek? By adopting foreign culture and ignoring her own, has she not lost touch with her real source of life and intellectual vigour? Indeed, by cutting off this source of vitality, she has reduced herself to a life of cultural parasitism in the very country which is the home of learning itself. This mental deterioration is certainly most debasing. And therefore our greatest concern must necessarily be, not material want—bad as it is, not even political subjection - degrading as that is; but cultural poverty. At a time such as this when we are giving serious thought to the problems of reorganizing all our nation-building institutions, we can ill-afford to ignore this terrible state of our intellectual degeneracy. And the task of cultural readjustment must therefore be viewed by our leaders as most pressing and urgent.

If our education is to be truly Indian, it must be so reorganized as to develop the racial traits in each child till it makes him a perfect incarnation of the spirit of the race Hence our first aim in educational reconstruction must be to meet the need of providing the children of India with a culture that is the product of India's own thought and creation. Only a knowledge of the great thoughts and ideas found in Sanskrit literature will generate in the minds of our youth a proud and living faith in their Motherland and help them incidentally to get rid of their inferiority complex. Further, it must be noted that Sanskrit learning is necessary and invaluable for the preservation of our national or cultural individuality.

Since it is the living consciousness of the race's past ideals and achievements which differentiate one cultural group from another, it is imperative that such historical traditions and ideals should be made to form the intellectual equipment of not only every student but also every uncultured member of the race. If education is to realize this end, it must take full account of the genius and civilization of the people and the environment which influences them, just as surely as it must take account of the inborn qualities. Further, it must raise Sanskrit and the

vernaculars to their lost but legitimate place in our scheme of studies. Though the Indian vernaculars are diverse, yet Sanskrit is not only the source of most of them but the fountainhead of the social and religious culture which inspires and sustains them. Because the vernacular literatures contain, though it be in a limited measure, the supreme ethical and spiritual wisdom of the saints and sages of India, it has been possible to spread a common culture among the teeming millions of India. And now in order to develop the vernaculars to meet the demands of the present age, Sanskrit must be popularized. For if the vernaculars are to be re-enforced, if their capacity to form abstract, scientific and literary terms is to be strengthened, the necessary element must be taken, as Tagore points out, from Sanskrit. Only when the vernaculars are thus re-enforced will they be in a position to respond to the need of the higher stages of study.

Besides its value in strengthening the vernaculars to meet modern demands of expression, a study of Sanskrit literature is important for promoting Indian national unity The great thoughts contained in them would, if popularized, serve as a powerful antidote fo. our modern narrowness, exclusiveness and bigotry.

The literary classes have been successfully divorced from the illiterate masses, so much so, that to-day it would be difficult to find anywhere on earth a class of people so different in outlook from their own masses as the typical product of this educational system Since the masses receive their intimate ideas and images, not from Burke and Shakespeare, Hume and Mill, but from the Vedas and the Puranas, from the writings of Kabir and Kalidasa, it has, in fact, made the natural irrigation of culture well-nigh impossible. Similarly, it has divorced the husband from the wife in thought and outlook. In most cases they live on two different social and intellectual planes.

She has a mission to perform, a mission of peace and reconciliation She has ever stood for a true and living harmony of toleration and discipline, of law and love of restraint and freedom. In this age of international strife India must offer to the world her philosophy of life, of peace based on her conception of the spiritual unity of all human beings. If the world is to take cognizance of her never-failing emphasis on the abiding values of the spirit, then she must demonstrate the superiority of her spiritual culture. And that is possible only when the masses of her people learn to live up to the high and noble ideals of her sages and saints.

In order, therefore, to make the best in our culture available to the peoples of the West, it is essential to revive Sanskrit learning and make it widespread in India first. Our schools and colleges must really become saturated with our own indigenous culture. Then our seats of learning must be so organized as to enable them to extend the intellectual hospitality of the country to the research scholars of the West who are eager to come to India to specialize in Oriental learning, and to study Indian culture at its very sources. But unfortunately no adequate facilities have been provided for them and, what is worse, for want of such centres of Indian culture our own students are even now obliged to go to the London School of Oriental Studies to learn Sanskrit, Indian Literature and Indian Philosophy, the very subjects for which India ought to be the greatest research centre in the world.

In whatever way we Indianize education, it must be so as to revive our culture, and make Indian life seem as sublime as any the world has ever seen. It must make it possible for India to resume her place among the nations, not as a competitor in material production, but as a teacher of all that belongs to a true and radiant civilization.

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The Rights of Children

Many progressive countries have declared that children should enjoy some inherent rights. The Indian Bureau of the League of Nations has given wide publicity to the Declaration of Geneva regarding the rights of children. Part of this declaration is here quoted from *The Educational Review*:

(1) The Child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.

(2) The Child that is hungry must be fed; the child that is sick must be nursed; the child that is backward must be helped; the delinquent child must be reclaimed; and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured.

(3) The Child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress.

(4) The Child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood and must be protected against every form of exploitation.

(5) The Child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow-men.

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Poverty in India

Miss G. Ponnaiya, M.A., writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

Cheap labour, like cheap scraps, is an unwelcome intruder in the economic field. Millions are employed in India on this basis on the assumption that cheapness denotes profit. Were this true India would have been a land flowing with milk and honey, the El Dorado of earthly existence. But unfortunately the reverse is true. Cheap labour leads to the employment of inefficient units of labour, the unskilled who waste time, energy and money. But the overpaid rich are not also the efficient. The wages must be dependent on work dependent on brain power. Mr. Henry Ford believes in substituting machines wherever great physical strength is required. This is real economy as it releases brain power for the work it ought to do. Hard toil for sixty hours a week to any labourer, burdened with the responsibility of supporting a large family, leaves very little room for improving one's brain power. Far-sighted business men make due allowances for leisure. The leisure and the high wage paid, suitably graded according to one's brain power, has contributed not a little to economic progress. More economic goods are consumed if high wages and a high standard of living are assured, in the economy of the nation. The consumption creates and keeps up the demand, which is satisfied by a chain of industries enriching and ennobling the economic life of the nation. In other words, the brain power circulates within and without the country, in much the same way as money does. The policy of grading wages combined with leisure automatically drives out poverty. It also keeps an eye on the work turned out rather on the money reward and the greed for hire, and incidentally discourages the lazy and the undeserving that clog the wheel of progress. A premium on steady, sustained and efficient work is thus assured.

QUOTAS AND TRADE RESTRICTIONS

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

EVER since the Joseph Chamberlain campaign for fiscal reform subsequent to the Boer War there have been various campaigns undertaken by the Conservative Party to promote protection. It was a cardinal principle of Conservative policy that protection of the home market would lead to higher wages and higher prices. In 1906, the Conservative Party made Protection a test question. They then avowed that the full application of Protection was the only solution to the problem of unemployment and low wages. The defeat which they met with at that election weakened the campaign considerably, although latently the bulk of Conservative opinion was protectionist. It was not until 1924 and the subsequent elections that the Tory Party became a little more courageous in advocating Protection as the main plank in their political programme. We have seen the passage into law of all that the Conservatives had hoped for in the full instalment of protection as a result of their gaining power by the trick election of 1931.

The success of the Protectionist advocates has in no small measure been due to the weakness of the Liberal Party in defending whatever measure of Free Trade this country enjoyed. With many Liberals Free Trade was not an economic principle but was a policy which seemed to be conducive to a flourishing import trade. The Liberal advocates, with very few exceptions, defended Free Trade in a narrow and limited way. They never correlated Free Trade with free production: that is to say, the right to freely produce goods as well as the right to freely exchange goods and services. They left in abeyance the whole question of unemployment and devoted their attention merely to trade relationships.

The ever-present army of unemployed people gave the Protectionists grounds for promoting their theories. It was little consolation to an unemployed man to be told that Free Trade was the foundation of Britain's great international commercial prosperity. And it seemed an obvious truth to an average unemployed voter that his chance of getting a job was remote if Britain continued to import an ever-increasing volume of foreign goods.

Unfortunately, politicians who were not quite clear as to what was meant by Free Trade on the one hand, or what was fully implied by Protection on the other, pursued a middle course and devised a policy of quotas, trade licences and import boards. Since 1925 this modified form of Protection has become fashionable. Super-imposed upon the quota system, and following as its natural complement, came the subsidy system. For if you restrict certain commodities from foreign countries which are essential to consumers in your own country, you must take measures to encourage the production of these commodities within your own boundaries. Thus subsidies were inevitable.

Beet Sugar Subsidy

The subsidy on English beet sugar is the outstanding example of the beginning of this ruinous policy. Ironically enough, the proposal to grant the subsidy was first made by the Labour Government in 1924. Mr. Philip Snowden, outlining the Government's plans for relieving unemployment, said in the House of Commons on 30th July 1930: "The Government have accepted the principle of Exchequer assistance for the Sugar Beet industry. An excise duty of 9/9*d* would be put upon beet sugar manufactured in this country and we propose that they should get a subsidy of 19/6*d* per cwt. We suggest that the rate of 19/6*d* should be subject to a falling scale. It might be reduced to 13/- in four years and again reduced to 6/6*d* after a further three years, and at the end of ten years might be removed altogether."

A General Election intervened in 1924. The Conservative Party, however, adopted the Labour proposals and gave the subsidy at exactly the same rates and for the same period as Mr. Snowden had outlined. The history behind this proposal has never been made public. Mr. Runciman, criticizing the scheme in the House of Commons, divulged the names of Dutch engineers who were responsible for imposing the whole scheme upon the British Government.

The direct cost of the subsidy, and the preferential rebate of duty on beet sugar which was allowed under the scheme, have cost the taxpayers of this country £40,000,000. This sum is, of course, far in excess of the value of the sugar product.

The price of imported raw sugar has fallen to about 5/- per cwt, not including the duty. But even in the last stage of the subsidy, when it was at its lowest rate, the subsidy amounted to an average of 7/3*d* per cwt and the effective duty preference was 3/6*d*—making a total of 10/9*d*, or twice the value of raw sugar.

Be it remembered that ostensibly this was a scheme to help British agriculture and increase employment. From this point of view the scheme has been entirely useless. The crop of sugar beet has not been in addition to but in place of other crops. The principal crops displaced by beet are the roots: mangolds, swedes, turnips, etc. which

have a greater yield per acre and give more regular employment than beet. Furthermore, the rate of agricultural wages in Norfolk, where about one-quarter of the entire beet crop is grown, is one of the lowest in the country.

As for employment in the factories, the Minister of Agriculture stated in the House of Commons, on 12th May 1932: "The average number of persons employed in beet sugar factories each year since the beginning of the subsidy period is about 7,130 of whom 5,360 have been employed during the manufacturing seasons and the remainder whole-time." The manufacturing season lasts only three months—and less than 1800 persons are employed outside of that period.

A SCANDAL

It would have been far cheaper for the British taxpayer, and more beneficial to world trade in general, if the Government had bought all the sugar from abroad and given it away and paid those engaged in the Beet Sugar industry full wages for doing nothing. The case has been put cogently by Sir Herbert Samuel speaking in the House of Commons on 19th March 1934, when he said: "The Government might pay all the workers who are now employed on farms in production of sugar beet £2 per week to stand idle. They might give all the workers employed in the factories £3 a week to stand idle. They might give all the farmers who grow the beet £3 an acre to grow something else. They might pay all the beet sugar companies their full dividends, not according to last year but according to one of their good years, to keep their factories inoperative. And then the Government might have enough money to buy an equivalent amount of sugar and distribute it to the populace for nothing --free—but charging only the amount of the customs duty. I am sure that every Member of the House will think that this is incredible, but I will give the exact figures.

"An answer was given in this House to the effect that the number of man-weeks each year in field work on the farms for growing this crop was 692,000 on the average during the period of the sugar subsidy. I suggest all these men should have been given £2 a week to do nothing and this would amount to £1,384,000. The factories employ 5,000 workers who should have £3 a week. This would amount to £180,000. They employ 2,000 people for the year and at £3 per week this would be about £300,000. I suggest that every farmer should get £3 an acre in order to grow wheat or something else. There are 366,000 acres so that that is just over £1,000,000. I suggest that dividends should be paid to the companies at the rate of their year 1930-31 when they were paid an average of 8·8 per cent if only they would not work their factories. That would amount to £411,000. The total of all these amounts is £3,275,000 and that would leave a saving of £3,000,000 upon the present State expenditure—which would be enough to buy the whole crop of sugar, worth £2,900,000, to distribute it to the population free, charging for it only customs duty. Over and above that we should have the advantage of £300,000 or £400,000 for our Shipping industry, which they would receive and would be very glad to have."

And to that damning indictment no answer was, or can be, given.

THE CONTINUED RAMP.

MAKE THE CONSUMERS PAY

The Beet Sugar subsidy came to an end in 1934. Everyone knew that this was an industry that could not be run economically nor could it be maintained without the aid of vast subsidies. The interested parties who had wrung fortunes out of the State were not likely to remain passive when their term of subsidy came to an end. All this year there has been a vigorous campaign promoted by the vested interests to force the hand of the Government to grant them monopoly powers in the field of production and distribution of sugar—so that they may be enabled to restrict the production of sugar with a view to increasing its price and thus throw a burden upon the consumers equivalent to that which heretofore they have been exacting from the Exchequer.

There has been set up what is called the Green Commission, whose duty it is to find ways and means of establishing the industry without a continuance of the subsidy. There have been other two Commissions set up to take evidence from interested parties--*i. e.* producers and distributors—and in each case the terms of reference of these commissions are so restricted that any attempt to widen the scope of enquiry so as to bring into relief the claims of sugar consumers is ruled out.

Before each of the Commissions the Co-operative Society has endeavoured to expose what that sugar ramp really means to the consumers. But in each case the presiding Chairman has under his terms of reference been obliged to rule out certain lines of enquiry. This public scandal of a furtive attempt on the part of vested interests to root themselves in a privileged position cannot be too widely known—and calls for immediate public action.

In tropical countries the production per acre of pure cane sugar is 5½ tons. This subsidized beet sugar process produces only 2½ tons per acre. The world sugar market at the moment is glutted and in the United States, India, and on the Continent, conferences are being held to devise schemes to restrict production—while we in England are boosting production to the extent of about £40,000,000!

£16,000,000 of this money has gone to companies controlled by Dutch investors. £9,000,000 has gone to companies dominated by Tate & Lyle. And about £6,800,000 has gone to the following companies: The Lincolnshire Sugar

Company Ltd., The Second Lincolnshire Sugar Company Ltd., The British Sugar Manufacturing Company Ltd. It is interesting to notice that much of the preference share capital of the Lincolnshire Sugar Company Ltd. is held by the McAlpin family, famous as public work contractors.

At Foley Park the West Midland Sugar Company Ltd. operates £180,000. Its Chairman is Lord Weir whose Anglo-Scottish Beet Company holds 94,098 shares. Other Directors of this firm include Lord Stonehaven and Lord Invernairn.

One last detail before we leave this sweet subject. It would be difficult to compute what the ground landlords have raked in in high rentals on their agricultural land where beet sugar has been grown and upon which the manna of the taxpayer's money has fallen so liberally. In Norfolk alone the annual rental from small holdings where beet is grown amounts to £66,500.

From what has been said above we, the voters, who can determine future government and policy, understand why at the moment a gigantic effort is being made by these gangsters to dig themselves into privileged positions.

The Wheat Quota

Mr. Baldwin, in a speech at Glasgow on December 12, 1930, referring to wheat, said: "I believe the quota is the best weapon for this country," and added, "We are busy now in our Research Department of the Unionist Party working out problems connected with it." But by 1932 Mr. Baldwin seems to have been a little startled at the operation of the quota. For on 23rd June of that year he said: "All the restrictions taken together will show the House what an appalling amount of grit there is in the whole machinery of the circulation of goods, and until that grit is removed, and the machinery is lubricated, little progress can be made··· Another form of restriction is the question of quotas. *The Quota is a very Dangerous Weapon.*"

We only grow 7 per cent of our wheat requirments in this country. Our land is more adaptable to other forms of agricultural produce than wheat growing. But in order to encourage more wheat growing as we encouraged beet sugar growing novel devices were resorted to. Actually, wheat quota has never been put into operation. The Wheat Act passed by the National Government provided for a guaranteed price (at 45 a quarter with the subsidy raised from a levy on all flour milled and paid eventually by the consumer), but left the millers free to use wheat in any quantity from any source that they wished.

The cost of the wheat subsidy for the first year was £4,510,000. This year it will reach the figure of £6,000,000, Ostensibly this is a levy paid by the millers, but we, the bread consumers, meet the capital charge of all in the price of the loaf. Landowners are intimating to farmers that they will expect regular rent payments in respect of their wheat lands, because of the guaranteed price established under the subsidy.

Quotas by Agreement

Agreements made with the various Dominions at Ottawa in August 1932 provided not only for numerous additional and increased tariffs, but also for the quantitative regulation of imports—notably Meat.

Australia and other Dominions undertook not to increase their exports of meat to the United Kingdom above the quantity sent in the year 1932 and the United Kingdom undertook to reduce the imports of foreign meat in accordance with a programme agreed to by the Dominions. This programme laid down a series of percentage reductions of foreign imports of meat for each quarter until the quarter ending June 1934.

The Ottawa Conference was aptly described as a thieves' kitchen, a place at which Dominion exporters would meet the affable J. H. Thomas and the simple Mr. Baldwin—and induce them to agree to certain marketing proposals which would divide the British markets between the Dominion interests to the utter exclusion of all foreign importers into Great Britain.

The economic reactions to the Ottawa agreements are creating a hornet's nest for the so-called statesmen who acquiesced in them.

Take but one example. Norway is required to take 70 per cent of her coal imports from us. It follows that she must restrict and limit her imports of coal from other countries. Thus the immense commercial influence of the United Kingdom was used to compel these smaller countries to extend the quota system and so further shackle and reduce the free movement of trade in Europe. But with the best will in the world the Scandinavian countries cannot suffer to have their imports to England restricted by the Ottawa Agreements and at the same time adhere to any quota arrangements imposed upon them by Britain. How to accommodate our own export trade to foreign countries and at the same time give a privileged market position in this country to the Dominions is the problem for the architects of the Ottawa agreements.

The Bacon Scheme

The same story could be told with regard to the Pigs and Bacon Scheme. Mr. A. S. Warren, Chairman of Warren Sons & Company, gave the following in a letter to the *Times.* He quoted the prices as stated in the *Official Weekly Diary Produce Notes* of the Empire Marketing Board. "It is," he said, "interestihg to note that this time last year, before any Government scheme was in operation, the price of English bacon pigs was 10/1 a score and the wholesale price of Danish bacon was 62/- per cwt. This year,

under the Government quota scheme, the price of English bacon pigs is 10/4 a score, but the price of Danish bacon has been forced up to 76/- a cwt. This difference in price is of course being paid by the public and all goes into the foreign producer's pocket. It will be seen that it has made no difference to the price of English pigs—so that it is an unnecessary waste of public money." (The *Times*, 7th August 1933).

THE MILK SCHEME

The scheme is even more complicated and extensive than the bacon scheme. Before a poll of the registered producers of milk had been taken, the Milk Marketing Board set up by the Government invited applications, on the 31st July 1933, for the following posts under the scheme :--

DESCRIPTION	SALARY
Manager	£5,000—£7,000
Accountant	£2,500—£3,000
Registrar and Statistician	£1,000—£1,250
Secretary	£2,000—£2,050
Marketing Officer	£2,000—£3,000

Mr. S. G. Foster has been appointed Manager at a salary of £5,000 a year.

Mr Eliot's delight at the manner in which the scheme was rushed throuh Parliament induced him to become almost poetic. For he said in the House of Commons on the 28th July 1930: "No one comes to me and says 'Hail Eliot' and I have no crosses to wear." This is Walter's little jest, but he added in complete seriousness: "The danger here is that for want of ballyhoo and some crosses the thing may not go through." In other words, he regretted that he could not carry it through on his own fiat. There was still a certain amount of free voting by the people in the industry!

The voting took place and the farmers fell for it. The nett result of it was that the nation suddenly became threatened by a huge surplus of milk production. And it seemed at one time as if what we lacked in rain we were going to make up for in milk. The cow in this process was incidental. The taxpayer was all important. No end of worry was caused the bureaucrats as to how to dispose of the flood.

Chocolate manufacturers and others were asked to take large gulps of this at 4*d* a gallon—ordinary consumers being charged twice that amount.

Despite the attempted strictures of the scheme a number of milk producers began to sell their milk at less than the standard price laid down by the Board. This led to a series of summonses and court actions so that many producers had to pay fines for selling milk to poor consumers at a cheaper rate than the standard rate. These people were subjected to the new name of "milk boot-leggers."

The nett pool price of milk in December 1933, after the cost of transport had been deducted averaged 1/0¼ per gallon. The price of liquid milk was 16*d* per gallon in all regions except the South-Eastern where it was 17*d*. The price for manufacturing milk was for cheese and butter 3¾ per gallon; for condensed milk and milk powder 6*d* per gallon; for chocolate 8*d* per gallon. Approximately 18 per cent of the milk sold under contract was used for manufacture.

Severe criticism of the scheme was made at the Exeter Branch of the National Farmers Union in December 1933. Mr Odgers, Chairman of the Exeter and District Dairy Farmers Association, declared that the Milk Scheme was nothing less than chaos and he said: "We were told that it was a producers' scheme. We were told that the whole object of the scheme was for the producer to receive a bigger share of the amount of money paid by the public. . . . The public pay more money but now we get less."

The West Riding National Farmers Union Branch on the 12th January 1934 unanimously adopted a strongly-worded resolution on this scheme. "So far the scheme in the Yorkshire areas has been more than a failure. It has been a disaster."

At the moment there are under contemplation similar schemes which will affect Eggs and Poultry and Fish.

SUMMARY

Reviewing the quota system and trade restrictions as a whole it will be seen that the following are among their commonest results:

(1) They raise prices and place a burden upon a majority of the community for the sole benefit of an interested minority.

(2) They involve heavy trading losses which are borne not by the individuals who make them but by committees or boards or the State—and fall eventually upon the general body of consumers and taxpayers.

(3) They are an attempt to create prosperity by creating scarcity.

(4) They involve widespread political control in industry and commerce to the advantage of private interests.

(5) Their policy is directed to safe-guarding the financial interests involved in production without regard to the economic difficulties involved in these schemes to the consumer.

The abolition of these trade restrictions necessarily involves the abolition of our so-called 'National' Government. Let us see to it that it is not long delayed.

FINANCE AND INSURANCE

Finance

Mr. S. C. Mitter's Recovery Plan

The economic rehabilitation of Bengal largely depends upon the improvement of the Jute trade. Any scheme or suggestion that is likely to help the growers of this important crop is, therefore, welcome, and we have one in the recently released excerpts from *Recovery Plan for Bengal* by Mr. S. C. Mitter, Deputy Director of Industries, Bengal. This advance publication is perhaps intended to be a feeler of public opinion. This is the only constructive plan before us and deserves best consideration, specially as it has been carefully prepared by one who can claim a pretty long official acquaintance with the intricacies of this particular problem and has deep sympathy for the poor cultivators.

"The problem for Jute", Mr. Mitter says, "is two-fold, *viz.*, (1) improving the production side and (2) improving the marketing organization." For the first he suggests (a) 'lowering the cost and producing better jute' and (b) 'regulation of the crop according to the world demand'. 'The price in the world's market and hence the cost of production must be kept low.' So Mr. Mitter suggests 'increasing the yield per acre' but he does not like the increase in the total out-turn. He is of opinion that only such an area as may produce sufficient quantity to meet the present world demand, may be reserved for jute, releasing the rest for other crops. But the question is: What is the total world demand? Mr. Mitter puts it at "90 lacs of bales per annum (50 lacs by Indian Mills and 40 lacs by foreign consumers)." But an agriculturist would not accept Mr. Mitter's figure. Mr. Mitter does not include the domestic consumption which at the modest figure is estimated to be no less than 5 lac bales. It is a known fact that Indian mills or rather European mills in India entered into a pact to restrict their manufacture with a view to having higher price. Again, the crop is denied the privilege of easy and free out-let from the land of its production, and there is already a cry in other lands for suitable substitutes. But that question need not be discussed here. Mr. Mitter does not want the 90 lac bales even. He says that "the normal aimed production should be at this figure" but in view of the fact that Indian (!) mills have large stock and "can thereby depress prices by remaining out of market for a considerable time", he is of opinion that "it will be better if in the next season the crop can be reduced by 30 lacs of bales". The total area under jute is estimated to be about 25 lac acres and Mr. Mitter would curtail the existing acreage by 5 lacs in Bengal and ·7 in Assam and Bihar and Orissa. But he is anxious that rayats may not suffer and suggests that "districts are to be selected, keeping in view the quality of jute grown there and possibility of substitute crops to be grown and acreage to be withdrawn therefrom is to be fixed. The rayats in these regions are to be told that if they do not sow jute, they will be given Rs. 15 per acre and also facilities will be given to them to grow substitute crops. The acreage in other districts should not be allowed to increase.' Rs. 15 per acre means less than two pies per lb; [Mr. Mitter puts 3·7 bales (1 bale=100 lb.) per acre in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions]. However small the subsidy may appear, it and the prospective price of substitute crop may appeal to the peasant who has hitherto turned a deaf ear to the counsel of the Congress as well as of the Government. Now, where is the fund for subsidy? Mr. Mitter does not ask the Bengal and Central Governments to pay a single cowrie from the jute export duty that they enjoy—it was Rs. 3,46,66,892 in 1933-34. He proposes two new taxes—Consumption tax and an additional Export tax—and suggests the modest sum of Re. 1 per bale. This is not robbing Paul to pay Peter—it is robbing Peter to pay himself. Mr. Mitter is no believer in the incidence of taxation and ignores the effect these new taxes may have on the price of jute. He is confident that his "restriction scheme will raise the price of jute to about Rs. 5/8 or Rs. 6 in Calcutta". Accepting that Mr. Mitter's hope is realized a cultivator may very well ask: Is Rs. 5/8 in Calcutta quite remunerative? If the price in Calcutta is Rs. 5-8 what harvest price may he expect in a distant village? The harvest price is, as shown in the Minority Report of the Jute Enquiry Committee, always less than Calcutta price by Rs. 50 per ton or nearly Rs. 2/- per maund. Rs. 5-8 minus Rs. 2 stands at Rs. 3-8 only. Thus we see that even at Mr. Mitter's own calculation, his Restriction scheme offers little relief to the jute growers.

Now, to improve the marketing side Mr. Mitter finds four problems to tackle, *viz*., (a) marketing of jute in Mofussil, (b) marketing in Calcutta, (c) marketing in foreign countries and (d) making new uses of jute. As for the first problem the remedies suggested are (i) fixing of standards and introduction of uniform weights throughout the province, (ii) establishment of self-supporting regulated market, (iii) establishment of licensed ware-houses and arrangement for credit facilities, and (iv) establishment of Co-operative Sale Societies. In the absence of any detail programme no discussion on these points is possible. As for marketing in Calcutta a distinction is made between loose jute and pucca

bales. In the former case Mr. Mitter suggests the reduction of freight rates, specially the steamer rates from Eastern Bengal, extension of insurance facilities to country boat transport and providing storing facilities in the Cossipore Mart. The high freight is a standing grievance but will reduction of freight to the advantage of jute growers be possible before railways and riverways are nationalized ? In case of pucca bales he demands the overhauling of the existing futures market. He suggests the establishment of "futures market with loose jute as basis". He also suggests the substitution of "Home Guarantee" system by "certifying the quality from this side", and would charge a certificate tax of 3 pies per bale. For marketing in foreign countries he advocates the appointment of "special Representatives in the principal foreign countries for propaganda for more extensive use of jute and for keeping India informed about the improvement in the techniques and new uses for the fibres." But Mr. Mitter in his scheme has made provision for only two—one in Hamburg or Antwarp and the other at Genoa—both in Europe. This aspect of the plan should get more attention from the sponsor of the scheme. A world market for jute must be aimed at, for external consumption would help the price and the influx of foreign money through that channel would go a long way in helping the recovery. The propaganda must be wide and intense and calculated to preserve our monopoly in the world. No room must be left for any substitute of jute to crop up anywhere in the world.

Mr. Mitter is willing to leave the problem of finding new uses of jute to his Department of Industries. Success here, we are sure, will help and expedite the recovery of jute more than anything else.

Mr. Mitter proposes the formation of "a Statutory Jute Board which shall be "under the Ministry of Agriculture and Industries, but must be entirely independent of other departments, with the ministry." He puts the cost of the Board per year as follows :

Chairman (Bengal)	at Rs.	2,000	per month	24,000
2 Bengal Members 1 Assam member 1 B & O Member	each at „	1,500	„	72,000
1 Secretary	„	750	„	9,000
Total salary of all appointments			„	82,800
Office Staff and miscellaneous				32,920
			Total	2,40,720

But where to find the money to meet the heavy expenditure ? Mr. Mitter's Consumption and Export taxes would bring in, for 90 lac bales, Rs. 90 lacs while subsidy at Rs. 15 for 5·7 lac acres amounts to only Rs. 85,50,000. Thus there is a big surplus of Rs. 4,50,000. Add to this Rs. 62,500—the Certificate tax at 3 pies per bale. Then the first surplus is Rs. 5,12.500 while the Board will cost Rs. 2,40,720 only—less than half. Mr. Mitter minimizes the cost of the Board by Rs. 36,000 by asking the Bihar-Orissa and Assam Governments to pay the salary of their members. Mr. Mitter has a soft corner in his heart for the Government of Bengal—he does not ask them to pay for the three Bengal members (including the Chairman, who, Mr. Mitter asserts, shall be a Bengal member). We do not know how these neighbouring governments will appreciate the preferential treatment, when their jute shall be subject to the same Certificate, Consumption and Export taxes to create this fund.

Even after meeting the cost of the Board there shall be a second surplus of Rs. 2,71,780 or even Rs. 3.07,780. Mr. Mitter proposes to utilize thisa mount to organize Co-operative Sale Societies. Sale Societies we have had—and may we ask, with what results ?

Mr. Mitter expects that "if nothing catastrophic happens in the mean time and there be no further development in the direction of aggressive economic nationalism, after a couple of years increase of the acreage may be possible," and then no subsidy need be paid. Co-operative Sale Societies, 'if run on proper lines', will require no further assistance. The Board will continue to function. The taxes must remain, though at a very reduced rate : even anna one per bale amounts to Rs. 5,60,000. This will allow the Board, after meeting its cost, "a large surplus to expand its activities."

Mr. Mitter's enthusiastic optimism is well reflected in his admirably drawn-up recovery plan. An acceptance of his scheme will, no doubt, confer benefit upon the jute growers but there must be some modifications to it before the scheme can be profitably applied.

BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

Insurance

AMERICAN INSURANCE IN 1933

America leads the world in insurance, and there is no reason to doubt that she will maintain the lead. This is so, because, to take up adequate insurance is regarded there as a moral obligation, and more than anything else such consciousness on the part of the individuals contributes to the development of insurance. So far as America is concerned one cannot fail to be impressed with the remarkable manner in which life insurance held its own during the years of depression. According to the Reports of the National Industrial Conference Board the depression cost the people of the United States in 1931, 1932 and 1933, $108,000 million, but life insurance companies met their obligations and preserved the integrity of their contracts with practically no assistance from outside. The assets of the companies which were $17,500 million in 1929 increased to $20,900 million in 1933. In addition to the loans granted during

the period of the stress the companies paid approximately $13,000 million to policyholders for death and matured claims, surrendered policies, dividends to policyholders and annuitants. The premium volume aggregated $3,321 million in 1933 and the New Assurance written, revived and increased, amounted to $14,729 million.

Canadian Companies at the end of 1933 had total admitted assets of $1,716 million with assigned and unassigned funds of $127 million. The premium volume was $279 million while the total income aggregated $371 million. Total disbursements amounted to $303 millions, while new insurance written amounted to more than $793 million.

These figures show what an important part insurance has come to play in the modern scheme of things, and its development even in the years of stress and strain is additional evidence of the confidence of the people in its capacity to fulfil its obligations and objectives.

Annuity Business Increases

In recent years the demand for annuities has continually been on the increase, particularly in Great Britain. This is, perhaps, because of the fact that people who so long invested in government papers or stock exchange securities are keen about ridding their investments of the market fluctuations by purchasing annuities instead which will guarantee good returns and make steady additions to their income. In 1932 the annuity business transacted in the United Kingdom amounted to nearly £16 millions consideration money while fifty years previously the amount was less than £600,000. During the year 1933, the total consideration money paid by residents in the United Kingdom for the purchasing of annuities amounted to £16,747,079, of which the share of the British offices, 54 in number, exceeded £13 millions; the balance being distributed among the three Canadian, two Australian and one South African companies and the Government Postal and National Debt offices. It would be interesting to note in this connection the decennial progress of the Annuity business in Great Britain. In 1913, the total consideration money was £3,092,996, in 1923, it was as low as £3,653,031; but in 1933, only ten years later, it was £15,518,016, exclusive of the Government's share of the business.

Hail Insurance in South Africa

The farmers in the Orange Free State, South Africa, have an excellent organization for insuring their crops against loss or damage through hail. The Scheme was started by a progressive and far-sighted person, himself a farmer, who conceived the idea of organizing the local farmers into a Society so that the pooling of their joint resources and efforts might help to compensate the loss to their crops through hails. Each member of the Society should pay a premium of 3 per cent of the value of the crops insured. If a member's crops are damaged by hail, two other members of the Society are chosen as assessors who visit the farm and estimate the extent of the damage. The crop the farmer eventually reaped was taken into account and the total benefits payable assessed. The Scheme proved so popular that the Society, which had at the end of the first year only 316 members, now enjoys the membership of 3000 farmers, and has paid away £32,000 as compensation. The Society has now extended the scope of its operation over a wider field and the success it has attained is a glowing example of what co-operotion could achieve.

Inequity of Income Taxes

The inequity of the method of assessing income tax on Life offices has once again come for hot discussion in view of the proposed amendment to the existing insurance legislation. In a recent pronouncement Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas asserted that "the levying of Income Tax on the total profits of a life insurance company is inequitable and involves a greater burden on life assurance companies in India than the basis of assessment of life insurance companies in Great Britain and elsewhere" Unfair and unreasonable as the present method is, still more inequitable is the fact that life assurance companies are called upon to bear super-tax, "which, in principle, should be a tax on the income of the individual only as has been recognized in Great Britain, but which principle is not, for reasons not so far clear, recognized by the taxing authorities in this country." It is a simple fact that a portion of the profits of the life offices which is distributed as bonus to policyholders, represents simply a return to the participating policyholders on the increased premiums they have paid in order to have the privilege of sharing in the profits of the Company. The assessment, therefore, on the total profits or actuarial surplus, is obviously unfair. In Great Britain, total Interest Income less Expenses forms the basis of assessment, and in computation of the profits such portion of the profits as belong to, or are allocated to, or reserved for, or expended on behalf of, policyholders and annuitants should be excluded. This is quite a fair and understandable basis, and we join with Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas when he seeks to impress upon the Government "the imperative necessity of their removing, within the least possible time, the burden on Indian Insurance companies of Income and Super tax assessed on the present basis, an amendment of which would encourage, instead of handicapping, the swifter progress of India towards larger investments in life insurance policies."

M. G.

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN ART

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, late Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, delivered a lecture on the Principles of Indian Art in the Indian Sculptures Room at the British Museum, London, on Friday, the 24th August, at 3 P. M. Among those present were, Dr. L. D. Barnet and John Allan, and Messrs. Wilkinson and Basil Gray of the British Museum, Mr. Campbell, Keeper of the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum, and Mr. Richter, Honorary Secretary of the India Society. In course of his lecture Mr. Chanda said :

He used the term Indian art in a restricted sense, to denote figure art, and, particularly, images of the Buddhas and the Jinas, and of gods and goddesses both Brahmanic and Buddhistic.

The history of Indian art, as distinguished from its pre-history in the Indus Valley, began from the third century B. C. Though many of the reliefs carved on the Buddist monuments of the Sunga period dating from the second and the first centuries B. C., were concerned with the narration of events that happened in the life of Gautama Buddha, the figure of the Buddha was conspicuous by its absence.

The carving of the figures of the Buddhas and of the Jinas began at Mathura about the beginning of the Christian era.

Beauty of Human Form

The continuous history of the image-maker's art in India, starting from about the beginning of the Christian era, ran an uninterrupted course for nearly 1,300 years in Northern India. Though the style and merit of the works produced in different epochs in different areas during this long period varied considerably, the guiding principles were the same all along. The first of these principles was bound up with the Hindu conception of the beauty of the human form. Hindus recognized auspicious signs as marks of physical beauty and moral excellence. Varaha-mihira writes :

प्रायो विकम्पासु भवति दोषा।
यत्राकृति म्नत्र गुणा व

"Generally speaking, vices will be found with the ugly, whereas the virtues reside in one who has handsome appearance."

Auspicious signs characterize prettiness, like the signs of the Mahapurusha.

This astrological conception of the beautiful prevented Indian artists from deriving fresh inspiration from nature, and tended to render their figure sculptures conventional.

Expression of Meditation

The other principle followed by the Indian image-makers was that the *face*, not only of the saints, the Buddhas and the Jinas, but in Northern India, also of most of the Brahmanic and Mahayana Buddhist gods and goddesses, should express absorption in dispassionate meditation. In the images of the Buddhas and the Jinas, the expression of meditation indicated the possession of supreme knowledge and in the Brahmanic gods and goddesses, it marked the divine essence omni-science. But the expression of meditation and concentration in the face did not hormonize with even the mildest of actions, such as the Buddha preaching to his disciples or taming a wild elephant, to say nothing of the activities of the gods and goddesses. It thus neutralized an important artistic feature, namely, the freedom of movement of the limbs.

Decorative Relief

The third guiding principle of Indian figure sculpture was the adherence to the tradition of decorative relief. Almost all Indian images, even cult images intended for installation in temples, were in relief. Ancient Indian temples were dark inside, and images in relief were intended mainly to decorate their outer walls. Sculptors engaged in carving such images could hardly be expected to keep in view the production of figures that would produce the impression of massiveness or of three dimensions. There were a considerable number of images in relief that produced such an impression, and appeared to be swelling outwards from within.

The lecture was followed by demonstration.



NOTES

State Expenditure on Education in the Provinces

In the article on facilities for higher education in India, published in this issue, it has been shown that the total expenditure on education from public funds in the whole of British India is smaller than the educational expenditure of the London County Council. It follows that the Government contribution to educational expenditure in any of the Provinces of British India is very much less than the London County Council's educational expenditure. What the Government spends on education in the Provinces is shown in the tabular statement printed below. The figures have been taken from the the report on *Progress of Education in India 1927-32*, by Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. The expenditure and the number of pupils in recognized institutions shown, is in all cases for the year 1931-32.

Province.	Population.	Pupils.	Govt. Expenditure.
Madras	46,740,107	2,877,501	2,55,71,715
Bombay	21,854,866	1,300,648	1,90,01,654
Bengal	50,114,002	2,720,061	1,44,50,039
U. P.	48,403,763	1,457,997	2,17,97,033
Punjab	23,580,852	1,200,600	1,64,92,681
Burma	14,667,146	525,013	94,26,839
B. & O.	37,677,859	1,038,634	55,67,823
C. P. & B.	15,507,723	450,494	47,62,227
Assam	8,622,251	348,306	28,82,606
N.-W. F.	2,425,076	83,918	18,64,011

The total amounts of fees paid by the pupils are:

Madras	97,41,940	Burma	40,50,873
Bombay	81,17,530	B. & O.	40,60,560
Bengal	1,80,02,579	C. P. & B.	17,54,857
U. P.	67,57,617	Assam	8,33,949
Punjab	72,15,027	N.-W. F.	2,62,119

An Asinine Affair—Is It True?

Roy's Weekly, Delhi, dated the 17th September, 1934, has published the following paragraphs:

There are penalties one has to pay for loving another. One such penalty was paid by the mighty Government of the Punjab at the altar of Muslim sentiment. It is not a fairy tale; it is the considered action of His Excellency the Governor-in-Council of the Punjab that is related.

Yes, has he not heard it? And then the aged Muslim shook his head. Things have come to such a pass that the British Raj, reputed to love and favour Muslims,—one *Lat Saheb* had actually called them his "favourite wife"—had deliberately named a donkey, working in the stud farm, as "Ahmad."

And this deliberate outrage to Muslim sentiment was passed from lip to lip. To call a donkey "Ahmad"! And that by the British Raj who—

And then came the inevitable martyr on the scene. A boy walked up with a dagger, swearing that he shall kill the man who christened the donkey "Ahmad."

Newspapers, of course, carried on the crusade, not against the Kashmir State or the Alwar State, but against the mighty British Raj in India.

Things were beginning to wear an ugly look, when the high officers hastily sat in conclave and deliberated.

II

A donkey shook the British Empire in India to its very foundations—that was the fact. Even, as in Ramayan, a washerman's words sent Maharani Sita to exile.

The Muslims had to be convinced that the donkey was not named "Ahmad" but "Ahmak," meaning a fool.

That would not do—it was adding insult to injury. The Muslims are not "Ahmak" enough to swallow this theory of "Ahmad" being mistaken for "Ahmak," They have ear-witnesses—people who had heard the outrage pronounced within their hearing—Oh Allah that it should come to this—of the donkey being called "Ahmad."

And so the Mighty Government of the Punjab set down and wrote the press communique that the donkey shall hereafter be called "Bahadur" and not "Ahmak."

And the press published it, and the might of the Muslims was acknowledged, and once again peace is reigning—and there is yet a chance of the White Paper not being opposed in this quarter.

Who laughs that on such foundations is British Raj in India reared in India! He does not know. This is the responsiveness to public opinion.

Every time "Bahadur" brays, it will do the Indian heart good, as proof of Government's responsiveness to public opinion.

It is lucky that the now far-famed Ass, if not fictitious, has been named simply

"Bahadur," not with the words D—, K—, R—, R—, or S—, prefixed to it. Else there might have been greater trouble or hubbub.

"Has Italy Prospered under Fascism ?"

Under the above caption *World Events* of June 15th, 1934, edited by Mr. Devere Allen, has published the following paragraphs :

We present herewith a number of important facts which any investigator of Fascism will have to take into account. They are compiled from several sources: "Current History" for June, 1934; press releases from the British Labor Party; the "Daily Herald," London; reports from the International Labor Organization, Geneva; the last annual report, summarized in "The New Statesman," London, from the Commercial Adviser at the British Embassy in Rome; "The New Republic," May 16, 1934; "The New Leader," London, March 23, 1934; and data gathered in Italy, in 1931, by the editor of WORLD EVENTS.

These figures cannot be dismissed merely by asserting that every country has suffered an economic decline: a fair examination will not detract appreciably from the evidences that Italy, contrary to the boasts of Fascist leaders, has experienced severe losses, and that her people have seen worse conditions than those of many non-Fascist lands.

Then follow the facts and figures.

Economic security has disappeared. The monthly average of bankruptcies in 1922, the last year of non-Fascist rule, was 321; in 1928, after six years of Fascism, it was 970; in 1932, after ten years of Fascism, it was 2.003—more than six times that of 1922. In 1932, there were more than five times as many bankruptcies in Italy as in Britain. The total of bankruptcies in 1921 was 1,896; in 1933, 21,308.

The number of unpaid promissory notes in 1922 was 306,703; by 1931 the number had grown to 1.663,716. In 1923 the number of passengers carried on Italian railroads was 100,145,000: in spite of the electrification of 720 miles of railways since 1925, the number of passengers by 1932 had dropped to 80,272,000, a fall of 20 per cent. Goods carried on railroads decreased, at a time when new funds were being spent on public works to raise business morale, from 44,540,000 tons in 1932 to 36,970,000 tons in 1933. In 1922, the forced sales of property for non-payment of taxes numbered 1.357: in 1931, the number was 8,190.

The following paragraph relates to budgets :

In the 1932-33 budget 600,000,000 lire were allowed for armaments; 1,600.000,000 lire less than in the budget for 1931-32 was allocated to public works. Taxation has increased 50 per cent. since Fascism came to power. Mussolini has made much of the manner in which he wiped out the budgetary deficits of the immediate post-war years, 1920-21 and 1921-22, which were, respectively, 17,400,000,000 and 15,700,000,000 lire; but under the impact of the new depression, deficits began to accumulate, and that for the year 1933-34 will be about 8,000,000,000 lire. The long-term debt has risen from 84,800,000,000 lire in 1928 to 92,700,000,000 lire at the end of February, 1934; the floating debt, amounting in 1928 to 1,618,000,000 lire, stood at 9,874,000,000 lire in February, 1934. The total public debt amounts to 98,029,000,000 lire, not far from a quarter of the entire private wealth of the country.

The figures given below indicate declining prosperity.

Crimes against property have increased from 256,395 in 1931 to 304,909 in 1932, the increase arising from petty thefts, mainly for food. Deaths among babies on account of immaturity and defects at birth rose from 2,933 in 1926 to 4,340 in 1931, an increase of 48 per cent. The consumption of sugar has fallen from 3,470,000 quintals in 1927 to 2,995,000 in 1932, thus giving an annual use of sugar per head of about 15 pounds as against 98 pounds in Great Britain. Use of table salt has fallen off from 295,000 tons in 1927 to 178,000 tons in 1932. Coal consumption in 1932 was 5,800.000 tons less than in 1929.

The concluding paragraph strengthens the same impression.

Salaries and wages have been reduced again and again, until today they stand at 35 to 50 per cent below the rates for 1921; the wages of 183.000 rice pickers, for example, were cut in 1931 by an arbitrary decree from 72 to 55 cents, American money, for a day. However, the index figure for the cost of living has fallen only 15.73 per cent since 1927, thus indicating a vastly decreased standard of living and purchasing power. Comparing Italy with Britain. Italian wages dropped 14 index points between 1928 and 1933, while British wages rose 15 points. Economic nationalism led to a wheat drive which increased the annual average produced from about 201,850,000 bushels to over 293.600,000 bushels in 1933; yet inability on the part of the impoverished masses to buy food caused national wheat consumption to drop from 293,600,000 bushels for the year ending July 31, 1929 to about 220.000,000 at present, leaving an unused surplus which the government has been trying to sell abroad.

World Events is an American leaflet issued on the first and fifteenth of each month from October to June. It is published by Nofrontier News Service, Wilton, Conn., U. S. A. The publishers call it "A Pocket Periodical for Students of International Affairs." If its October number reaches us, we shall be able to know whether Signor Mussolini or his followers have said anything to controvert the facts published in this American leaflet. Similar statements in relation to other countries under dictators should be published.

Literacy in Russia

The article on the Russian experiment published in this issue contains some facts relating to the progress of literacy in that

large state. Some later figures are available in a book called "The State of the Soviet Union," published this year by the International Publishers of New York. Some of these are quoted below from page 56 of that book:

In the sphere of the cultural development of the country in the period under review we have the following:

(a) The introduction throughout the U. S. S. R. of universal compulsory elementary education and an increase of literacy among the population from 67 per cent at the end of 1930 to 90 per cent at the end of 1933.

(b) An increase in the number attending schools of all grades from 14,358,000 in 1929 to 26,419,000 in 1933... .

(c) An increase in the number of children receiving pre-school education from 838,000 in 1929 to 5,917,000 in 1933.

(h) An increase in the circulation of newspapers from 12,500,000 in 1929 to 36,500,000 in 1933

Principal Das Gupta on Sanskrit Education

It was an important address which Principal Surendranath Das Gupta, Secretary, Bengal Sanskrit Association, delivered at the Convocation of that Association. In the course of the speech he contrasted the dreary prospects of the *pandits* (those who acquire Sanskrit learning in the *tols* or indigenous Sanskrit seminaries) with those of even ordinary graduates (he might have added 'even of ordinary undergraduates') of universities. Yet Sanskrit learning can be made the instrument of as liberal a culture as the study of Greek and Latin. Said Dr. Das Gupta:

But not all pandits trained in the indigenous methods can be expected to acquire high scholarship or to live up to the ancient ideals of life. It was never the case even in the golden days of the past. The ordinary graduate of the University is but a ghostly shadow of Western learning and Western spirit. But still he has all avenues open to him through all stages of our social and economical life. If he can prove his abilities he can occupy the highest station of life in society. But even the pandit of the highest scholarship has no avenues open to him and he has to bear his life more or less as a burden to the society living on the charity of others or at best occupying a lectureship in the Calcutta Sanskrit College. It is pitiable to imagine that thousands of our countrymen should have their destinies closed up for them for ever. We hear of the great encomiums paid regarding the study of Greek and Latin, of their great liberalizing influences. of their humanizing tendencies, but are they not true to the same extent, if not more, of the study of Sanskrit? Yet, while a classics man in Oxford can easily push his career forward up to the Prime Ministership, the pandits, even the most learned of them, live in a world which is walled up on all sides. It is said that Sanskrit is not modern and its teachings are often in conflict with those of modern science. But is Aristotle or Plato modern? Did not Aristotle think that the sun moves round the earth and was not Galelio put into a cage for contradicting Aristole? He who is modern today becomes ancient tomorrow. Even Newton has been largely displaced by Einstein, Heisenberg, and Schrodinger. The British people know how they can best utilize the liberalizing spirit of the ancient classics and supplement it with such modern studies in their own vernacular by which the freed spirit might work effectively under modern conditions. It is well worth thinking in what way we can do the same in regard to the study of Sanskrit.

Dr. Das Gupta has suggested how the usefulness of the *pandits* can be increased and their prospects bettered.

Taking into account the extreme poverty of the people of India it is difficult to imagine that even in some distant future Government would be able to provide for a sound good English education to all people (assuming that it was so desirable). We have in the tols a system of education which is in principle very sound as it involves a direct and personal contact between the teacher and the pupils all along their course of studies—a system in which the teacher and the taught are bound together by ties of affection which is the very sap which feeds and nourishes the sprout of the growing soul. If in addition to these, some arrangements can be made with the aid of high schools in villages (where one or two special teachers may be maintained for the purpose) by Government aid, for giving some instructions in modern subjects such as History, Geography, the four elementary rules in Arithmetic and just a little elementary knowledge in English composition these students will be fit for all the ordinary vocations in life, and the Government will achieve its end of giving a fairly liberal education at the minimum expense. Such students when they will grow into manhood, will be able to take their due part in society and if they have any special ability then they will be able to distinguish themselves in any career of life. If the doors are kept open those who have strength and vitality would come out in the light and take their rightful position.

Dr. Sir P. C. Ray is not the only Don who has a poor opinion of the University Hall-mark as such. Dr. Das Gupta says:

The University Hall-mark is an appendage to the mediocre and we have instances of people who have taken the Nobel Prize or have become the first citizen of Calcutta without any University degree. I beg most humbly to urge for the kind consideration of the Hon'ble Minister of Education who represents the Educational conscience of the country whether it is proper to keep a system of education the *alumni* of which should be practically cut out from the society should not have the throbbings of the social mind pulsating through their veins and who even after a study of 20-25 years should be left without any career to chalk out for themselves. When there is a great flood, great epidemic or an earthquake, the tol students hardly enlist themselves as volunteers. They live in the past within the Sutras of Panini, Vadarayana or Gautama. They have not

been so trained that they can feel themselves as one with their fellow-brethren. But that is not their fault. In thus isolating them we not only deprive them of the vitality, strength, enthusiasm and the current of life that flows through society, but we also deprive ourselves of the help of which we are in so much need. So long as they will remain thus cut out from society and will be requisitioned only for a marriage ceremony, *sradh* or a *svastayana*, they can never be encouraged into developing within them, the traditional virtues of Sanskritic culture, the old ideals of selflessness and beneficence with which the Orient once stood resplendent and the stabilising inward influence of which may still be sought for not only in India but also among the struggling nations of the West.

In the Government of Bengal's *Report on Public Instruction in Bengal* for the year 1932-33, page 86, we find that some *tols* are classed in General Table I as Primary Schools and some as Special Schools. So we thought more *tols* could be started as primary schools and aid could be applied for from the Government, District Boards and Municipalities. But it appears that the Calcutta Municipatity has distinguished primary education from *tol* education—on what grounds we do not know. Dr. Das Gupta writes:

> The Education Commission in their report, published in the "India Gazette" of the 23rd Octobber, 1884, by the Government of India, recommended in chapter 13, paragraph 675, that all indigenous schools established or conducted by natives of India by native methods should be recognized and encouraged, if they have any purpose of secular education whatsoever and in the Government resolution, dated the 23rd October, 1884, paragraph 8, in accordance with this part of the report, it was held that steps should be taken for the encouragement of the Sanskrit tols. It may incidentally be mentioned that the Corporation of Calcutta in their new interpretation of primary education has distinguished it from tol education which is against the findings of this Education Commission and the Government resolution based on it which regarded tols as seminaries of primary education also. In accordance with the Sastras the first teaching of a Brahmin lad should be through Sanskrit and Sanskrit must therefore have to be regarded as a medium of primary education whatever may be meant by it If the age restriction stands in the way that ought to be amended

If the Calcutta Corporation or any other body cannot help the *tols* as primary schools, they can and ought to help them as special schools. The *tols* must be preserved—not as relics of the past, as historical specimens, but as educational institutions which can still play an important part in the educational and cultural advancement of the country.

It may be noted in passing that Dr. Kumarappa has written an instructive article, dealing among other topics with the cultural value of Sanskrit for Indians, in *The Aryan Path* for September, extracts from which will be found in our Indian Periodicals section. For Bengalis the study of Sanskrit is essentially necessary, as the Bengali language depends largely on Sanskrit for the progressive enrichment of its vocabulary necessitated by the progress of knowledge in all directions.

"An Annual Income of At Least 5000 Dollars for Every Family"

We have received from America a request to become a subscriber to *Common Sense*, a monthly magazine which is described partly as follows:

> *Common Sense* is a militant monthly magazine which believes that the profit system has outlived its usefulness, that an economy of scarcity in an age of superabundance is a contradiction that demands an answer, that an annual income of at least $5,000 can and should be assured to every family (the present miserable average being about $1,200).

An American dollar is roughly equivalent to three rupees. We shall gladly subscribe for several copies of this American magazine, if it can tell us how every family *in India* can be assured the "miserable average" annual income of about Rs. 3600, or Rs. 300 per mensem. How standards of living differ in America and India!

Up-to-date-ness of Year-books

Many, if not all, Year-books claim to be up-to-date. For instance, *The Indian Year Book* of Bombay claims in effect in the preface to the current year's issue to have produced it with 'up-to-date statistics.' We hope all its statistics are up-to-date—we have not examined them yet. But the other day we happened casually to turn over the pages devoted in it to the Press. We found there the names of many newspapers which have long ceased to be published. *The Indian Mirror* stopped publication some decades ago, *The Hindu Patriot* died many years ago, *Liberty* ditto, the weekly *Englishman* no longer exists (the daily edition was discontinued some years ago), and so on. Among existing journals, *Prabasi, The Modern Review, Bharatvarsa, Tattwabodhini Patrika, Bichitra, Desh,* &c., are not mentioned. As

regards the "Who's who in India" section, dead men find a place there and their addresses when living are given—perhaps because their present addresses are unknown and unknowable. Many well-known men, who are very much alive, too, are not mentioned—perhaps because one object of this section is to drag into light various persons whose light is hidden under a bushel and to make them as famous as the really famous men whom the section could not manage to ignore.

The Statesman's Year-book for 1934 says that "every section has been thoroughly revised so as to bring the information and the figures completely up-to-date." But the latest year for which statistics relating to municipalities and district and local boards in in India are given is 1930-31. The latest year for which statistics relating to Indian newspapers and periodicals are given is the same. For Bengal the educational statistics given are for the year 1926-27, which is up-to-date-ness with a vengeance! Finance statistics of Bengal are slightly more modern, being for 1927-28. These are followed by a paragraph devoted to Production and Industry in Bengal, in which statistics for 1926 and 1926-27 are given! Figures about literacy have been given for Bihar and Orissa, but not for Assam, Bengal, Bombay, Burma, C. P. and Berar, Madras, Panjab, and U. P. This Year-book states what portion of the educational expenditure was contributed by the Government in Bombay, Madras, Panjab, and U. P.; but no such information is given as regards Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma, and Central Provinces and Berar. But enough.

Sir Henry Lawrence on India

Sir Henry Lawrence is a conservative, and was Commissioner of Sind and Acting Governor of Bombay. He is the grandson of the eldest of the three renowned Lawrences of the Panjab, George, Henry and John. Mr. Edward Thompson, fiction-writer, poet and historian, has contributed to the *Observer* an article on Sir Henry's speech to the Indian Parliamentary Committee of the Conservative Party at the House of Commons, which has been reproduced in *The Indo-Malayan Review*. In his speech, according to Mr. Edward Thompson,

> Sir Henry took up the Nationalist's allegation that the material progress India has made under British rule "would have been made under any other tutelage of India, by any other European nation, or by Japan ...that it would have been carried out by any Indian ruler under the influence of the spirit of economic progress which has marked the development of all parts of the world throughout the nineteenth century."
>
> He gets to grips with the controversy at once, saying, "in this clash of opinion I hold that the truth lies far more with your Indian critics than with your spokesmen in Parliament."

Proceeding, Mr. Thompson writes:

> Then he brings out the way the whole Indian controversy is overrun with cant. Take, for example, a difficulty of which we hear so much, the corruption of Indian public men. He asks "those who proclaim their disbelief in the ability, the integrity, and the courage of Indian politicians to examine the state of affairs which we see before our eyes in the different countries of Europe....And if we turn our eyes to the United States of America is the case different?"
>
> A moment's reflection on what is matter of notorious knowledge—or else the papers of the whole world are lying all the time!—should make us hesitate before seriously affirming that Indian public virtue is so exceptionally low that self-government is out of the question!

This is *some* admission.

We are told in the *Observer* article that Sir Henry Lawrence "is not one of those who use the 'helpless riot' as a reason for obstruction; but he feels deeply for him, and he wants him to be helped.

> He presses for two main changes in the White paper. The first relates to the proposed divisions of India. The present plan is all towards the increase of Provinces. He, however, protests against "the Balkanization of India," and would have the ten existing great Provinces reduced, by the absorption of such "superfluous" provinces as the Central Provinces, whose disappearance would bring about "the reunion of the Mahratta people under Bombay ...a political asset of the greatest value to the stability of the country. It has been denied in the past, on grounds now obsolete."
>
> Here at any rate, I am sure he is urging that we do now what the future will achieve in any case. The Mahrattas are a great people, whom our historians have treated scurvily, causing a prejudice which is still hiding their immense importance. Sir Henry's reduction of the number of provinces is based largely on the fact that Indian Government has grown increasingly top-heavy; the country cannot bear the burden of so many States as are proposed.

We are not in the least opposed to "the reunion of the Mahratta people" or to that of any other people. But we are not aware why Sir Henry has not advocated the re-union of

the Bengali people under the administrative province of Bengal. The Bengalis do not claim to be a great people. But just as the splitting up of the Mahratta people has added to the cost of administration, so has that of the Bengali people. Moreover, those who know and believe that a, if not the, main cause of terrorism in Bengal is political, also know that that political cause was directly and indirectly connected with the partition, and re-partition of Bengal and the Bengalis. The aetiology of terrorism should not be mistaken for a justification of terrorism. It is not justifiable. What we mean is that, if political discontent produced a favourable atmosphere for terrorism, political contentment should destroy that atmosphere, and, therefore, everything should be done to produce political contentment.

We are for the reduction of the present number of provinces—certainly not for their increase, except in the case of Orissa.

The second safeguard for the Indian masses suggested by Sir Henry Lawrence is

> to give them an immensely wider franchise than any authority now proposes, wielded through methods of indirect election. He argues that the 700,000 villages of India
>
> "are full of decent, hard-working men and women, who compare favourably in character and intelligence with the villagers of any country in the world. Illiteracy is no proof of the absence of experience or wisdom, just as the converse proposition is not necessarily true."
>
> The widening of the franchise, as now proposed, is to be "based on a property qualification at a time when in this country we have discarded that qualification." He goes into details of what he holds to be a better scheme.

Turkish Overseas Trade Department

A correspondent writes to us from Ankara, generally written Angora, that a new official body, connected with the Ministry of National Economy has been recently established in Ankara under the name of "Turkofois" or Turkish Overseas Trade Department. He adds:

"This department, whose most important task is the furtherance of the commercial relations between Turkey and the other countries, already possesses branch offices over here and intends to establish others, later on, in this country as well as abroad, to serve as a link of connection between Turkish and foreign firms, supplying both with any required economic and commercial information.

"Desirous of giving interested parties the opportunity of keeping constantly informed on the conjuncture in this country and abroad, the Turkofois has opened reading halls in Ankara as well as in its branch offices, which it wishes to provide, especially, with extensive foreign literature, such as commercial and economic periodicals, statistics, trade directories and Year Books."

Czechoslovak India Society

Professor Lesney, the Indologist, who is president of the India Society at Prague, there called Praha, the capital of Czechoslovakia, writes to us: "We shall do our best to cultivate and promote cultural and economic relations between India and Czechoslovakia. The reading of your periodicals, *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* will also greatly serve the purpose." Dr. Lesney knows Bengali and has translated some of Rabindranath Tagore's works into Czech. We were present at Prague when he welcomed the Poet there in a Bengali speech.

Another correspondent writes to us from Prague that "Professor Lesney is greatly helpful in advancing the cause of India here in all ways possible. The India Society is doing good work in an unostentatious way. Work of loud noisy nature not rarely has no deep basis and often causes reaction from various sides that hinder and harass constructive activities . . . It is valuable to have the co-operation of persons whose interest is based on deeper contacts and estimates. And in this we have good openings here . . . Professor Lesney informs me that the Society has already 100 regular members. There are schemes to extend opportunities for Indian students here. There is also a plan to open a special Overseas Department at the Czech Technical University especially for Indians, Chinese and Persians, where courses will be held in English, German, and French. By this arrangement Indian students will lose no time and can at the same time learn Czech. It is valuable that they should learn more foreign languages."

China and Olympic Games

Olympic Games-News Service of Berlin writes:

The Kuo Min News-Agency announces from Nanking that the Physical Education Committee of the Ministry of Education of the Central Government has decided that China shall take part in the Olympic Games at Berlin in 1936. The National Amateur Athletic Federation has been entrusted with the task of making the necessary preparations. China's first appearance in the modern Olympic Games was in 1932 at Los Angeles, where the sprinter Cheg Chun Liu represented his 400 million fellow-countrymen. Undoubtedly Berlin will be able to welcome a larger Chinese representation in 1936. When the Japanese first competed in the Olympic Games at Stockholm in 1912, they had only two representatives—a sprinter and a Marathon runner and failed then to achieve success; but twenty years later, at Los Angeles, they were one of the half dozen most successful nations. Conditions amongst the Chinese and Japanese are too varied to permit the drawing of any sensational conclusions as to China's future in the Olympic Games.

Physical Training and Games in China

From the same German news-service we learn:

Physical training in China has a history which dates back before the Christian era, and around the year 1000 A. D. the Chinese were already playing a form of golf, football and polo, of which pictures still exist. Their own form of boxing and gymnastics have lasted throughout the centuries until today, even if the western world knows as little of them as it does of China's learning and of her ancient cultural possessions. It is clear that an attempt is being made to link up with these old traditions, for in accordance with a further recent decision of the physical Education Committee the school authorities in Peiping, Tsingtao, Hankow, Nanking, Shanghai. Canton and other cities are to be asked to introduce experimental training courses in Chinese boxing.

As regards modern times, it is stated:

Sports and games of a western character began to make their way in China about the commencement of the present century. In recent years several modernly trained gymnastic and athletic instructors, graduates of the German College of Physical Education, have been attached to Chinese schools and universities. No form of European and American sport is any longer unknown in China. Football is especially popular. and China's most important successes in it have been gained against Japan and the Philippines in connection with the biennial Far Eastern Games, as in these contests at Manila in the spring of this year. If a football tournament is held in connection with the Olympic Games at Berlin, it will be very interesting to compare the Chinese method of play with that of the other nations. Even though the organization of physical training amongst the masses of China's population still has many obstacles to overcome, yet the decision to participate in the Olympic Games combined with the other activities of the Chinese Committee—the question of the organization of gymnastics in the schools as well as the problem of constructing play grounds are being especially attacked—clearly show the strides which national fitness through physical training is making in China.

Much otherwise unavailable information relating to the Far Eastern Games Association, referred to above, will be found in Professor Dhirendra Nath Roy's article on that topic, printed in our present issue.

Withdrawal of American Control from Haiti

August 15 last was set as the date for the embarkation of the last United States marines to leave Haiti after having the situation more or less in hand for nineteen years. Most probably the transfer of authority and the evacuation were completed on that date. *The Christian Century*, said to be the foremost religious journal of America, writes:

It was a benevolent blunder to assume authority and place American troops in the island under the treaty of 1915. The benevolence of the policy has been doubted, especially when it was charged that American bankers had forced loans upon the Haitian government to their own profit. However, the debt of Haiti has been greatly reduced during the period and its credit much improved. Certain practical advantages have followed from the occupation of the island and the administration of its finances under the treaty of 1915, but at the cost of much resentment and suspicion. The date of the withdrawal of American control was advanced by two years under a treaty negotiated by the Hoover administration in 1932. This is one Hoover policy which was heartily approved and promptly carried out under his successor. The experience will not have been wasted if it has taught us the folly of military occupation of a small neighbouring country as a means of grace. Nothing in our occupation of Haiti became us like the leaving of it.

As it is not usual for imperialists to voluntarily withdraw even from an inch of ground once occupied, this withdrawal of America from Haiti is a notable event. The future withdrawal of U. S. A. from the Philippines, when it takes place, will be a still more remarkable and welcome event.

"The World Tomorrow" Suspends Publication

The World Tomorrow, an American periodical which waged a brave battle for its ideals for 17 years, has ceased to appear and has become united with the *Christian Century*. And this in spite of the fact that it had a subscription list of nearly ten thousand names.

In India ten thousand paying subscribers would be a fortune to most newspapers and periodicals.

"Expanding Universe"

Science Service of Washington, U. S. A., is an institution for the popularization of science, organized in 1921, with trustees nominated by the National Academy of Sciences, the National Research Council, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the E. W. Scripts estate and the journalistic profession. In its Mail Report, dated July 6, 1934, it gives the following scientific news, under the caption, "Light changing into Electricity may have started Expanding Universe":

> The primordial act which started the expanding universe on its supposed soap-bubble expansion may have been the changing of light into electricity. This is the report of Prof. A. C. Banerji of the University of Allahabad to the British Science journal, *Nature*.
>
> The basis for his belief is the known fact that a unit of light radiation—the photon—may break up into two particles of electricity—a positron and an electron having opposite electrical charge—if it is strong enough.
>
> The universe began to expand; its parts began to move away from one another, when the gravitational attraction between the parts became less. In a world composed of matter and radiation the attractive force is the joint result of the two. But mass for mass radiation exerts more gravitational pull than does matter.
>
> According to Prof. A. C. Banerji's theory if radiation is converted into the particles of electricity the result will be less attraction by gravity. Hence the universe would begin expanding and continue to do so as long as light turns into positive and negative electrons.
>
> The Indian physicist believes that the end of the universe as predicated by Sir James Jeans, due to all the matter in it dissolving away into radiation, may not happen because the reverse effect—the materialization of radiation is possible.

We have seen Professor Banerji's article in *Nature*. As it is too technical for the general reader, no part of it is reproduced here.

A Call to Scholars, Scientists, and Educators

A letter was sent more than a month ago to a number of scholars, scientists, and educators inviting them to a conference against the fascization of learning, to have been held at London during September, 1934. It bore the signatures of Sir Basil Blackett, Harold J. Laski, J. B. S. Haldane, Hyman Levy, Julian Huxley, Baron Ernest Rutherford, Albert Langier, Paul Langevin, Paul Rivet, Jean Perrin, Lucien Levy-Bruhl, Marcel Prenant, Henri Wallon, and Joseph Hecht. In spite of its length it is printed below, because of its importance. We do not yet know whether the proposed Conference was held, nor, if held, what were its proceedings.

> Sir: with increasing concern we have observed that, as a result of the political development in many countries, the freedom of science has been threatened or entirely destroyed. We have seen how scientific investigations have been suppressed, or their results falsified, in order to make them serviceable to the dominant political doctrine. We have seen, for instance in Germany, how doctrines unsubstantiated by science or entirely discredited by it have been elevated to the rank of scientific knowledge through pressure from the state, if these doctrines appeared useful for political aims.
>
> We have verified the fact that in various countries science is subordinated almost entirely to the need of war industry and to the propagation of a chauvinistic ideology. From the last war we have learned the devastating effect of a war period on scientific research, and we are convinced that at present the very threat of a war danger hampers free scientific investigation and reduces it to the function of slave to war industry.
>
> We know that in fascist countries many highly respected scholars have been driven from the scene of their activity or have voluntarily quitted their homes, because they refused to sacrifice their learning to the violent demands of the totalitarian state.
>
> In many countries we behold the organization and growth of political powers making such unlimited claims that beside them there would be no place for intellectual independence. Especially the events in Germany have evoked our most profound concern for the perpetuation of the freedom of science.
>
> In that country the exact sciences have been openly degraded to jobbing for war industries. During the education of young physicists and chemists much time is devoted to lectures and practical exercises in "defensive science": gas protection, air protection, study of explosives, war intelligence service, which have no relation to the scientific significance of this field. Moreover, only such investigations are favoured as are likely to bring about a direct technical advance, and are therefore grateful to the state's interests in "economic and technical predominance throughout the world."
>
> [National socialism is not unscientific, but only hostile to theories.—*Dr. Rust, Reichsminister for Science, Education and Popular Instruction, in a speech at the Physical and Technical Reichsanstalt, June 27, 1934.*]
>
> All branches of physics which cannot be made to serve political and economic imperialism are therefore hampered and restricted. Studies which have contributed essentially to the broadening of our concept of the physical universe are thrust aside openly as vain and fruitless intellectualism.
>
> In biology and medicine there rules the same principle of brutal subordination to political aims. Verified scientific knowledge concerning heredity and race is cast aside. In its place appear new doctrines, unverified by honest research, but maintained to support a political doctrine and designed for the annihilation of hundreds of thousands of

human existences. In order to propagate and establish these new doctrines (ethnology, hereditary pathology, the question of sterilization, marital legislation), "chairs of instruction" were founded and "textbooks" were written; but the scientific preparation of the instructors and authors consisted merely in willingness to recognize the wishes of the authoritarian state and to clothe them in pseudo-scientific dress.

In practical medicine, the most exalted task of the physician—to place his knowledge and ability at the disposal of his patient, regardless who it might be—is now limited. In accordance with the National Socialist belief that it is senseless to help the weak at the expense of the biologically strong, social hygiene is now shorn of all justification. Quacks are placed side by side with experienced physicians in many fields, and colleges are forced to establish chairs of "nature-healing." The gates are open to superstition and deceit.

The eternal principles of human rights have been banished from the halls of philosophical instruction. The works of the greatest philosophers have been handed over to small spirits who, under political direction, sift them through and promulgate them anew in falsified form.

[From now on, philosophy and science must be reoriented in the spirit of the S.A. and the S.S.—*Dr. Rust, at the Congress of Philosophers in Halle.*]

Historical research is completely obedient to the current political demands. This is not only true of questions of recent times. Regardless of historical truth, prehistorical and ancient times are so presented as to support the thesis of superiority of the nation concerned, and the inferiority of all others. Under the protection of the political power, sources are frequently falsified and their acceptance assured by the suppression of all scientific investigation or criticism. Very often a purposeful mysticism is substituted for an awkward historical truth.

The suppression of free research and the violation of truth are most clearly revealed in the new jurisprudence. Justice is sacrificed to martial law. Punishment and execution now serve revenge and the annihilation of political opponents. Where no law declared a deed punishable, it is made retroactively possible to destroy the doer. The new jurisprudence, which is designed to give a theoretical basis for the cruel and arbitrary practice, is founded on legal concepts of the Middle Ages, long since outmoded.

Teaching and studying are enslaved along with pure science. The colleges suffer from an intellectual terror exercised by one part of the students. Students are forced to join military organizations. Upon the completion of examinations, the scientific achievements of the students are, according to official order, given comparatively small consideration in the application for state positions involving scientific work. Successful military drill and political reliability are the determining factors.

Through misuse of and contempt for free research there is imminent danger that the whole structure of scientific knowledge will be destroyed and from the fragments a new series of enslaved pseudo-scientists will be erected, which will be harmful for the progress of mankind.

Because of this condition of affairs we believe that the moment has come to summon all scholars and scientists of all countries and to lay it upon them as a duty to look beyond the limits of their specialities and to recognize the common danger. Let them join with us in the maintenance and protection of free science, as one of the most essential elements of international culture and peaceful co-operation.

Though the writers of this letter have named only Germany and made specific allegations with reference to that country, yet it is not Germany alone which is guilty. And they are, therefore, justified in trying to rouse all scholars and scientists and educators of all countries. Journalists and other publicists and public men all over the world should also take note.

Cinema Morals

The World Tomorrow tells its readers that in America a vigorous campaign is being carried on against indecent and immoral films shown in Cinemas. These pictures do harm both to the 'stars' producing them and to the spectators as well. For this reason Hollywood morals have become a byword.

The Commonweal of America writes :

"In the opinion of *Harrison's Reports,*" says the July 14 issue of that paper, "the movement against indecent pictures is the most constructive that has ever been undertaken."

That the movement is far-reaching there can be no doubt. Lay societies are all agog over the matter, and it is said that 5,000,000 Catholic signatures to the pledge of the Legion of Decency may be expected before long; and this huge figure does not take into account the millions of non-Catholic signatures that will be obtained.

That the crusade has affected Hollywood is also obvious. While it may hardly be said that the producers are frantic over the matter, certainly they are not altogether unperturbed. Pictures have been withdrawn from circulation, others have been withheld, and still others have been laundered.

We have heard that in India also, many undesirable motion-pictures are exhibited, though, not being among Cinema-goers, we cannot say anything from personal knowledge. In different provinces of India there are Companies which have taken to producing motion pictures as an industry. We do not know whether the morals of the actors and actresses engaged by these producers are comparable with those of Hollywood 'stars.' The whole subject is worthy of serious investigation both by Government and the leaders of the people.

One reason why there should be such an

investigation is that it is necessary to ascertain how far films relating to robberies, murders and allied crimes indirectly incite youth to criminal deeds. It may be that many youthful terrorists had their first indirect lessons in desperate deeds in Cinema houses.

The Littleness and the Greatness of Man

Dr. H. E. Barnes, speaking before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has observed :

> ' The growth of modern science has brought about a comparable transformation of our attitude toward humanity...Man tends to shrink in terms of the new cosmic outlook. Far from being the lord of all creation, existing from the beginning of things, he now appears to be but a temporary chemical episode on a most tiny planet "

Perhaps it is views like these of the material smallness of man and the material immensity of the universe which led Dr. J. T. Sunderland to write his ennobling article on the littleness and the greatness of man, published in this issue.

Dr. Barnes speaks of man as "but a temporary chemical episode on a most tiny planet." But in the light of all that science has been able to discover about the cosmos Professor Haldane of Oxford has said, "personality is the great central fact of the Universe." It is man's personality which makes him value the ideals of truth, justice, honour, mercy, love. What scientist has ever measured them in his laboratory ?

> "The fact that man has been able to reach out a hundred million light years into space, to measure, weigh and chart the orbits of the myriad worlds that course through the vast reaches of interstellar space, should be sufficient evidence that man cannot be adequately described in terms of neurons, blood vessels, lungs and bones, or in any merely quantitative terms. The chasm which separates the two outermost rims of the universe is not half so broad nor half so deep as the gulf which yawns between the physical and the mental, between the material and the spiritual."
>
> "Imagine a member of the school of thought to whom all values are measured in terms of physical quantities, seeking to appraise the worth of such personalities as Plato, Michelangelo, Dante, Francis of Assisi, Newton or Einstein, by analyzing the chemical constituents of his body. He will find, as Dr. A. L. Sachar has ingeniously figured out: _
>
> 'enough fat to make eight bars of soap, enough iron for four or five ladies' hair pins, enough sugar to fill an average size sugar bin, and enough salt for a few salt cellars There will be enough potassium to fire off a little toy cannon, and enough magnesium to whitewash four and a half square inches on your back yard fence. These and other elements, taken together would bring about .73 dollars.' "When reduced to these plain terms, is there anyone who does not see the ludicrousness and the mockery of trying to weigh the human personality on the scales of material values?" (*The Common Weal.*)

Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes

The twenty-fifth annual report of the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes, Bengal and Assam, namely, that for 1933-34, has been published. This society, meant for boys and girls of all creeds and castes, has been doing such important work in a quiet way for the last quarter of a century that its report deserves an article. But we can spare sufficient space only for summarizing some facts about its activities.

I. No. of Schools 144 including 118 Girls' Schools
II. No. of students on the rolls
Boys 12,978 (1,814 Muhammadans)
Girls 5,291 (375 Do.)
Total—18,269
III. 77 Scholarships (Boys 52 and Girls 25) of the aggregate value of Rs. 148 12 a month were awarded during the year.
IV. Prizes were awarded to 7 Schools during the year
V. There were under its control
(1) Five Public Libraries.
(2) One Boy-scout and one Cub-troops
(3) Arrangement for delivering lantern lectures inculcating ideas of Sanitary responsibility
(4) Four Seva Samitis.
VI. The amount spent in grants-in-aid was Rs. 59,515-0-7, but the amount spent in Establishment and other charges stood at Rs. 6.851-13-8½, representing only 11.2 per cent of the total expenditure of Rs. 67.011-13 8½.

The following table gives an idea of the progress of the society's work :

Year	No of Schools	Number of pupils Boys	Girls	Total
1909	2	*	*	
1910	3		*	
1911	6		*	
1912	13		*	
1913	13		*	
1914	30		*	
1915	50			
1916	62	1,916	263	2,179
1917	104	3,347	459	3,806
1918-19	231	6,667	1,453	8,120
1919-20	329	8,435	2,760	11,195
1920-21	397	9,981	3,468	13,449
1921-22	393	10,251	3,773	14,024
1922-23	404	10,925	4,064	14,989
1923-24	362	10,763	3,398	14,161
1924-25	406	12,612	3,777	16,389
1925-26	408	12,598	3,676	16,274
1926-27	407	13,105	3,565	16,670

Year	No of Schools	Boys	Number of pupils Girls	Total
1927-28	418	13,543	3,935	17,478
1928-29	424	12,907	4,711	17,618
1929-30	439	13,349	4,308	17,657
1930-31	439	13,187	4,607	17,794
1931-32	441	13,106	4,703	17,809
1932-33	444	11,813	5,260	17,073
1933-34	414	12,978	5,291	18,269

The Society's continually increasing work requires continuous increase of income. All contributions, large or small, will be thankfully received by the honorary secretary, Dr. P. K. Acharji, M. A., M. B., at 10, Karbala Tank Lane, Calcutta.

Worldwide Economic Depression and Unemployment

Vol. X, No. 12 of Foreign Policy Reports, for August 15, 1934, published by the Foreign Policy Association of America, treats of the "Paradoxes of World Recovery." Perhaps there is "World Recovery," or rather "World-*minus*-India Recovery." But we in India—particularly in Bengal—do not perceive it, though the particular number of the Reports under consideration observes that "for the world as a whole, the ebb tide of the economic depression appears to have occurred in the early summer of 1932. Since that date most countries have experienced a certain degree of recovery despite continuing maladjustments and frequent set-backs."

The section devoted to gains in industrial activity contains a table of indices of industrial production. India is not in it. India is not in the table of pig iron production. In the section treating of changes in commodity prices, tre statement of index of wholesale prices in certain countries, India is not included. India is not mentioned in the section relating to Government Finance. The section and the tabular statement regarding world unemployment make no mention of this country. For this omission the Foreign Policy Association is not to blame. For Government here neither compiles nor publishes statistics relating to unemployment. It must be admitted that it is a rather difficult job;—it is perhaps easier to count our employed than our unemployed, just as it is easier to count India's literates than her illiterates.

The only table in which statistics for India are given is the following, under the section International Trade:

WORLD TRADE BY COUNTRIES
MERCHANDISE ONLY
(in millions of U. S. [old] gold dollars)

	1929	*1932*	*1933*	*Per cent of decline from 1932 to 1933*
Argentina	1,727	545	511	—6
Belgium*	1,872	863	803	—7
Canada	2,524	886	710	-20
France	4,247	1,916	1,811	-5
Germany	6,415	2,471	2,151	—13
India	2,074	706	646	—9
Italy	1,941	771	705	-9
Japan	1,969	783	746	-5
Netherlands	1,906	865	780	—10
United Kingdom	8956	3,561	3,286	—8
United States	9,496	2,907	2,392	—18
Total for world	68,641	26,611	24,182	-9

It should be borne in mind that India's International Trade, both import and export, is almost entirely in the hands of non-Indians and carried on by non-Indian shipping. It is also to be noted that India's trade in 1933 was less than one-third of what it was in 1929.

Though the "Conclusion" begins by telling us that "little doubt can remain regarding the existence of a world economic upswing of significant proportions" (which we in India do not perceive), it ends by saying:

> "Real wages and standards of living for the working class appear to have fallen almost universally. Agriculture has also suffered a serious loss in purchasing power. It is evident that until consumption can be raised in line with production, there can be no basis for permanent recovery, and that such revival as has occurred will not affect the vast majority of the world's population."

Fascism in England

Mr. H. N. Brailsford writes in *The New Republic*:

> Englishmen used to smile in a superior way when a foreigner asked whether fascism would ever come to their peculiar island. Even when Sir Oswald Mosley actually created his party of Blackshirts, they answered that this phenomenon illustrated only their tolerance of eccentricity. There would be fascists, they conceded, as there are communists in England, but neither the one nor the other would ever leave a mark on the serene pages of her history. And they went on to moralize, preening their feathers as they talked, "We are too proud to imitate foreign ways. Our sense of humour"—by which they meant their love of the commonplace—"finds colored shirts and uplifted arms not a little ridiculous. We are introverts with no taste for drama. We are averse to all extremes of opinion. We detest violence. We are nurtured in a democratic tradition, so ancient

* Including Luxemburg.

and so firmly rooted in our habits that it is unthinkable that we should ever depart from it."

This complacency has received a severe shock in recent months and weeks. Fascism is growing; it has attained prominence in the news. This party has now its 17,000 active, paying members, which is about half what the Independent Labor party possessed at the height of its influence. A large proportion of them are young men, chiefly of the middle class, who perform quasi-military exercises and drill. They have some armored cars, and with five or six airplanes as a nucleus they are forming an air force. They are exceedingly active in conducting an incessant campaign of public meetings, both in halls and in the open air, all over the country. Their leader, Sir Oswald Mosley, is, in a country that breeds few speakers of the first rank, a powerful and popular orator. They seem to command unlimited supplies of money and until recently had the help of Lord Rothermere, with his Daily Mail and the long chain of newspapers, both provincial and metropolitan, that do his bidding.

Is There a "Red" China ?

In our last number we published an article on "China's Red Army." A Chinese gentleman, a professor, who is now in our midst, and possesses first-hand information, has contradicted many or most of the statements contained in that article. The contradiction is published elsewhere.

We do not want any Bolshevism in India. But living in the year 1934 A. C., we must know, as far as practicable, what is happening in foreign countries. *The New Republic* (August 22, 1934) gives us some information relating to "Red" China in the course of a review of a book entitled *The Chinese Soviets*, by Victor A. Yakhontoff. Mr. T. A. Bisson is the reviewer. He was for four years a teacher of English in China and Co-editor of *The China Outlook*, and is a specialist on Far Eastern Affairs on the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association. He writes as follows in part:

> The rise of a Chinese Communist state, larger in area and population than any European power, has been attended virtually by a conspiracy of silence in the Western world. Now within only a few months —in Agnes Smedley's "Chinese Destinies" and in the book under review—the Soviet movement in China has found two historians.
>
> Communism in China has undergone two distinct phases of development. The revolutionary debacle of 1927—magnificently treated by Andre Malraux in "Man's Fate"—marked the end of the first phase. In consequence, Borodin and the other Russian advisers left China; Chiang Kai-shek set up the counter-revolutionary government at Nanking; and Communism was largely driven underground. Following the abortive Canton Commune (December 11-14, 1927), a remnant of some 4,000 Communist troops, led by Chu Te and Mao Tse-tung, withdrew into the inaccessible regions of southwestern Fukien. From this time dates the formation of the Chinese Soviets, marking a new phase of Communist development, one exclusively under Chinese leadership and relying solely on meager native resources. A period of steady growth was signalized to the outside world in 1930 by the capture of Changsha, from which the Communist forces were ejected only by foreign gunboats. On November 7, 1931, the provisional government of the Soviet Republic of China was established at Juichin in southern Kiangsi, with Mao Tse-tung as President. Since 1930 Chiang Kai-shek has thrown half a dozen major attacks against this government, utilizing at times several hundred thousand troops in a single campaign. From each attack the Chinese Soviet regime has emerged strengthened by deserting Kuomintang troops and by captured ammunition, rifles, machine guns and even airplanes. Today it boasts a regular army of 350,000 men, unexcelled in China for discipline and morale, while the administration of the various Soviet areas is solidly based on a Communist party membership of 400,000.

There is much else worth quoting in Mr. Bisson's review. We content ourselves with extracting only another sentence, which is rather startling.

> General Yakhontoff's concluding statement that, were foreign help withdrawn, "most, if not all, of China would 'turn communist,' probably within a very short time" is so near to sober truth that only a miracle could effect such withdrawal.

The Anti-terrorist Conference

We are in full sympathy with the object of the recent Anti-terrorist Conference in Calcutta, though in every detail we may not be able to see eye to eye with the promoters of the anti-terrorist movement. Mr. P. N. Tagore, who delivered the opening speech at the conference, observed correctly that assassination "has never in history, in any part of the world, been known to have brought about political advancement or regeneration to a nation struggling for it." He proceeded to observe :

> True, the actions, motives, policies and decisions of the Government are sometimes misconstrued. For that the entire blame cannot, to my mind, be laid at the door of the people. Government themselves are as much responsible for it as the people who are alleged to misconstrue them, and thus provide materials for those who have brought about a situation which calls for the holding of this Conference. Government should be well-advised to take the people into their confidence, at any rate the leaders of thought and opinion in the country, who deplore and condemn these incidents of terrorism as much as anybody else.

In the "Programme to Check Terrorism,"

too, adopted at the Conference, it has been said that the terrorist movement in Bengal "has drawn its sustenance in the past, as it is doing at present, mainly from misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Government policy and action." The difference between Mr. P. N. Tagore's utterance and the view expressed in the "Programme" is that in the latter there is no mention of Government's share of the responsibility for such misunderstanding when and where it exists or happens. In one paragraph of his speech Mr. P. N. Tagore has said:

> The relation between the teacher and the taught ought to be improved and lifted from the mechanical platform to the holy and sacred status of personal contact and relationship.

Such relationship certainly depends on the possession by the teachers of an enlightened and noble personality. Perhaps in the ranks of our present-day teachers, men with such personality, though unknown to fame, are not wanting. But even such men cannot do all that is necessary to inspire their pupils with right ideals of patriotism. Our teachers feel obliged either to refrain from speaking to their pupils on patriotism and citizenship or to inculcate a kind of politics which does not include the whole duty of man Mr. P. N. Tagore asks:

> And will you believe it that the "Rights and Duties of Citizens" are taught in America and in other European countries with as much care as any other subject having a commercial or literary value?

There is another question, which he does not ask, namely, whether "our teachers and professors" are in a position to teach their pupils the "Rights and Duties of Citizens" as they are taught in America and in European countries which are in a normal condition, *e. g.*, Great Britain, Norway, etc.

Mr. P. N. Tagore says:

> There is a general belief that terrorism is the outcome of unemployment. It is difficult to believe that it is wholly the result of unemployment, for our experience shows that most of those who have hitherto been guilty of it are not those who had been affected by the problem of unemployment. They are differently situated. But undoubtedly in the solution of the difficult problem of unemployment lies the partial, if not the entire, solution of the terrorist problem.

We agree. Mr. Tagore is also right in observing that we Bengalis are here in our province on sufferance. By giving details he has proved his case. But whether Government can or will remedy the state of things described by him is more than we can say.

Considered as a piece of ideal advice, the following is commendable:

> Gentlemen, as a humble citizen of the Empire, I will expect my countrymen to boldly lay their grievances before the Government on whom rests the responsibility, if they are true to themselves, to boldly deal with them, not to shield or shelve, but expose and punish.

Those who are not Bengali or non-Bengali Indian editors working in Bengal should set an example in this kind of very needful courage for us journalists to follow. We speak of journalists in particular, as we are supposed to voice the grievances of the people.

> And it will further be conceded that if terrorism is found and judged to have a political outlook, the satisfaction of the hopes and aspirations of the people would undoubtedly be an effective antidote.

He is entirely right. Only, we would point out that where he uses "if," the "Programme" adopted at the Conference uses positive and unequivocal language. Its very first sentence runs, "The Terrorist movement in Bengal is political in origin."

The foregoing sentence from Mr. Tagore's speech is followed by the subjoined passage:

> I am glad to think that our Government realises this, and we learn from no less a person than His Excellency Lord Willingdon himself who told us the other day that His Majesty's Government was doing everything possible to speed up the constitutional reforms so as to satisfy our legitimate hopes and aspirations as citizens of the Empire. Delay in such circumstances worsens the situation no less than an illiberal spirit. In case of India, perhaps, both are equally responsible.

We would emphasize the last sentence. As regards the so-called "constitutional reforms," almost fully outlined in the White Paper, Mr. Tagore knows that non-sectarian representative bodies like the Indian National Congress, the National Liberal Federation of India, etc., have declared that these cannot in the least satisfy the hopes and aspirations of the people of India. Hence the speeding up of such "reforms" is not a matter of any importance.

We join in Mr. P. N. Tagore's concluding appeal:

> Finally, I would appeal to my own countrymen who are responsible for such atrocities as have been perpetrated in the past to consider the miseries

brought on the people of the country, great many of them their own kith and kin, by their wicked deeds The misdirected activities of these young men, some of whom, I believe, under proper guidance would prove to be valuable members of society and fine specimens of manly character, have been responsible for untold troubles and tribulations patiently suffered by their innocent and beloved fathers and mothers, and dear brothers and sisters. Gentlemen, that is not all; there is yet another aspect from which the result of their conduct must be judged. It is the economic loss to the province which is so dear to us all. Imagine the amount of nation-building work which could be pursued by our own Ministers if the moneys, unprecedented in their magnitude, spent for the maintenance of law and order, were released tomorrow as no longer of any necessity This is a vital consideration, and I cannot impress it too strongly upon them

There is no doubt that large sums of money have been spent for years for combating terrorism. Whether, when these sums would no longer require to be spent for that purpose, they would be devoted to nation-building work or not, we want the eradication of terrorism. We want it even if the sums, when released, are not spent for the promotion of education, public health, irrigation, waterways, agriculture, industries, trade, etc. What we must remind the Bengali public of, is that, even when there was no terrorism to fight in Bengal, nation-building work was not financed to the extent that it was in other provinces. That may be a matter to settle between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal. But a fact is a fact.

Mr J. N. Basu's Speech

Mr. Tagore's speech was followed by the presidential speech of Mr. J. N. Basu. In noticing Mr. Tagore's speech we have said much that we had to say, and, therefore, it would not be necessary to comment in detail on Mr. Basu's speech.

Mr. Basu is a seasoned politician and has personal knowledge of the days when terrorism appeared in the Deccan and when, later, it appeared in Bengal. His historical retrospect is accurate. Said he:

For a little over twenty-five years, terrorism has manifested itself in different shapes.

There have been long intervals, when terrorism lay dormant lulling the public into the belief that it had completely disappeared. But the continued reappearance of terrorism in an unexpected manner and in unexpected quarters has shaken the sense of security that the people have felt.

As regards criticism of the past, his opinion is:

Criticism of what has up to the present been done is not likely to be of help. What is wanted is not criticism but action inspired by the solemn nature of our duty in the present circumstances.

We, too, are against criticism for the sake of mere criticism at this juncture. But if criticism is necessary for the purpose of preventing the harmful mistakes made in the past, and for adopting right methods and taking right action, there should and must be such criticism.

Mr. Basu proceeded to observe:

The dangerous character of terrorism as it prevails here is due to a great extent to its being of political character. Love of home and country is inherent in the human mind almost everywhere. Love of freedom stands on the same basis The recruiters attempt to pervert these natural impulses. They do not point out what the facts are. They fail to show that a peaceful and well-ordered society is the best basis of progressive development and that strivings towards advancement can best succeed in an atmosphere of peace and order. Measures and acts of the State are misrepresented and distorted, instead of the spirit of frank and open criticism the spirit of brooding over a supposed wrong is sought to be developed The acts of particular members of the State services are held up in such a light as to give rise to hatred. Those that the recruiters work upon are deluded into the belief that there is a short cut to an ideal order of things. Neither the recruiters nor those they influence know what their ideal in fact is likely to be. All they know is that they are aiming at a negation of the existing order of things, but they do not care to give any thought to what will replace the existing order. Instead of the prolonged and steady endeavour in every sphere required to attain progress for our people, whether residing in villages or towns, criminal acts of a spasmodic and impulsive character are held out as real endeavours for national progress. The young are not taught the truth that, as in individual life so in national life, there is no short cut to progress but that progress implies long, steady work in spheres of constructive activities, and in the patient removal of difficulties and obstructions. It is not emphasized that the knowledge and strength that is invaluable for progress will last the test of time The short cut that is taught is a crime of the most abominable character, the crime of secret murder Such a path is reprehensible for the attainment of the best of ideals. In the case of terrorists the path leads to nowhere

The whole passage quoted above is conceived in a statesmanlike spirit fit for normal times. We would offer a few comments only on those sentences which bear some resemblance to the following passage in the "Programme":

"It (the Terrorist movement) has drawn its sustenance in the past, as it is doing at present, mainly from misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Government policy and actions. The most urgent need of the hour is organization of systematic publicity and propaganda on a wide scale to remove this unhealthy atmosphere and to establish a healthy contact between the Government and the people."

There is another passage, which occurs in the "Programme", which should be read along with the passages reproduced above. It runs thus :

> *The Press*—Although there is a very marked and healthy change in the attitude of the press in dealing with problems connected with terrorism and the Congress papers no less than other organs of national opinion in Bengal are united in their condemnation of terrorist ideas and methods, the situation demands still greater efforts on the part of the Press as of the general public. It is necessary to impress on the Press that they should judge Government policy and measures in a spirit of fair play and give them adequate publicity, criticize Government when necessary but uphold them against all subversive influences. The consequence of irresponsible writings in the past has been to create a mentality among the credulous public that Government are responsible for all ills that people are suffering from. Apart from the assistance such writings have rendered to the terrorist organizers by causing disaffection and hatred against Government, they have in no small measure undermined the self-reliance of the people themselves and impeded their progress. This mentality must be destroyed. For that the whole-hearted co-operation of the Press is essential.

We do not know what sort of misrepresentation or perversion of facts terrorists or their recruiters indulge in, for we have never come into contact with such persons. So, we must confine our comments to what has been said about the Press, by which perhaps the promoters of the anti-terrorist conference mean the indigenous Press.

The promoters may not have meant it, but there is an air of superiority and patronage in the paragraph devoted to the Press. A great English statesman once observed that he did not know how to indict a whole nation. The promoters evidently know how to indict the entire Indian indigenous Press. There are many substantial men among the promoters, able to conduct an English and a Bengali daily paper even at a loss. We would urge them to run model papers for the edification of journalists in Bengal.

Regarding "misrepresentation of Government policy," it would have been helpful if the promoters had given some actual instances of such misrepresentation. For a pretty long period some of the topics most discussed in the Press have been the White Paper, the Communal Decision and the Government policy underlying them. We do not know whether in the opinion of the promoters Government policy was misrepresented in these discussions.

We do not in the least advocate or justify misrepresentation of Government Policy ; we are against such misrepresentation. But we would ask all concerned to reflect why there is no terrorism in many countries, *e.g.*, Britain, though there is no lack of misrepresentation of Government policy there.

"Programme to Check Terrorism"

We support what has been said in the passage quoted below, provided it is understood that by "responsible government" is meant such a form of government as is enjoyed by the Dominions in the British Empire.

> The Terrorist movement had also been helped in no small measure by the unsympathetic and in some cases positively improper conduct of individual Government officers in dealing with the people of the country. It is of utmost importance that Government should not hesitate, as they have done in more instances than one in the past, to take adequate steps against their officers when found guilty of improper action. Further, we consider it important to observe that early establishment of responsible Government in the country is one of the surest ways of nullifying the Terrorist movement. Government should do nothing which might shake the confidence of the people in their good faith or create an impression in the public mind that any particular section or sections is or are receiving differential treatment to the detriment of other sections. To treat this province differentially under the forthcoming constitution, as is being urged in some reactionary quarters, will be playing into the hands of the terrorist organizers.

The "Programme" states in detail on what lines publicity and propaganda work may be taken up, showing that the promoters have devoted much thought and time to the subject. "Lecturers enjoying the confidence both of the Government and the youth of the country", the employment of whom for purposes of propaganda has been suggested in the Programme, would be an invaluable acquisition indeed. But it would not be easy to find them. "A more contented teaching staff is essential." Among other things adequate salaries would have to be paid to them to make them contented. It has not been pointed out where the money is to be found to pay such salaries.

We do not believe in the efficacy of moral and religious education in schools unless the teachers and the guardians of the children lead moral and religious lives and set an example.

"The ideals of true citizenship" should certainly be placed before our youth. But precept and example should go together.

The supervision of the conduct of the boys by their respective parents and guardians is quite natural and proper. It should, however, be borne in mind that in various ages and countries some youth, and sometimes even some boys, have not been able to obey their parents, not because the former were vicious, but because the parents were not what they ought to have been and had failed to march with the times. The situation with which we are faced reminds one of the ancient Egyptian manuscript, now preserved in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople and supposed to date from the second millennium before Christ, which reads:

> "Evil days have come upon us. A spirit of unrest is at hand. Children no longer obey their parents. Everybody wants to write a book. The end of the world is manifestly approaching."

And yet the world has gone on for more than three thousand years after the above foreboding was expressed! And then, there is the more modern instance of the German professor's wife who deplored the lack of interest in her husband's teaching. "Why," said she, "twenty-five years ago students thronged my husband's classroom, but now no one goes to hear him. And the thing that I can't understand about it is that his lectures are exactly the same to-day, word for word and comma for comma, as they were when he started teaching!" Pathetic.

The suggested formation of Central District Committees and Village Committees for the supervision of and the reporting on the conduct of boys, if it is to bear good fruit, should be done with very great care. In the section devoted to "the organization necessary," "District Committees, Town Committees and Union Committees, consisting mainly, if not wholly, of non-officials" has been suggested. Are the two sets of committees to be the same or different? If officials are to be admitted, it should be borne in mind that the rules relating to the conduct of Government servants require them to report to Government everything of a politically suspicious nature. We are not here criticizing those rules or the C. I. D. or other Government servants. They do the duties they are paid to perform, and are certainly useful functionaries so long and so far as they confine themselves to their proper task. The function of the proposed Committees, as we understand it, is to be different, namely, to educate, to admonish, to warn, and to reform—*not* to punish or get punished according to the laws as they are at present. Therefore, care ought to be taken that there is not the least suspicion of espionage, or of the "free and frank exchange of views between the boys and members of the Committee," suggested in the Programme, leading indirectly to trouble for the former. Else the whole object of the Committees will be frustrated.

We do not know that "the mushroom libraries all over the province are full of subversive literature and form a most dangerous source of infection." It may be so. But as libraries are open public institutions, how can they be full of subversive literature without the knowledge of the police?

The section devoted to the Economic Aspect deserves the serious attention of the Government and the people. All the seven proposals made by the promoters ought to be carried out.

Some General Observations on Terrorism

What has been said in the section entitled, "necessity of co-operation between Government and the people", will require to be elaborated.

We have not the least desire to minimize the seriousness of the problem of terrorism. But it would not be of any use to take an alarmist view, or, confining our attention only to Bengal, to ignore the fact that terrorism is not an isolated phenomenon but prevails in many countries of the world. It is connected with men's war mentality in various countries—their belief in physical force as a sort of final arbiter. That mentality has to be changed and an effective moral substitute for war found and applied. That is a world problem, which can be directly tackled, so far as Governments are concerned, by the Powers of the world—not by subordinate Governments like the Government of India, and far less by Indian Provincial Governments. Therefore, we do not expect India's Central and Provincial Governments to tackle this root cause of terrorism, nor blame them for

not tackling it. This can be done by the promotion of real pacifism by the Powers of the world and the intellectual and spiritual leaders of mankind. Pacifism does not mean that the use of physical force is to be absolutely abjured. No Government can do that within its territories. When men agree to live in a civilized country, they are understood to agree that the physical force to be used for the prevention of wrong doing is to be used only by the State or under the direction and laws of the State. But it is also understood in all really civilized countries that the physical force to be used by Government in their respective countries is to be used strictly according to law. This ideal should be borne in mind in all countries.

Love of daring is natural to youth in all countries. If it does not find legitimate scope, it may lead youth astray into careers of crime. Therefore, it behoves all Governments to leave open, if not also to create, careers in which courage may be exercised and developed by the youth of the Country in legitimate ways.

Communal Decision and Congress Split

The split in Congress ranks over the Communal decision is to be deeply deplored. If any section of Congressmen had believed that the Communal Decision was good and necessary in the interests of India and had, therefore, parted company with those who believe it to be anti-national, anti-democratic and injurious to the interests of the Indian nation as a whole, then in that case, too, the division in Congress ranks would have been regrettable. But what adds to the painfulness of the present situation is that, though all Congressmen believe the Communal Decision to be anti-national, anti-democratic and injurious to India, yet for the sake of expediency a section of them will not agitate against it, or vote against it, if returned to the Legislative Assembly as members. The Congress Working Committee's attitude of neutrality towards the Communal Decision was evidently due to its hope that that would make Muslims friendly to the Congress and lead many of them to join it and also lead Muslim voters to cast their votes in favour of Muslim candidates who were Congressmen.

Principle should never be sacrificed to expediency. But supposing the sacrifice of principle for the sake of expediency were justifiable, it must be shown that expediency has produced or is expected to produce the desired result. In the present case, however, the generality of Muslims have not changed their attitude to the Congress. As for voting for Congress-Muslim Candidates, Muslim voters have been asked by the two biggest and oldest Muslim organizations, *viz.*, the Muslim League and the Muslim Conference, that they should vote only for those Muslim candidates who accept and would support the White Paper including the Communal Decision.

We have said above that principle should never be sacrificed. This maxim should in particular be strictly followed by those who have declared that *satyāgraha* is their rule of life. *Satyāgraha* is a Sanskrit compound word. *Satya* means truth, and *āgraha* means 'strong attachment', 'persistence', 'insisting', according to Apte's *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Therefore, Satyāgrahis should prove their strong attachment to truth by persisting in and insisting upon truth in and outside the Council Chambers.

In spite of a party's failure to achieve its object, it can command the respect even of those who do not belong to it, if it adheres to truth and principle and bears witness to the truth under all circumstances. But non-persistence in and non-insistence upon its convictions cannot command respect.

It was said at Wardha that there would be a fight to the finish between the two Congress parties and the result would show which was right. But rightness and wrongness cannot be determined in that way. The voice of the majority of voters is not necessarily the voice of Truth and Right. Even if the candidates of the Congress Parliamentary Board succeed in capturing all the elective 'general' seats, that would not in the least show that the attitude of neither accepting nor rejecting was right.

Party Candidates for the Assembly

For the welfare of India it is necessary that the Communal Decision should be condemned

by as large a number of Indians and others within and outside the council chambers as possible. For this reason, it is essentially necessary that all those candidates, irrespective of race, creed and caste, who would openly condemn it, should be elected. It is also necessary that the party or parties who are opposed to the Communal Decision should have in the country as large a following as possible. It would be a crying shame if even appearances seemed to show that Indians for the most part had accepted the Communal Decision, which is not a fact.

The Congress Nationalist Party's ticket has been published and is well-known. All who accept its opinions and principles can become its members irrespective of their race, creed or caste. Hindus, like others, can become its members.

The Hindu Mahasabha has issued a statement. It could have been the manifesto of any other truly Nationalist party, whether Hindu or not. It insists upon the condemnation and rejection of the Communal Decision. But so does the Congress Nationalist Party. Therefore, the difference between the Mahasabha party and the Congress Nationalist Party is only this that Hindus alone can be the members of the former, whereas both Hindus and non-Hindus can be members of the latter. But as the latter does not exclude Hindus from membership, there is no absolute necessity for the Hindu Mahasabha and the Provincial Hindu Sabhas to set up separate candidates of their own parties. Multiplication of candidates of parties holding the same political opinion only decreases the chances of election of those candidates and increases those of their opponents.

Gandhiji's Intention to Amend Congress Constitution

The formation of the Congress Nationalist Party is not the only sign that there is division in Congress ranks. There is also the Congress Socialist Party to reckon with. Most serious of all is the fact that Mahatma Gandhi has been really thinking of retiring from the Congress and will decide exactly what to do, after testing the feeling of the Congress at the next session on all the points on which he has touched in the course of a statement issued to the Associated Press. The reason why he has been thinking of retiring from the Congress is that he has got the impression that—

> A very large body of the Congress intelligentsia were tired of my method and the views and the programme based upon them that I was a hindrance rather than a help to the natural growth of the Congress, that instead of remaining the most democratic and representative institution in the country, the Congress had degenerated into an organization dominated by my one personality and that in it there was no free play of reason.
>
> If I am to test the truth or otherwise of my impression, naturally I must put before the public the reasons on which my impression is based and my own proposals based thereon. Congressmen might vote on them and thus clearly register their opinion.

His reasons have appeared in the dailies.

The amendments he proposes to the constitution are four in number. He has mentioned them and given the reasons why he wants such alterations. The amendments proposed are given below:

> The first amendment I would propose is to replace the words "legitimate and peaceful" by "truthful and non-violent." [This refers to the means and method of attainment of the goal of *Purna Swaraj*.]
>
> The second amendment would be to replace the four-anna franchise by the delivery by every member to a Congress depot of 2,000 rounds (one round equal to four feet) per month of well twisted even yarn of not less than 15 counts spun by himself or herself on a spinning wheel or takli.
>
> The third amendment I should propose would be that no one shall be entitled to vote at any Congress election whose name has not been on the Congress register continuously for six months without default and who has not been a habitual wearer wholly of khaddar for that period.
>
> I would have an amendment reducing the number of delegates to not more than 1,000, nor more than one delegate per every thousand voters.

Had we belonged to the Congress party it would not have been difficult for us to accept the first and fourth amendments. The second we could not have accepted. The third we could have accepted, were it declared that Khaddar meant hand-spun and handloom-woven cotton, silk and woollen goods. It is not for reasons of luxury or show but for those of health that one may have sometimes to use silken and woollen goods.

Empire Won & Kept by the Sword

In the course of the debate on the Indian Army Bill which has since been passed, the Commander-in-Chief of India is reported to have said that the British people have won their Empire by the sword and have kept it

by the sword. The British Empire covers an extensive portion of the earth. But the majority of its inhabitants live in India, and when Britishers have to refer to or speak of the large countries of Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc., they say that these latter parts of the earth are included in the *British Commonwealth of Nations*, refraining from using the expression British Empire. Moreover, the Commander-in-Chief was speaking in India mainly to Indians. Therefore, by the British Empire he must have meant India above all.

Now, if he reads Indian history, even such Indian history as has been written by British authors, he will find that it was not by the sword alone that India was won. And whenever and wherever the winning was by the sword, it was mostly the sword of India. It is no pleasure for an Indian to mention this fact—it has to be mentioned only for the sake of historical accuracy.

As regards keeping the Empire by the sword, the Commander-in-Chief may be reminded of the implications of what he has said and of what many Viceroys and other British statesmen have said before him.

If the people of a country are loyal, there can be no need to use the sword to keep them in subjection. If it be true that that country has to be kept by the sword, that would imply the existence of a rebellious spirit.

On the other hand, many Viceroys and other British statesmen have told the world that the teeming millions of India are thoroughly loyal. If so, it is not by the sword that the Indian Empire is kept.

Either these personages or the Commander-in-Chief can be held to be right, not both the parties.

Sir C. C. Ghose

Sir C. C. Ghose, who was in his 61st year at the time of his sudden and quite unexpected death, retired in January this year from the Calcutta High Court Bench. He was a distinguished judge and had officiated as Chief Justice four times. After his retirement he was invited in February this year by the Governor of Bengal to accept the office of a Member of his Executive Council upon the death of the late Sir Provas Chunder Mitter. Sir Charu Chunder was already in a poor state of health at the time. So the exacting duties of his new office told upon his health and he resigned. He was a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court in good "junior practice" when he proceeded to England to study law. His career as a student of law was brilliant. As a barrister at law he had a lucrative practice before being appointed a puisne judge.

Before that appointment he was prominently connected with the public life of Bengal. He and the present writer were fellow delegates to the Madras session of the Congress in 1898 over which the late Mr. A. M. Bose presided. When he and Lady Ghose went to Berlin, the writer met them there. He was noted for his genial and charming disposition. He was connected with many educational and philanthropic institutions and was twice President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was expected that, after being restored to health, he would re-enter public life as a member of the Liberal Party. But that was not to be.

Kumar Manmathanath Mitter

The late Kumar Manmathanath Mitter was 68 years of age at the time of his death. He was a wealthy landholder and was sheriff of Calcutta for one term. But he was a people's man, and it is said that there was no oppression in his zamindary. When he took part in any movement for the public good, it has been observed that no one who did not know him good guess that he was a member of the aristocracy. After the Bengal Partition he took part, with devotion, in the movement for the production of Swadeshi goods. The National Fund was established for that purpose. He was one of its secretaries and treasurers, and not only contributed to it but begged barefooted from door to door to collect money for it. At the Sangit Samaj building in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, he gave freely of his time and energy to establish a school for teaching hand-spinning. The plot of land in Balaram Ghose Street on which the Calcutta Orphanage stands was his gift. He gave liberal donations also to the Deaf and Dumb School, Blind School and other philanthropic institutions. Owing to the benevolence of him and his brother Kumar Narendranath many poor men received free meals and free treatment and medicine, when ill, at the Kumars' ancestral house in Jhamapukur Lane. Arrangements for such charities have been placed on a permanent footing, and Kumar

Manmathanath's nephew Kumar Hiranya Kumar Mitter has effected improvements in these arrangements. Kumar Manmathanath was a man of culture with a fine literary taste, and a connoisseur of precious stones.

What Sir N. N. Sircar Really Said

In the report of the debate on the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the Legislative Assembly which appeared in the Press, Sir N. N. Sircar's speech was so misreported as to create the impression that he considered the Bengal Bill (now an Act) to be "milk and water." Consequently, misled by that report, we along with some other editors criticized him. What really happened was this :

In his speech Sir N. N. Sircar started by saying that it was a "very drastic measure," by which executive opinion was substituted for judgment of Courts. He conceded it was 'repression,' but said that such repression had been enacted by the Bengal Legislature. Later on during the speech he was interrupted by the 'interjection,' "Is there such repression in any other country ?" To that he put the counter-question : "Is terrorism so much prevalent anywhere else ?" On this two members said : "Germany, Ireland, Russia." In answer to that the Law Member said that, compared to what was happening in those countries, the provisions in the Bengal Act were milk and water. When reporting the speech most of the papers omitted the context showing that comparison was being made to what was happening in Germany, Ireland and Russia.

Solicitude for the British Steel Industry

We read in *Forward* dated the 7th September last :

> The following extracts taken from the report of proceedings of the executive committee of the British Iron and Steel Federation leaves no room for doubt that the British Steel Industry had full access to the Indian Tariff Board's Report on protection to the Steel industry prior to its publication here on July 1. last. It also appears that they were aware of the intention of the Government of India to impose an excise duty on Indian Steel.
>
> "Mr. Elliot, (the head of the delegation of the British Steel industry who appeared before the Tariff Board for oral examination), stated that a brief summary of the recommendations of the Indian Tariff Board had been circulated to all members at the end of last week. The British Government had been favoured with an advance copy of the report and as the representative of the industry in the proceedings in India he was privileged in confidence to study this report and in consultation with Sir William Larke, to comment on the proposals for the assistance of the Board of Trade.
>
> "... . It was understood, however, that the Government of India would adopt a method of obtaining revenue from the Indian producers by means of an excise duty on ingot production of 4 Rupees per ton, with an adjustment of 1-1|3 for the finished product, that is, an excise duty of 5-1|3 Rupees per ton on the finished product."
>
> We are not only not surprised at this breach of confidence by the British Government but unhesitatingly admire their anxious solicitude for the welfare of the British Steel industry which their action displays.

It seems then that the plan to recoup the loss of revenue, due to the preferential treatment of some British steel articles, by the wholly unjustifiable imposition of an excise duty on Indian steel, was an affair prearranged behind the back of the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Application for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Release

An Associated Press message, dated Allahabad the 25th September, tells the public that

> Mr. Girdhari Lal Agarwalla Advocate, taking off his gown and appearing as a member of the public, moved an application today before Mr. Justice Kisch under section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, read with the General Powers of the High Court (habeas corpus), for the immediate release of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
>
> The application after reciting the facts relating to his temporary release, stated that there was no warrant of law to arrest and imprison the Pandit again after he was once released and that he could not be re-arrested or imprisoned again without a fresh trial. Mr. Agarwalla prayed that the Pandit might be set at liberty and that, pending disposal of the application, he should be released as his wife was seriously ill.
>
> His lordship ordered the matter to be placed before him when the Government Advocate was present.

As the printing of the present issue of this Review will be finished today (26th September), we shall not be able to notice the result of this application in this issue.

Apart from the legal aspect of the matter, it has been the opinion of the public all over India that Mr. Nehru ought to have been allowed to remain by the side of his wife at least till she was pronounced completely out of danger, if not till her complete recovery.

The Question of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's Release

The two letters which Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose has written to the Home Member of the Government of India and in which he has tried to refute the unproved allegation of

the latter that he was deeply involved in the terrorist movement, having been published in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* and other papers, it has become incumbent upon Government either to release him unconditionally or to prove the allegation made by the Home Member by bringing Mr. Bose to trial before a tribunal indentical with, or similar to the one suggested by the latter. Otherwise the public will be entitled to believe that all that Mr. Bose has said in his letters is accurate. Government may, of course, try to show the incorrectness of his statements by issuing a *communique*. But that will not be accepted as the last word. And an indefinite number of replies and rejoinders from the parties concerned cannot be thought of as within the range of practicability or probability.

It is true, the Simla correspondent of an Anglo-Indian daily has tried to discredit some of Mr. Bose's statements. The former may be officially inspired. If so, the official inspirer or inspirers concerned should come out in the open and enter the lists against Mr. Bose. Fighting from behind a *Shikhandi* would not be considered satisfactory. It is not what Englishmen call cricket.

The Teaching of Journalism

Journalism, like other professions, requires previous preparation. It may be true that most, if not all, Indian journalists took to journalism without any *direct* preparation for it. But those of them who have made their mark in the profession were able to do so because of the general education they had received and because they liked the work and laboured persistently to become more and more efficient. Of course, they must have also had some special aptitude for the profession. But whatever their success, everyone of them would have been better for some *direct* preparation for their life-work. No doubt, no amount of theoretical education can be a substitute for practical training and experience. That also is necessary.

Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, president of the Indian Journalists' Association, in his instructive and interesting university extension lecture on the place of journalism in society, has tried to dispel the wrong notion that "journalism should be left outside the scope of study in the university, school, or college." As he has correctly pointed out, journalism is a subject of study in schools, colleges and universities in educationally advanced countries. He has dwelt on the intellectual training and equipment and the moral qualities which make for success in journalism, and on the power of the Press. He has done very well to point out that education in journalism is not merely for those who want to be journalists.

> It is commonly supposed that Journalism is for one who is definitely out for a journalistic career. From what I have said above it will appear that journalistic training and education has a value of its own and is of great use to persons who will not or cannot adopt journalism as a living. The two hundred and thirty Universities and Colleges and the fifty-five schools in the U. S. A. and the Universities and schools in England that include in their curriculum journalism as a subject of study turn out graduates and certificate-holders by hundreds every year. All these people are not and cannot be absorbed in the profession of journalism just as all holders of degrees in Law do not become lawyers by profession. As a liberal education, journalism is of the highest value.

Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose's lecture and the waiting of a deputation of journalists upon Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji, the present vice-chancellor of Calcutta University, asking that arrangement for teaching journalism be made by the University, have revived the question of the University taking up this duty. If Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherji succeeds in making provision for education in journalism, such achievement will be highly appreciated by the public. It will greatly redound to his credit. Some years ago a committee appointed by the Indian Journalists' Association, of which Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal was the most active and zealous member, drew up an elaborate syllabus and curriculum of studies. It was sent to the Calcutta University. But nothing was done by the University.

Floods and Storms

The present year is a year of great calamities. The earthquake in Bihar has been followed by devastating floods in that province and in Bengal and Assiam. The recent typhoon in Japan has been terribly destructive of life and property.

All sufferers in all countries deserve the fullest sympathy and help.

The Japanese people and Government are very energetic and have control over private purses and the public purse. Therefore, they

were able to do more in the course of a few weeks to repair the ravages of the cataclysmic earthquake in that country some years ago than the people of Bihar and Government have been able to do in the course of more months to repair earthquake damages in that province. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the British people gave more help to the Japanese in their calamity than they have given to the people of Bihar. We hope, with their characteristic energy the people and Government of Japan will soon be able to do all that is necessary and humanly possible to repair all damages.

With regard to the floods in our country, we join in the appeals for help issued by various relief societies. In addition, we again remind our people and Government that modern science has made it possible to train rivers and control floods to some extent. And, therefore, as proposed repeatedly by Professor Meghnad Saha, river physics laboratories—at least one such laboratory—should be established. Neither the initial cost, nor the recurring charges will be large. Details are to be found in Dr. Saha's paper on the subject in the commemoration volume issued on the occasion of the completion of 70 years of the life of our youthful countrymen Sir P. C. Ray.

Soviet Russia and the League of Nations

Soviet Russia has become a member of the League of Nations.

GENEVA, Sept. 18.

The Assembly has granted the Soviet a permanent seat on the League Council. Nobody voted against, but ten abstained from voting. The galleries were packed to hear the debate on the Soviet's admission, Senor Madariaga transmitted the Sixth Committee's recommendation to M. Sandler (Sweden), who is the chairman of the Assembly. After the Assembly had voted the Soviet a permanent seat on the Council, M. Litvinoff and two co-delegates entered and took their seats. A few minutes later the chairman announced that henceforth the Soviet Union would be part of the great world family co-operating to safeguard peace. He invited the Soviet delegates to take their seats. Loud laughter was proclaimed when M. Litvinoff forestalled the invitation. M. Litvinoff then rose and declared that the Soviet had joind the League as the representative of a new social economic system not renouncing any of its special features, and like other countries preserving its personality intact, and promised to make itself felt as a powerful factor for peace in the council of nations.—Reuter.

Japan's aggressiveness and power on the Asiatic continent has had much to do with Soviet Russia's desire to enter the League. French diplomacy has helped that State to fulfil its desire. Notwithstanding M. Litvinoff's declaration, only the future can show whether capitalistic imperialism will be able to preserve its sway over League affairs and world affairs. Such imperialism has not hitherto made for peace.

Though not surprising, it is significant that Soviet Russia starts with a *permanent* seat on the League Council. India has been a foundation member of the League from the start and stands sixth in the list of contributors to the League's expenses. Yet she has not yet been given a seat on the League Council for a single year. This is due to her inferior political status as a subject country. The Council consists of 15 members, of whom five—Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy and Germany—have permanent seats. Japan's withdrawal created a vacancy, now filled up by Russia.

India and the League of Nations

Ever since the latter part of 1926, when we went to Geneva on the League's invitation, we have repeatedly drawn attention to the inadequate discharge of its duties to India by the League. Perhaps we were the first to do so. One of India's grievances has been that very few appointments made by the League have so far gone to Indians, and the few Indian officers that there are in the League all hold subordinate posts. The League's expenditure is divided into 1,013 units, distributed between 57 member states. Of these India pays 56 units, or 5.5 per cent. The number of secretaries and clerks appointed by the League is 700 in round number. Out of these only 6 permanent and 3 temporary jobs have fallen to the lot of Indians. If the 3 temporary jobs were made permanent, even then Indians would have less than 1.3 per cent of the League jobs.

"Muslims Have No Right to Live in India"!

Under the above heading *The Bombay Chronicle*, edited by Syed Abdulla Brelvi, published the following in its issue of the 7th September from its "own correspondent":

ALIGARH, Sept. 3.

Several important zemindars of U. P., including the Nawab of Chhatari, Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, M.L.C., and Khan Bahadur Ubaidar Rehman Khan Sherwani, M.L.C., had an opportunity last night of feeling the pulse of Muslim youth when at a debate held by the Muslim University Union their

activities were condemmed by student speakers. The subject, which was moved for discussion by Mr. Abdul Aziz Puri, was,

"That in the opinion of this house Musalmans have now no right to live in India."

The proposer who spoke at length condemned the activities of the so-called leaders of Musalmans. He deplored the attitude of those Musalmans who were against the national movement and said that they could give no proof of their service in the cause of the country, Recalling the great and splendid past of the Musalmans, he compared it with their present condition when they had not self-confidence and were suffering from an incurable inferiority complex. Musalmans, he said, will continue to exist but this existence was that of serfs and slaves and they could not claim to live as Musalmans.

The Nawab of Chhatari, speaking against the motion, said that socialism was the most popular creed today and further declared that Islam was the most socialistic of all creeds. He wanted the Musalmans to revert to their past traditions of equality and brotherhood when even the Caliphs got the same share from the State treasury as any other Musalman.

Khan Bahadur Ubaidar Rehman Khan Sherwani opposed the motion and said that a community which could produce great men like the Nawab of Chhatari and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had no need to fear anything. The Nawab of Chhatari, he said, had been in charge of Law and Order in U. P. for more than eight years and not a single Hindu or Muslim had any complaint against his administration.

Mr. Ansar Harvani, an under-graduate, supporting the motion, challenged the Muslim leaders to prove their "bona fides" to speak for the masses. It is one thing, he said, to become a Minister through the help of the Government and quite another to serve the country. "I am sorry," he said, "that reference has been made to the so-called services of men like the Nawab of Chhatari and Sikandar Hayat Khan." He was ashamed, he said, that it was under the regime of a Musalman when men, women and children were persecuted in U. P., not because they were thieves or vagabonds, but because they dared stand for the rights of their country. He reminded the house that mankind was no longer divided on religious or racial but on economic basis. Islam, he said, was a socialistic religion, but the irony of it was that Muslims had forgotten the teachings of their faith. So long as they did not identify themselves with the cause of the masses, they had no right to exist as Musalmans.

A number of other speakers, mostly students, supported the motion, which was declared carried on a division.

Commenting on this debate, *The Mussalman* makes the concluding remark :

We are glad that the majority of those who participated in the debate showed manliness worthy of the great community to which they belonged.

Defeat of Mr. Bakhale's Bill for Helping Harijans

The Bombay Sentinel writes :

There was no doubt that the Government would oppose the Bill brought forward by Mr. Bakhale in the Bombay Legislative Council for the removal of the Disabilities of the Depressed Classes in this Presidency. The Home Member opposed it uncompromisingly in a lengthy speech and enumerated, what he called, "the practical difficulties which will arise by carrying into practice ideals of this kind." The Government attitude in this matter at least was of a strictly practical kind. Apparently they are not bothered by any ideals. As we said yesterday, if there are defects in the Bill, they could have been removed in the Select Committee, and we do not suppose Mr. Bakhale would have opposed any such amendments, since his main anxiety is to improve the lot of the Harijans by every possible means.

It is unfortunate that the real question was side-tracked by a great deal of casuistry, and since the non-Brahmins and Muslims were equally opposed to the measure along with the Government, there was no difficulty whatever in defeating its first reading by a majority of twenty votes. It is curious that the Non-Brahmin Party, which generally allies itself with the Harijan members whenever any spoils have to be divided by an alliance with the Government, should have deserted the Depressed Classes at this juncture and left Mr. Bakhale to his own resources.

The Servant of India says in the course of its comments that "Government had no excvse excuse whatever to oppose it" (the Bill).

Pocha and Sons' Golden Jubilee

On the occasion of the golden jubilee of their House, Messrs. Pestonjee P. Pocha & Sons, the famous seed merchants of Poona, have issued a nicely got-up and illustrated souvenir brochure narrating the history of the firm. It was founded in the year 1884 by the late Mr. Pestonjee P. Pocha, and the business has gone on expanding ever since. That shows that it has been able to satisfy its customers, who are to be found all over India, Burma, Ceylon, Further India, and even in Japan, Persia and Africa. Besides vegetable seeds, herb seeds, flower seeds and other garden seeds of all kinds, as well as bulbs, it supplies garden tools and implements, lawn-mowers, fertilizers, insecticides, &c., and books.

NOTICE

The Modern Review Office will remain closed on account of the Durga Puja Holidays from the 14th October to the 28th October, reopening on the 29th October. Communications received during the holidays will be attended to on and from the 29th October next.

UTTER INCOMPATIBILITY OF COMMUNAL DECISION & SELF-RULE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

SELF-RULE means that people are ruled either by themselves or by their representatives who have been elected by them. In ancient times in very small city or tribal republics, the citizens themselves in meeting assembled could transact the business of the state and govern themselves. In our present-day really self-ruling States, the government is "of the people and for the people," but literally not *by* the people, but by representatives elected by the people. But under the Communal Decision, in the Central and Provincial Legislatures the statutorily fixed majority parties will consist either of Hindus elected exclusively by Hindus, (as, *e. g.*, in Madras or U. P.) or of Musalmans elected exclusively by Musalmans (as, *e. g.*, in the Panjab or N.-W. F.) or of Musalmans elected exclusively by Musalmans *cum* Europeans elected exclusively by Europeans (as in Bengal). Therefore, neither in India as a whole nor in the Provinces will there be representative self-government, but government by statutorily fixed communal majorities, elected, not by voters of all communities, but by voters belonging to the particular communities concerned. In the Muslim-majority provinces not a single legislator of the majority party will be elected by a single non-Muslim voter and in the Hindu-majority provinces not a single legislator of the majority party will be elected by a Muslim or a Christian. And even such majority parties will not be the real rulers of the country. They will be only nominal rulers. Their "government" will be a sham, as the real power will remain in the hands of the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, the provincial Governors, and the foreign bureaucracy in general, known as the "steel-frame"—an expression coined by Mr. Lloyd George.

One of the essential conditions of democratic and responsible government is that what is to-day a minority party may become the majority party to-morrow by the conversion of its opponents to its way of thinking or owing to other causes. In this way all groups have an effective chance of giving the nation the benefit of their wisdom, capacity and public spirit. The changeability of the personnel of the ruling party gives the ruling majority for the time being a sense of its real responsibility to the nation, and exercises an effective check on arbitrary, irregular or corrupt methods and actions. But if a constitution makes any religious community as a community, the permanent ruling majority, there cannot be any democratic and responsible self-rule in the country, and all the advantages of such rule, pointed out above, are lost. The Communal Decision militates against the essential conditions of democratic and responsible government, and would, if given effect to, keep India deprived of all the advantages of such government.

Under a system of joint electorates, to whatever religious community or communities, classes, castes, interests or races the majority of the members of Central and provincial councils might belong, it could be said that people of all communities had helped to elect them and were responsible for choosing them. So the members also would feel their responsibility to and would and must try to promote the interests of all the people of all these groups. But under a system of separate electorates, in some cases the majority would be elected exclusively by the Hindus, or at any rate by non-Muslims and non-Christians, in some cases the majority would be elected by Muslims, and in one province (Bengal) the majority would be either Muslims or Muslims-*cum*-Europeans elected exclusively by their co-religionists or compatriots. Hence each province of India would be ruled *by* a foreign bureaucracy (for British *domination* would continue) *through* a majority of legislators for whose election people of all the groups would not be responsible and who would not feel responsible to and would not in consequence ordinarily try to promote the interests of all groups. This would be a highly undesirable state of things. It would not be self-rule or representative government. It would be rule by a bureaucracy, mostly British, in the name of a majority with whose election whole groups of people had nothing to do.

I do not lay stress on the fact that the Communal Decision has been grossly and insultingly unjust to the Hindus. For, even if it had been possible for it to be fair to the Hindus and all other communities, *separate* and *communal* and *class* electorates would have remained a great evil against which the nation must wage unrelenting war.

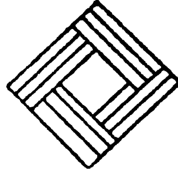
It has been necessary to explain the sinister significance of the Communal Decision in order to make it easy to understand why organized opposition to it is necessary.



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SANTINIKETAN TODAY

BY C. F. ANDREWS

THIS week, which has been passed at the Poet's Asram, in Santiniketan and Surul, has given me one of my happiest experiences of India during this visit.

There is an often-repeated Sanskrit prayer which runs,—"Lead me from the unreal to the Real, from darkness to Light, from death to Immortality." In Rabindranath Tagore's Asram one constantly feels that this transformation is already being accomplished. For here is the real India both in the villages and among the students. There is also an immortal spirit manifest in this creation of the Poet's genius.

The Poet himself, as he sits before sunrise on his verandah, watching the first streaks of dawn, is a symbol of ageless Youth. For he remains astonishingly young, and his massive intellectual powers show no sign of senile decay. During his long life of three quarters of a century, he has passed through adversities which would have made the stoutest heart despair; but he remains serene. The analogy with Goethe, as he held his commanding intellect high above the military violence of the Napoleonic Age, has often come back to my mind as I have sat by his side this week each early morning and felt the calmness of his inner spirit.

Nearly twenty years ago, in Tokyo, when Willie Pearson and I were with the Poet, we watched together a critical audience at the Imperial University remain blankly silent, as he denounced in unmeasured terms Militarism and Nationalism,—the two idolatries, which were ruining the beauty of the soul of Japan. In the War-fever of those days, such a prophetic warning was an act of daring which received the 'prophet's reward' of misunderstanding. Only in later years have the best minds in Japan rendered thanks to him for that brave and timely utterance. Tagore has never succumbed to the clamour of the post-war world, with its racialisms run mad. He has welcomed to his Asram men of every race and creed and given them a home in his heart.

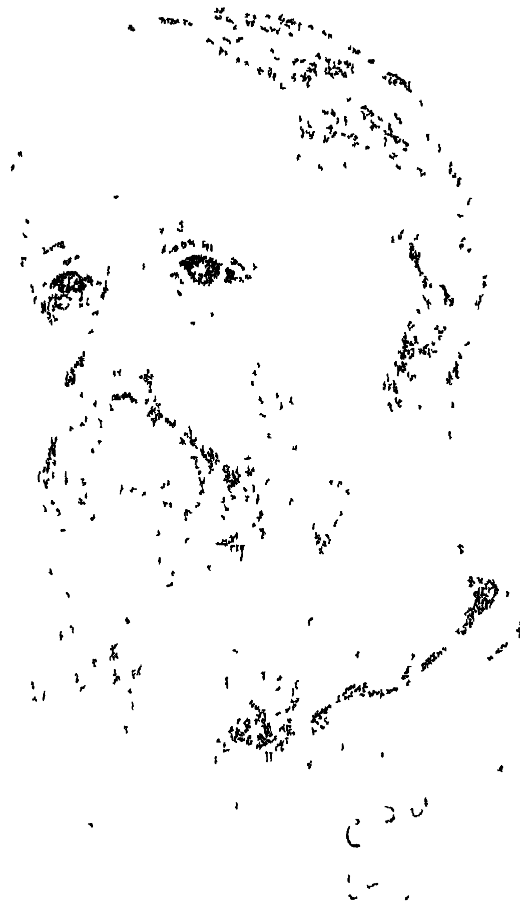
During this visit, I found him turning away from his songs and music to plunge into the details of village reconstruction work carried on by the students of his Asram. This enterprise among the villagers is dearest of all to him. For the happiest years of his own life were intimately bound up with village Bengal, and he loves the patient, simple, kindly Bengali villager with a poet's love. When he was quite young, his father, Maharshi, wisely sent him away from crowded Calcutta to take charge of the family estate on the banks of the River Padma. There for nearly twenty years he lived among his own people and became their Poet. Now, in his old age, all his thoughts are bent towards them.

Santiniketan itself stands on rising ground with a sandy soil beneath. It is completely free from malaria, because it quickly drains off the monsoon rains and the anopheles mosquito cannot breed there. But the villages near at hand, made up of mud huts upon mud soil are decimated by the malarial pest.

Into the work of removing this incubus from the land, Tagore has thrown all the indomitable energy of his tireless spirit. The battle has gone against him, times without number; but still he persists, calling into requisition every latest dis-

covery of scientific skill and economic planning, in order to circumvent the terrible scourge. Some of the noblest of his workers have been driven from the field by repeated attacks of the disease, but still the gallant fight goes on. Only a few months ago, one of the most brilliant of his scientific workers, Dr Harry Timbres, was so saturated with malaria and kala-azar that he nearly lost his life. On the very eve of an important scientific discovery, he was obliged to leave for America where he is now writing his

Sjt. Kalimohan Ghose and other workers, equally heroic, have suffered from the malarial scourge in the same way. Their names deserve equally to be remembered; for they have borne the burden and heat of the day. While the scientific workers have been carrying on their minute investigations, others have been raising the standards of village life and education, thus rebuilding an economic prosperity which may help the villager to resist the inroads of disease. They have covered large areas with a network of



Mr C. F. Andrews

from a pencil sketch by Mrs Rani Chanda

Report. The Society of Friends, at Philadelphia, had sent him out with his wife and children to take part in this heroic work, and they have helped him through his convalescence.

co-operative societies, which are endeavouring by mutual aid to clear away the jungle, fill up holes where stagnant water accumulates, and render first-aid during the malarial season. By these

efforts, they have already brought about a marked improvement in the health and prosperity of the villages.

Year after year, Tagore himself on special occasions visits these areas and inspires the workers. In addition, they come to him almost daily,—as he sits in his chair on his verandah—asking his advice and counsel. No problem is too small for him and they go away encouraged. It would be difficult to represent a better example of the true meeting of East and West than this work of recovery and peace.

Less than a hundred years ago, there was no malaria at all in these villages. People used to come out here by easy stages from disease-ridden Calcutta and to look upon this place as a health resort. Bungalows still remain where they lived in the cold weather. Now the malaria plague has stricken the whole area, and until it is removed nothing can be accomplished.

Thus the Asram at Santiniketan is not merely a home of music and song, but also a hive of industry. It is not self-centred and wrapt up in its own improvement, but it takes care of the poor and sick at its own gates. It is attempting to solve the wide problem, not only of Bengal, but of India and the Far East, by bringing back to these village populations renewed health, prosperity and peace. The words of the Psalm are becoming true:

"Then shall the Earth yield her increase, and God, even our own God, shall give us His blessing."

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF IRRIGATION IN BENGAL

By SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS, M. A., Ph. D.

IRRIGATION has been spoken of as the "wedding of the sunshine and the rain". It reclaims arid wastes, makes a country prosperous, causes the desert to blossom and overcomes the destructive effects of the parching winds, multiplies the productive capacity of soils, destroys insects and worms and ensures good health, lessens the dangers of floods, makes the farmer independent of rainfall and lastly creates wealth from water, sunshine and soil.

The province of Bengal for the purpose of a study of its irrigation problem should be divided into four areas, each with its own regional problem, that of the whole province coming in as a co-ordinating one. The usual process of thought on this subject runs in the old groove and classification is based upon the three types of activity, namely, those of irrigation proper, embankments, and drainage and navigation. This classification is wrong since it turns away thought from its proper channel and the consideration of the problem becomes clouded. The four areas of the province for this purpose are the following :

1. Western Bengal, *i. e.*, the area west of the Hooghly River (Bhagirathi) and south of the Ganges ; 2. Northern Bengal, the area north of the Ganges and Padma and west of the Brahmaputra and Assam ; 3. Eastern Bengal, South of Assam, east of the Brahmaputra, Jamuna and Gorai ; and 4. South Bengal, sometimes described as Central Bengal, east of the Bhagirathi, south of the Ganges and Padma and the west of Gorai.

Each of these tracts has its own peculiar conditions as regards soil, crops, health, drainage and navigation ; and, in spite of the diversity of these conditions, these tracts present on the whole a problem of the general level and slope of the province, its health and population, its productivity and its water-traffic.

The main features of the problem are therefore, the following :

Not only should water be brought down to the localities to be irrigated, but it must be done in a manner which will not interfere with the subsoil moisture for a considerable period during at least two crops a year in Western

Bengal. As far as possible the silt-laden water of the rivers must be allowed to flow freely over countryside and in places where the existing embankments interfere with such overflow, adequate devices should be adopted to minimize the evil. Railway embankments should not only have more abundant openings but their position and construction should not direct the outflow of the flood in a particular channel or direction, but enable the whole country to be equally watered. Special precaution must also be taken so that subsoil moisture is retained as a result of the modification of the water-openings in these Railway embankments. The Railway embankments have proved a thorn in the sides of both the Government and the people. When they were constructed, and even now when Railway alignments are made, no proper thought was or is bestowed on this very important problem and the result has been disastrous. Similar remarks apply to road alignments both under provincial and district schemes. The reason lies in the want of knowledge of facts relating to natural solpes, drainage and requirements of the Province. Since there is no use crying over spilt milk, the people of the Province should unanimously ask for a revision of the policy, open discussion and compel the Government to take systematic and co-ordinated action which is scientifically and economically sound.

The problem of North Bengal is one of the clearance of dead and dying channels and treatment of Railway embankments ; those of Eastern Bengal is the fighting down of the water-hyacinth and regulation of natural flow. The problem of Central Bengal is rather intricate and difficult. The chief function here should be of restoring the old rivers and proper drainage of the country which, in the words of Sir William Wilcocks, is the ancient overflow irrigation of Bengal.

Regarding the difficulties created by the Railway embankments late Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal put in a novel suggestion that may also be seriously considered jointly by the railway authorities, the village communities on the railway lines, and the Government.* The railway lines in most parts of Bengal have an unbroken series of dug-out land where water is collected and confined during the rains which offers favourable breeding ground not only for the malaria parasites but also for the germs of cholera and other fatal diseases. It seems to the lay mind that it may not be very difficult, much less impossible, to convert these dug-out lands into regular canals which may serve partly as a source of water-supply for agricultural purposes as well as for fish-culture, yielding a very decent income to the railway authorities. There are canals of the same kind along some railway lines in England. It cannot be beyond the conception of modern engineering experts to plan a continuous system of this canal, along the entire railway line from Calcutta to Goalundo, for instance, or from Sealdah-Beliaghata to Port Canning or Diamond Harbour. The former may be connected with the Padma and the Gorai and the latter with the Matla and the Hooghly, with lock-gates at either end. The idea is fascinating to the lay mind and may be considered by engineering experts for what is worth.

Regarding surface drainage the first step in any scheme is the carrying out of a drainage survey and the construction of a drainage map noting therein if the old drainage channels can be traced at all. This has been done by the Irrigation Department of the Government. But it is a general complaint that the Irrigation Department is not so much active as the people would like it to be. However, the Department has at long last drawn up a map of the drainage of the province. This map will show the drainge lines and the public as well as the Government can so regulate the construction of railway lines and embankments as to keep the drainage of the province uninterfered. After this has been done, the ryot can be educated to construct shallow surface drains, provided with slightly raised grass borders so as to afford a free passage to the surplus water, and to assist absorption and prevent erosion.

Dr. C. A. Bentley has briefly summarized the measures to be adopted as follows

(1) Prohibition of further embankments ; (2) survey of existing embankments and their water-ways ; (3) survey of river-channels and

* *Vide* B. C. Pal's paper on "Rural Reconstruction in Bengal", *Bengal Co-Operative Journal.* Vol. XIII, No. 4.

other water-courses ; (4) the mapping out of local spill areas and lines of drainage ; (5) improvement of existing water-channels ; (6) examination of the local water-table.

The evidence incriminating embankments as the cause both of agricultural decline and increased malaria is so overwhelming as to warrant immediate action to prohibit the construction of any new embankments. As the existing legislation cannot do this, emergency legislation will be necessary. Roads, railways and embankments are, no doubt, a necessity ; but their interests must be subordinated to those of agriculture and irrigation. However, schemes of irrigation always include improved communications and irrigation projects also require the embanking of the rivers in order that they may be adequately controlled and their waters properly utilized.

A complete record with full particulars of the various types of embankments that exist in Bengal is not available. But such a record is absolutely necessary, and it must include detailed information regarding the number, character and size of the water-ways, and the areas within the sphere of influence of any particular length of embankments. A preliminary survey must, therefore, be carried out in each district of all existing major embankments, including those for flood protection and for communications, such as, railways and roads. This preliminary survey may be done in one dry season. In this connection arises the question of the water-ways in embankments. Although bridges are always necessary where an embankment crosses a definite water-way, for the preservation of the embankment itself, the more or less haphazard provision of an extra number of culverts beyond those required for this purpose is an expedient of very doubtful value.

A survery of all existing water-courses in every district is also essential. Water-courses require to be examined from three points of few : (*i*) drainage, (*ii*) irrigation and (*iii*) communications. As regards drainage, this function of the water-courses is not generally overlooked. But it is necessary to emphasize the importance of water-courses from the point of view of irrigation and transportation, because these two important functions have been grievously neglected in the deltaic tracts of Bengal. Only second in importance to irrigation is the question of transportation. In every part of Bengal, the condition of the water-ways has an immense bearing on the question of malaria, and one of the best ways of keeping delta tracts healthy is to preserve the channels and use them both for irrigation and navigation. The malarious northern portion of Faridpur district, where there are roads and railways, exhibits a striking contrast with the healthy south-western area where the rivers and streams are very numerous and serve every village throughout the year and where all trade is carried by water.

The mapping out of local spill areas and lines of drainage is also of great importance in this connection. The question of spill areas and lines of drainage is bound up with the regime of delta channels ; and an adequate survey of the latter necessitates the careful examination of the former. Accurate information regarding this matter can only be obtained during the flood season. As in the case of the survey of embankments and minor water channels, this work can be best undertaken by the engineering staff of the district and local boards, assisted, where necessary, by officers of the Irrigation Department of the Government. The preparation of drainage maps on the lines suggested by the late Sir Edward Buck, K. C. S. I., showing by an arrow the main-drainage lines which carried the drainage water out of the village, should be taken up by every district as part of a general programme for the prevention of malaria and agricultural decline.

Next in importance is the survey of the water-table. It is probable that throughout the deltaic tracts great fluctuations take place in the height of the water-table at different seasons of the year. The yearly rise of the rivers and the rainfall are undoubtedly the factors exerting the greatest influence upon the height of the water-table. Annual and seasonal variations are governed by these two factors. It is conceivable that the presence of embankments may also in certain circumstances increase and in others reduce the mean height of the water-table very considerably, and modify the normal seasonal fluctuations in the one direction by

the shutting out of flood-water and in the other by the checking of the "run-off." According to Dr. C. A. Bentley the simplest method of making observations regarding the water-table is to record the height of the water in wells, and the corresponding level of the water in rivers and streams. In addition to taking water levels, investigations into the character of the ground-water will have to be undertaken as in Egypt.*

But the most important part of Irrigation in Bengal is the improvement of the existing water-channels. No really adequate scheme of improvement of the main channels can be undertaken in the absence of comprehensive surveys of the larger rivers and the smaller water-courses. Sir William Wilcocks entered into this aspect of the Irrigation Problem of Bengal with the authority of a world-renowned expert and the zeal of a true philanthropist. His suggestions on this question are bound to be studied with the utmost attention they deserve. On this subject his views are diametrically opposed to those of the Irrigation Department of the Government. He says that the Irrigation Department has tried its hand at every kind of project it could imagine except "overflow irrigation" which is the only one adapted to Bengal; the resulting poverty of the soil, congestion of rivers, and malaria have stalked the canals and banks, and the country is strewn to-day with the wrecks of useless and harmful works. According to Sir William Wilcocks† the works needed in Bengal were:

(1) The clearing out of the ancient "overflow canals" and the strengthening of their banks or the making of new banks with the excavated material.

(2) Providing the "overflow canals" with regulating heads and sluices and adding new sluices every year

(3) Strengthening the river banks, providing paved water-ways in the banks for the feeding of the smaller canals; allowing breaches to be made annually at approved places in the banks when the fear of an inundation had passed; and allowing breaches to be made annually as a matter of course, at approved places in the banks where the country was high-lying and there was no danger at any time. As time went on, and the important canals had been provided for with masonry regulations, the secondary and tertiary canals would have been provided with suitable sluices. Such action would by this time have provided the country with perfect overflow-irrigation.

According to Sir William, in Central Bengal the most pressing work is the "overflow irrigation" of the poor sandy districts of Murshidabad, Nadia and Northern Faridpur. In these sandy tracts the old "overflow canals" have been in many places ploughed up and levelled and their traces have been destroyed; but there are still traces of old canals in many places and the best of these might be made a beginning with. When these sandy lands are high-lying and abandoned, powerful pumps might be put up and channels led off and experiments made in irrigation with the rich muddy waters of the early floods followed by the less muddy waters of the ordinary floods. Similar experiments might be made on the Bhagirathi near Berhampore.

Sir William Wilcocks has said that through the overflow canals alone will be done the fertilizing of the fields with rich muddy deposit of the river floods, and the more concentrated attack on malaria. These overflow canals have to be made serviceable once more, by having the channels cleared to full width and depth, and banks made with the earth taken out of the beds. This can be done gradually. After a couple of years of experiment, according to Sir William, it will be easy to establish some form of cheap serviceable temporary works which will hold their own for 50 years, if necessary. In digging down the centre lines of old canals between the Hooghly and the Damodar, the cleared channels should be allowed to go down the middle lines of the once magnificent water-way and they should be put in communication with every filthy pool and tank on either side which are there today.*

* For a detailed account of the above suggestions *vide Malaria and Agriculture* by Dr. C. A. Bentley, pp. 67-82.

† Sir William Wilcocks. *Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal*, page 38.

* For a detailed account of Sir William Wilcocks' suggestions *vide* chapters III & IV of *Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal*

When the flood irrigation has been secured to Central and Western Bengal, it will be time to think of reservoirs in the catchment basin of the Damodar for the provision of October and winter water to the lands between the Damodar and Hooghly in place of the water which they have been deprived of.

Regarding the water control for agricultural purposes the Royal Commission on Agriculture has very wisely recommended that the cultivators who are the actual consumers of the water, should be associated with the Irrigation Department in the distribution of water by means of Local Advisory Committee which will study local needs and enquire into the grievances of individual cultivators. These committees might also be utilized for the purpose of pushing on necessary agricultural reforms or the introduction of new crops. If Co-operative Organization Societies could be started of the Maclegan type, or Irrigation Panchayats could be organized, the work of the management of the minor distributories could be entrusted to them.*

In this connection it must be mentioned that the co-operative movement has done immense good to the people by tackling the irrigation problem with all the seriousness it deserves. Some interesting schemes for irrigation on co-operative principles have been tried in the United Provinces. One of these is the Kunwar Co-operative Society for pumping out water from the Gumti at a place in the Sultanpur district for distribution in the fields of members of two or three adjacent credit societies. In this experimental undertaking the Government of the United Provinces bore the initial cost which was realized in instalments from the societies. The latter levied a rate from each member according to the area irrigated. The first irrigation society in Bengal was formed in the year 1916 at Khelar in the district of Midnapore by the combined efforts of members of two successful rural co-operative societies in the area. The object of the society was to construct a dam across a natural stream and to distribute the water in the fields of the members by means of artificial channels. The cost of the scheme was met from shares subscribed by the members. The society has removed a real want in the locality and is generally appreciated by its members. The formation of the co-operative irrigation societies has recently come to prominence owing to a strong demand for such societies in the district of Bankura in Bengal. With the single exception of an irrigation society at Khelar in the district of Midnapore organized in 1916 which, however, did not lead to any further movement in this direction, the beginnings of organized effort for the solution of the irrigation problem in Bengal date from the middle of the year 1919. In April 1919, a movement was started by the Agricultural Association in the district of Birbhum for the re-excavation of irrigation tanks and *bunds* in that district through the agency of the Branch Agricultural Associations. Over a hundred irrigation societies were formed in the district of Bankura for the execution of irrigation work entailing an expenditure of over 3 lakhs of rupees. For the success of the irrigation movement by co-operative means it is very desirable that the societies should be organized with great caution. In particular, it is very necessary that there should be a careful estimate of the cost in respect of the projects for which societies are organized. Owing to the absence of a whole time agricultural engineer, difficulties were previously experienced in preparing careful estimates. The Government of Bengal have, however, appointed an Agricultural Engineer who is expected to help these societies with his expert advice, and hence it is probable that no more difficulties in this direction will crop in future. A Central Co-operative Irrigation Bank has been formed to finance the irrigation societies in Bankura. Regarding the good effect of these societies, Mr. G. S. Dutt, then Collector of Bankura, said: "Already the effect wrought by this co-operation has been almost magical. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the whole outlook before the people of the district has been altered in the short space of five months. Wherever an irrigation society has been formed disunion has given place to close and active co-operation, fatalism in despair and in action has given place to activity and the spirit of a new life." A concrete instance of

* *Vide* B. B. Mukherjee's *Co-operation and Rural Welfare in India.* Chapter II.

what co-operative irrigation can achieve in the domain of rural progress in the life of an agricultural community is the story of the wonders wrought by co-operative irrigation in America. Harold Powell, writing on co-operation in agriculture, dwells on the striking fact that in the United States of America in 1909, of the total irrigated area of the land, *viz.*, nearly 14 millions of acres, no less than one-third was under co-operative enterprises, and he goes on to say that "in no other industry in the United States is there so large a percentage of co-operation as in irrigation."

The problem of irrigation in the shape of drainage and waterways in Bengal is really not so difficult as it appears on the surface. But its solution, of course, presupposes a knowledge of the slopes and requirements of the Province. The ancient system of irrigation that obtained in Bengal about a century ago must be carefully studied and an attempt must be made to restore it, as far as possible, by the co-ordinated action of the Irrigation, Agricultural, Co-operative and Public Health Departments of the Government and the joint action of the people.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC THROUGH ORIENTAL EYES

By TARAKNATH DAS, M. A., Ph. D.

V

RECENT developments in American-Japanese relations indicate that statesmen of Japan and the United States are anxious to solve American-Japanese problems amicably. Japanese statesmen as well as those of America realize that a war between these two nations would be a very costly affair and, whatever may be the outcome of the conflict—and there is every reason to think that there would be ultimate victory for the United States—would be a serious economic loss to both the nations. Viscount Ishii, in one of his recent interviews to the editor of *Japan Advertiser* (Tokio), an American paper, pointed out that a war between Japan and the United States would be profitable to those nations which are anxious to re-capture the markets from Japan and the United States in various parts of the world and specially in the orient. It is the opinion of many Japanese and American students of international affairs that economically and commercially the interests of Japan and the United States are not competitive, but supplementary; and therefore there is no serious economic rivalry between these two nations. Study of recent trade statistics will show that the United States of America is not suffering from Japanese trade competition. It is quite apparent that the nations that would be most benefited by a war between Japan and the United States would be Great Britain and Germany. Russia and China would also gain some benefit. This fact must not be ignored that a defeat of Japan would upset the balance of power in the Far East, which would not be to the advantage of the United States.

One may point out that when General Araki resigned the position of the Minister of War, it was the beginning of serious efforts on the part of Japan to settle all outstanding problems between Japan and the United States through negotiations. Recent exchange of notes between the American Secretary of State Mr. Hull and the Japanese Foreign Minister Mr. Hirota might be regarded as the beginning of such negotiations.

President Roosevelt, by ordering that the United States Atlantic fleet, which was concentrated in the Pacific, would be removed from the Pacific, has given an indication that the United States has no aggressive intention towards Japan. This has resulted in change of attitude among the Japanese public. Furthermore, the signing of the Philippine Independence Bill has created a profound impression regarding American World Politics. The people of Asia, including the Japanese, realize that American policy is not to use the Philippines as the advance base for the establishment of an Oriental Empire as other nations have done. Japan welcomes this move more than any other nation; because it will eliminate one of the causes of possible friction between Japan and the United States. It is of great interest for all students of colonial administration that what is happening in the Philippines would have a tremendous effect in rousing national aspirations of other oriental peoples who are labouring under foreign domination. The Philippine Independence measure is not heartily

welcomed by European Powers which have colonies in the orient; and some of them think that this American measure would make the Philippinoes as future prey of Japanese Imperialism. But it has been reported from Washington that the Japanese Ambassador Mr. Saito, two days after the passage of the Philippine Independence Bill, took the initiative that the Japanese Government would begin conversations with the United States authorities, regarding the steps which would guarantee independence of the Philippines through international agreements among all the powers who have vital interests in the Pacific. If Japan can get equal opportunity for trade in the Philippines, it would be more profitable for her to let the Philippinoes govern their country, than attempting to rule them. This would remove some of the unfavourable impressions regarding Japan's policies. In fact, Philippine Independence will be an asset to Japan. It may also be mentioned that American domination over the Philippines is a liability from the standpoint of American international economic policies as well as military and naval strategy. Mr. Bywater, the British naval expert, in his excellent work on the "Sea Power in the Pacific" expressed the views of a distinguished American naval officer, on the subject in following words:

"The Philippines are there for Japan whenever she likes to take, and nothing can prevent her from seizing them when she feels disposed to do so. As at present circumstanced, we could do nothing whatever to protect them in time of war. If we were foolish enough to locate a fleet at Manila the history of Port Arthur would repeat itself, with us in the rôle of the Russians. An expeditionary force consisting of 18-knot transports, guarded by a squadron of reasonable strength, could leave the southern ports of Japan, reach Manila in three days and can make absolute master of Luzon, before succor could arrive from Hawaii our nearest naval base which is 5,000 miles away."

The above opinion of an American naval expert, expressed in 1921, remains substantially true today. While the United States is preparing to abandon the Philippines, she is augmenting her naval strength at Hawaii which is purely defensive in character; and the Japanese cannot and do not take exception to it.

Some of the European statesmen think that the authorization of a vast naval programme, as well as the programme of construction of aeroplanes by the United States, and the increased naval and military forces of Japan are regarded as a prepartion towards an inevitable conflict between these two Pacific Powers. These critics of the United States should carefully read President Roosevelt's declaration in connection with the signing of the recent Navy Bill. He made it clear that America was only adopting a policy which she was free to adopt, but did not make the necessary appropriation for the whole of the naval building programme. Critics of America, specially British statesmen, should remember that America did not build up her navy to the limit of the Washington and London treaties, hoping that there will be some action regarding disarmament; and now she is taking steps to build her navy so that she will not be at a serious disadvantage when the next naval conference convenes in 1935-36. The critics of Japanese naval and military policy should also remember that if Russia is free to augment her land and air forces in the Far East which may threaten Japanese position in Manchuria and Korea and even Japan proper by air raids, and if Great Britain is free to develop the most formidable naval base at Singapore where the whole of the British fleet might be concentrated against Japan and her ever-growing over-sea-commerce, is it a crime for Japan to take the necessary steps for augmenting her naval and military strength without violating any of the existing treaties? Here I again wish to point out that there should not be double standards of international morality -one for the Asiatics and the other for the Western Powers.

One of the causes of the existing American-Japanese misunderstanding is that Japan has been refused immigration quota in the United States. This is bitterly resented by the Japanese people, as an expression of "racial discrimination". It has been recently reported that the U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, has expressed his willingness to extend "quota rights" regarding Japanese immigration, because by such a concession America would lose nothing, as only about one hundred Japanese would be allowed to immigrate into the United States annually. Such a solution would create better feeling between these two nations; and the most enlightened American public opinion is in favour of according equality to Japan in matters of immigration.

It has also been reported that the Japanese Government wishes to open negotiations with the United States regarding various outstanding problems, including the signing of a Non-agression Pact or a general arbitration treaty; and also to discuss mutual policies regarding the coming Washington Naval Conference of 1935-36. Here it may be said that the Japanese are afraid of any possibility of an Anglo-American Naval Pact or understanding before the next Washington Conference convenes in 1935-36.

It is quite clear that unless the United States Government takes an aggressively hostile stand against Japan in the Manchurian question, and if Japan does not take any further aggressive measure in China, there is some reason to think that the American and Japanese governments would consolidate their friendships of eighty years' standing; and there would be no American-Japanese War in the Pacific. Strengthening of

American-Japanese friendship does not mean that America would be less anxious to maintain her traditional friendship with China. American Pacific policy is to maintain her own rights in the Pacific region through cordial relations with all the great Powers in the Pacific. There are many reasons to think that Japanese statesmen, for the promotion of best interests of Japan, would do their best to come to an understanding with America on all outstanding questions. It is quite possible that they would succeed in their efforts; because there is no economic rivalry between Japan and the United States. The real economic rivalry in the orient is between Japan and Great Britain; and there is serious difference of opinion between British and American economic policies all over the world.

VI

Since the resumption of diplomatic relations between Soviet Russia and the United States, there is much talk of a possiblity of a Russo-Japanese war, in which Russia might receive financial and moral support from the United States as well as Britain against Japan. A section of British politicans may be favourable to a Russo-Japanese war, because it would weaken Britain's two rivals in Asia. But it may be safely asserted that the present government of the United States would not act in such a way which may encourage a war between Japan and Russia. It is to be hoped confidently that the United States Government would use its influence and pressure for peaceful solution of a possible Russo-Japanese dispute.

In spite of much talk of the Soviet leaders that they are prepared to meet Japanese invasion, Russia's industrial and economic condition, her external relations in Europe are in such a condition that no sane Russian statesman would court a war with Japan. A Russian defeat in a war would result in a possible Revolution and the present rulers are not likely to take chances by provoking a war with Japan. Russian transporation system is far from being in a fit condition to meet the demands that will be made on it in case of a war in the Far East. Although Russia has made great progress in improving the communication system in the Far East, during the last two years, it is far from satisfactory. Russia's diplomatic relations with various European nations have improved considerably, through the signing of non-aggression pacts with France, Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the Baltic States. However, the advent of Hitler regime in Germany has practically dislocated German-Russian relations. There are rumours that although Hitler regime is anti-Asiatic in its outlook, it would rather support Japan against Russia, in case of a Russo-Japanese War; because anything that will weaken Russia would weaken communism and make it easier for Germany to carry out her programme of eastward expansion as expounded by Herr Rosenberg and to bring about the fulfilment of the idea of New Middle Europe, under German hegemony. The Japanese are willing to promote German-Japanese friendship; but they are quite aware of the fact that German motive behind supposed friendship for Japan is nothing more than what was the policy of Germany under Kaiser Wilhelm II, who favoured a Russo-Japanese war to strengthen German position in Europe. Furthermore, the Japanese are also aware of the fact that Germans are most anxious to aid the Chinese in developing steel industry which may help China in her efforts to arm herself, and there are German officers who are in the employ of the Chinese Government to reorganize Chinese army. Japan would not depend upon German support and attack Russia; because any attack on Russia by Japan would alienate French support to Japan.

It may be said that Japan has no real fear of Russia commercially as well as militarily. (Japan does not under-estimate Soviet Russia's military power.) Unless Russia goes against Japan, and decides to co-operate with China actively against Japan, there will be no Russo-Japanese War, because Japan would not force a war on Russia.

Japan depends considerably upon French support in international politics. It is reported that a French syndicate would invest a very large sum, to develop Manchukuo, as a joint-enterprise of Japan and France. It is also a well-known fact that Japan and France are bound by treaty to respect their mutual interests in the Far East. France does not wish that Russia be involved in a war with Japan; because such a war will be of great disadvantage to France both in Europe and Asia. A Russo-Japanese war may develop into another World War and France has nothing to gain through such a development in world politics. Therefore, it is to be hoped that through the moderating influence of the United States of America and France and possibly Italy which is in very close relations with Soviet Russia, there would be no war between Japan and Russia.

However, one cannot ignore the war-like preparations in the Far East. According to the well-informed special correspondent of London *Times*, "the total strength of the Far Eastern Army of Russia including some 10,000 cavalry is about 150,000 men with something over 50 heavy guns, about 500 field guns, a similar number of light mortars, 300-400 light tanks, a few heavy tanks, 4000-5000 machine guns and 300-400 aeroplanes. There are besides a division of O. G. P. U.'s special troops near the Manchurian frontier and at least one division of cavalry in Outer Mongolia trained on the Soviet model and at the disposal of the Soviet. An aeroplane base has been organized at Irkutsk, and chemical works for producing poison-gas at Kemerov, in

West Siberia, where the necessary materials are close at hand. Great reserves of oil fuel are said to have been brought to the Far East .... The aeroplanes of the Far Eastern Army include about 50 heavy bombers with a radius of action long enough to take them to the west coast of Japan, but Tokyo and most of the other important centres are too distant to be in serious danger of destruction from the air. According to Bluecher, Commander-in-Chief of the Far Eastern Army, there are in Manchuria 130,000 Japanese troops or one-third of the total Japanese Army, 110,000 Manchukuo soldiers, and 12,000 trained "white-guards" under Japanese command. These figures are, he says, "absolutely exact". (*Times*, April 4, 1934)

It has been recently reported that the Soviet Government have chartered several British and Greek freighters to transport ammunitions from Odessa to Vladivostok. The Soviet Government has also appropriated several million dollars for starting immediate improvement of the port of Vladivostok. Furthermore, it is generally considered that a Russo-Japanese war would benefit Great Britain, China, Germany and even the United States and all economic rivals of Japan; therefore, there is some possiblity of a Russo-Japanese war, which can be and should be averted.

It is my personal opinion that Japanese and Russian statesmen, as realists, would solve their outstanding differences without a war; because they realize that a war between them would not be to their real advantage. If Russia recognizes Japanese interests in Manchuria by recognizing Manchukuo, and if Japan shows proper recognition of Russian spheres of influence in Outer-Mongolia and Chinese Turkistan, then Japan and Russia may even form an alliance or secret understanding verging to an alliance. Secret Russo-Japanese understandings of 1907, 1910, 1916 and 1920 supply us food for thought regarding such a possibility.

VII

Prof. Tyler Dennet of Princeton University, Prof. George Washington Hall (generally known as Upton Close) and many American authorities regard that the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1921, at the Washington Conference was really a parting of ways between Japan and Britain. Today there is no part of the world especially in the orient, where Japanese and British economic and commercial interests do not conflict.

As early as 1915 and 1916, the Japanese and the British began to suspect each other regarding their policies in the Far East Japan was determined that Britain must not acquire any territory in China even as a leasehold. This was one of the real reasons for the so-called "Twenty-one Demands" of Japan, by which, among other things, Japan forced China to agree that she would lease, cede or sell any of Chinese territories or ports or islands to any third Power. The Japanese are fully convinced that during and after the Washington Conference, Britain followed a policy which was detrimental to Japanese interests. The Japanese feel that the Lytton Commission was engineered by Britain to bring about moral isolation of Japan in the field of diplomacy. The Japanese are quite outspoken that the Singapore Naval Base is a direct menace to Japan.

In the meantime, Japanese economic competition, in spite of the existing Imperial Preference, has undermined British commerce in all parts of the world, even in British colonies, dominions and in India. Today the nature of economic war between Britain and Japan is of much more serious character than it was between Germany and Britain before the World War. The failure of recent trade-negotiations between Japanese delegates and Lancashire business men is an indication of the depth of the conflict.

It is generally expected that many of the Western nations which are also suffering from Japanese competition would blame Japan and side with Great Britain. But is Japan really to blame for her marvellous economic and industrial developments? In this connection, might not Japan ask the Italian people if they are to blame because they have developed the fastest and best passenger service between the Orient and Europe, which is hurting British shipping?

What was the cause of the failure of the recent trade-talk between Japan and Great Britain? British business men demanded of Japanese delegates that Japan and Great Britain should agree to divide up markets of the whole world amongst themselves regarding certain class of goods. The Japanese on principle suggested that they preferred "equal opportunity and no commercial discrimination" as their policy However, they were willing to come to an agreement with Great Britain regarding markets of Great Britain proper and her crown colonies and not regarding her dominions and markets of other nations. I believe that no fair-minded person would take exception to Japanese stand.

This commercial rivalry between Britain and Japan is a real menace and gives rise to a belief that if these two nations fail to adjust their differences, there may be a war in the Pacific. British naval experts know that Japan can take Hongkong without much difficulty; and therefore Great Britain has developed the Singapore naval base as the most formidable naval establishment in the world. According to recent reports published in the *Daily Telegraph* (London) and *Chicago Tribune* and some German papers, it is claimed that new fortifications of Singapore are impregnable. In addition to these reports, one should take into consideration

the recent British Empire naval conference held at Singapore, the details of which have been very closely guarded. However, it may be safely asserted that Singapore naval base is not directed primarily against China and Russia whose naval strength are in no way dangerous to Britain. Obviously, Britain has no designs against the United States in the Pacific. There is no doubt that Japan is the real objective.

It is also reported that the Governments of Holland and Great Britain have secret agreements so that the British fleet and Air Forces would use Dutch territory in the East Indies, to prevent Japan from getting hold of Java and other islands containing vast oil resources. Of course, this report has been denied: but one cannot take the denial very seriously. If the Dutch have no understanding with Britain regarding the defence of the Dutch East Indies, then it would not have been possible for the Dutch government to reduce its naval strength now when the situation in the Pacific is so uncertain. The understanding between Holland and Great Britain may be something like a secret offensive and defensive alliance

One should know that Great Britain would never go to a war with a first class power and in the orient, unless she was sure that she would be able to utilize the resources, man-power and strategic position in India. Just as a few years before the outbreak of the World War, Britain made a great concession to the Boers, granting them full self-government, with the understanding and expectation that a contented Boer people in case of a war against Britain would not make a common cause with Germans in Africa, similarly Britain is going to give some concessions to the Indian moderates and Princes who would be willing to stand by Great Britain against Japan, as Gandhi and others did during the World War. The programme of separation of Burma from India, as advocated by the British Government, is more for military and strategic reasons. Burma possesses valuable oil and other mineral resources which must be reserved for British exploitation. Furthermore, Burma can serve as an important supporting base to British naval base at Singapore. One may also point out that recently British forces have penetrated into Yunan through Burma. Furthermore, Burma may serve as an excellent base of operation against Siam, in case the latter country decides to support Japan.

There are more reasons than one to think that if Japan and Great Britain fail to solve their differences, during the coming Washington Conference of 1935-36, then the present Anglo-Japanese rivalry may lead to a war in the Pacific. Although I may be mistaken, but it is my conviction that when the Japanese naval and military authorities were demanding, a few months ago, that Japan for her self-defence should have a strong navy and army, they were possibly thinking more of the possibility of an Anglo-Japanese conflict, than an American-Japanese war or a Russo-Japanese war.

It may be safely predicted that in spite of great resources of the British Empire and superior navy, Britain would not pick up a quarrel with Japan, unless she was sure of getting American and Chinese support. It is generally regarded as certain that China—the Cantonese faction would range against Japan in favour of Great Britain. Therefore, the future of Anglo-Japanese relations largely remains in the hands of the United States of America, and she, I hope, will use her policy of benevolent attitude in solving the increasing difficulty between these two nations.

Furthermore, developments in European politics will have a determined effect in Britain's attitude towards Japan. Britain must protect her supremacy in the Mediterranean. She cannot fight Japan and maintain her position in the Mediterranean, unless she can get an ally in the Mediterranean. Many think that Italy is committed to aid Britain in the Mediterranean but nothing definite is known about it. However, the possible development of a German navy with the pocket-battleships, increase of Russian naval power in the Baltic and the Black Seas and the programme of the development of Turkish navy which, according to the report of *Chicago Tribune* (Paris) of March 24, 1934, has been entrusted to Japan, and increase of Spanish navy in the Mediterranean may complicate the existing situation. In this connection, Italy becomes a vital factor in any possible development in Anglo-Japanese relations.

An Anglo-Japanese war is not inevitable, although it is probable. It can be and should be averted by statesmanship. It has been reported that sober British statesmen are urging British business men to settle economic difficulties with Japan through negotiations and co-operation. There is every reason to believe that another Anglo-Japanese conference will soon be held to solve the problems of trade competition. Japanese statesmen, specially the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Hirota, have made it clear that Japan would do her best to maintain friendship with Britain.

VIII

Japan has everything to gain from avoiding a war and much to lose in case of a defeat. This is fully realized by Japanese statesmen who are carrying on a policy which would protect Japan from a diplomatic military and naval defeat. However, there are ultra-nationalists and militarists in Japan who are short-sighted and often talk of war. They are apt to overestimate Japanese strength and therefore think that Japan can, without difficulty. defeat Russia, America or Great Britain. They generally forget that in case of a war against Japan, Japan may be

completely isolated as was the case with the German Empire, during the World War. They also forget that Japan's defensive position is not impregnable.

In 1921, Mr. Nakamura, a Japanese writer of note, wrote about the difficulties of Japanese national defence in the following way:

"Japanese control over the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea may not protect her from blockade. At no period of the World War did Germany lose command of the Heligoland Bight or of the Baltic. and she was therefore able to guard her coastline from naval attack. But this did not save her from the fatal pressure of the blockade, the operation of which was the real cause of her defeat. Nor, in our case, would the undisputed command of the Sea of Japan protect us from blockade. It would be within the power of a superior naval opponent to strangle our commerce and cut off our supplies without sending a single ship into the Sea of Japan. The majority of the merchant ships entering Japanese ports traverse certain steamer lanes which the enemy would have no difficulty in closing. Having established a blockade, he would certainly endeavour to undermine our resistance by attacking exposed ports of the coast with battleships, submarines and aircrafts. Many of our great commercial and naval harbours would be open to attack and the enemy, being well-informed as to our resources, would know in what direction to concentrate his efforts. On the Pacific Coast the capital of Tokyo, the huge *entrepot* of Yakohama, would lie open to the visitations of hostile flying machines. Osaka, the heart of our national industry, would not be beyond any enemy's reach, and the swarming industrial lives of Kyushu would present him with invulnerable targets. Our coast defences, submarines and torpedo boats might be able to prevent the near approach of hostile armourclads; but they could do nothing against an invading air-fleet. The sole defence against this form of attack is a battle-fleet of sufficient power to sweep outer seas and make it impossible for the enemy to send out his air-craft carrying vessels. Sea-power and air-power have already become synonymous terms; but above and beyond all we must provide ourselves with an adequate battle fleet, if the safety of the Empire is to be assured." Bywater: *Sea Power in the Pacific*. p. 305-306.

The above statement of a Japanese gives a warning to Japan; and it also explains which might be the policy of Japan regarding her future naval defence. Japanese jingoes should know this fact that if ever the combined fleet of Britain and the United States, supported by China, Russia and other powers, attack Japan, then Japan's very existence will be threatened. Japan, therefore, has much to fear from a possible diplomatic defeat.

A British naval expert in 1921 held that there was a possibility of a war between Japan and the United States and sounded the following warning to Japan:

"To foreign observers it seems that Japan has everything to lose and nothing to gain by a policy of aggressiveness. By sheer hard work and indomitable courage she has triumphed over the handicap of scanty natural resources and raised herself to a commanding position in the world. The problem of overpopulation has been solved in part by annexation of Korea and Formosa and of late years a new outlet, practically limitless in possibilities, has been found in China. It is here if anywhere that Japan may realize her true destiny, and it is there her claims for priority are less open to challenge than in any other quarter. There is plenty of resources in China for all legitimate interests, if Japan would bring herself to discard the methods she has borrowed from Prussia, in favour of a policy of conciliation and genuine friendship with the Chinese people, she would eventually acquire in that quarter a predominance which could never be seriously contested. It remains to be seen whether her rulers and statesmen have sufficient acumen to seize the unique opportunity thus presented to them instead of hazarding the fortunes of Dai Nippon in a militant gamble more reckless even than that which causes the ruin of the German Empire" Bywater: *Sea Power in the Pacific*, pp. 318-319.

What Mr. Bywater had to say in 1921 may be well applied today in case of a war in the Pacific in which Japan may be involved. Japan has everything to gain by avoiding a war. It may be said that a victory in the battle-field or a naval war will not be sufficient. She may face a concert of Western powers and a diplomatic defeat which may be disastrous. *Furthermore, if Japan loses she will not only endanger her own destiny, but her defeat by any combination of Western powers will be a crushing blow to the cause of Asian Independence. It is my earnest hope that the Japanese people will win greater victory by following the path of conciliation and peace.*

IX

I have already mentioned that every nation which has commerce in the Pacific and plays an important part in world politics is directly or indirectly involved in all problems of the Pacific. Italy as a great Power is directly interested in all the developments of events in the Pacific. Furthermore, Signor Mussolini, as the head of the Italian Government, has made it clear in his two recent speeches and one special article that Italy has great interest in cultural and commercial expansion in the orient as a whole.

During recent years, Italy has been taking special interest in Chinese affairs. Italy was a party in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion and thus extracted an indemnity from China.

However, on October 1, 1925, Italian and Chinese governments signed an agreement regarding the Boxer indemnity fund due to Italy and made arrangements that certain part of this amount should be spent by a Sino-Italian Commission "for educational, philanthropic works in China as well as enterprises and works of public utility, the materials for which shall be bought in Italy." This may be regarded as the beginning of farsighted cultural co-operation and commercial expansion of Italy in China.

On November 27, 1928, Italy and China signed a new treaty of amity and commerce which went into effect on May 21, 1929, upon the signature of the protocol of ratification. By this treaty it was agreed to accord *favoured nation treatment* to each other's citizens regarding customs and all related matters. The article of this agreement is very significant: "The nationals of each of the two High Contracting Parties shall be subject, in the territory of the other, to the laws and jurisdiction of the law courts of that Party to which they shall have free and easy access for the enforcement and defence of their rights."

This means that the Italian Government showed its willingness to concede to the demands of the Chinese regarding the abolition of "extra-territoriality", provided the Chinese Government could make an arrangement with all other Treaty Powers on the subject. The Chinese government made it clear that "Italian subjects shall be amenable to Chinese laws and jurisdiction from the date to be fixed by China, after having come to an agreement for the abolition of extra-territoriality with all the Powers, signatory to the Washington Treaties, it being understood that such a date shall be applicable to all such Powers."

This makes it clear that Italy is not opposed to abolition of "extra-territoriality" in China. This fact has brought about much cordiality between Italian and Chinese governments. Recently, several Chinese missions—educational, financial as well as military have visited Rome and received cordial attention of Italian authorities. The Italian Government has lent the services of one of the best Italian airmen, Col Bernardi, who is now in China to help the Chinese authorities in the field of consolidating and improving Chinese Air Service. Slowly but surely, Italy is spreading her influence in China; and Italian policy is definitely in favour of a free and independent China, extending equal opportunity to all nations for trade and commerce.

In the past Italian relations with Japan were most cordial; because Italy and Japan had practically the same problems problems of population, raw materials, etc., to face. It is my impression, which may not be correct, that during the last few months, Italian press and public men have given expressions which have not been entirely welcome by the Japanese people as well as the government. Some people think that this is due to the fact that Japanese commercial expansion has invaded such regions—even in Africa and the Near East—where Italy held a special position. Furthermore, Italian foreign policy in Europe is at the present to be on very cordial terms with Great Britain and Russia, the two nations which are opposed to Japanese economic and political ascendancy in the Far East. Italy, to be sure, has no reason to be antagonistic to Japan and I am inclined to think that the two governments will maintain cordial relations. Yet Italian authorities, who are duty-bound to promote Italian national interests, may regard that intimate relations with Great Britain, Russia and China may be more valuable to Italy than the goodwill of a nation which is competing with Italy in international trade. However, it should not be overlooked by Italian statesmen that Japanese friendship is not a negligible factor in the world politics of today or tomorrow.

Signor Mussolini has repeatedly said that Italy's mission is to promote better understanding between the East and the West. In carrying out this mission, one of the most important factors is to do all that is possible to bring about better understanding between China and Japan, so that the most important causes of friction and possible conflict in the Far East may be removed. Secondly, one may expect that Signor Mussolini, with his personal influence with the Soviet Russian leaders, may aid the cause of better understanding between Japan and Russia. Thirdly, the Italian people and leaders should realize that *every far-sighted Asian is an advocate of Asian independence and racial equality before law*. There are Western Powers which are interested in keeping hundreds of millions of Asian people in subjection, which is a menace to the cause of World Peace. When the Japanese advocate "Asia for the Asiatics," they do not advocate that the Asian people should combine to fight the Western nations. They advocate that the Asian people should do their best to defend their homelands from foreign invaders; they must free themselves from the yoke of alien oppressors. Some of the Western journalists write about "Asiatic Menace", under the leadership of Japan. This is the product of "fear' unfounded fear. Western Powers are quite willing to use Asian man-power and resources against themselves as they did in the World War; but they are mortally afraid of reawkening of Asia which may lead to loss of unjust privileges and profit of Western nations now dominating over certain parts of Asia. The real situation in Asia is this: there is a serious and growing opposition to European domination in Asia; but this does not mean that Asia is opposed to co-operation with those of European Powers which have no political control over Asian countries. If it is the mission of the Italian people to bring the East and the West

to mutual understanding, then every precaution should be taken against spreading any racial hatred against the people of Asia, especially against the Japanese.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize that behind the so-called problem of the Pacific, there is the problem of India In the most important drama of the twentieth century—in the struggle for Asian Independence as a whole India will play the most important part. Awakened India will, in course of time, recover her birthright of freedom and it will be the most important factor in all problems of the Pacific and World Politics.

Those who believe in the doctrine of co-operation between the East and the West the Mussolini Doctrine through the influence of Rome, should not forget that Italy cannot afford to be merely pro-Chinese or pro-Indian. Italy, maintaining friendly relations with India, Siam, China, Japan and other Asiatic countries, and at the same time maintaining her position as a Great Power in Europe, will be able to serve her enlightened interest most effectively and contribute her share towards peaceful solution of the Problem of the Pacific.

The late Prof. Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, former United States Minister to China, speaking of the American-Chinese relations, wrote: "By doing things in themselves worthwhile, Americans will contribute most to the true liberation of the Chinese." This motto may serve as a very sound guide to all Western Powers in their relations with the oriental peoples.

Rome, Italy
April 10, 1931.

PROGRESS AND PRECEDENCE IN A CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION

By IDA M. GURWELL

IRREGULAR things are always happening in America. For the first time in history a great World's Fair is playing a return engagement.

The public said it couldn't be done, but the Administrators of the Century of Progress Exposition did it.

Clicking daily through the turnstiles of the gates stationed at intervals along a three mile front, come thousands of incredulous spectators. True, this is the Chicago World's Fair but made new throughout. Even the sky line has been somewhat changed, and with the pronounced improvement in colour treatment, it has been possible to emphasize enchanting vistas that were not present before. Students of lighting and colour have been at work merging light and paint, and have achieved brilliant colour results worked out in satisfying combinations. The nights this year have unforgettable loveliness.

The World's Fair, Garagantuan in size, was conceived in a world-wide depression and born at its darkest hour. There was no illusion in June, 1934, about what must be done with the year old exposition! Mistakes had been made Capable nurses in charge knew that if the Fair was to live healthily through its second summer, they dare not feed it more obscenity; if poisons had been stored in the young exposition's system they must be speedily eliminated. True sufficient lime, in the form of cash, had been stored away to save the year old from rickets, and there were now no symptoms of malnutrition, a staff of Specialists had provided for this, but there were times, many of them, when it took courage to fight the ailments that a great enterprise is heir to, but those in charge of the precious bundle had something beside theory: 1933 had dealt them a hand of actual experience, so we find not only a well cared for investment but a prize winning Exposition. A stupendous achievement! The Officials of the Century of Progress Exposition have a right to feel proud.

The financial backers who did not have "cold feet," at least found the depression relentless and chilling Some of them said, "Foolhardy! We must postpone this until better times." But the majority said, "The Century of Progress must open, and on schedule." Open it did.

The world should know more about the financing of this Exposition. It has not been easy. When we realize that not one cent of public funds of any sort, no donations, no loans or subsidies from any tax-paying body, Federal, State, county or municipal, has been asked or received for either the 1933 or 1934 Chicago World's Fair, this makes the Century of Progress unique among all major Expositions.

The Fair is gathering momentum; the success of the first year gave encouragement. There is little ballyhoo. The World knows the Fair is on, and that a choice of exhibits both old and new

are there, and the attitude seems to be;—if *one* does not see it, it is *his* misfortune. There is a demand. This year at opening there was an advance sale of 4,000,000 tickets as against an advance sale last year of 2,300,000. Perhaps Americans have a little more money this summer, and perhaps one of the greatest reasons for the second year's success is that thousands of Americans will visit the Fair in lieu of a journey abroad because of the rate of exchange and unsettled conditions there.

How could the administrators of this vast project keep both exhibitors and public interested? How could the Exposition hope to pay out?

There is no precedent. Scarcely a person living who had been associated with the World's Columbian Exposition of forty years ago. The value of their experience was available only in old newspapers. It was suggested at a reunion of Press men that if the Century of Progress Exposition could be *immediately* repeated, a great contribution would be made to the science of expositional art, without breaking its continuity.

But such a gigantic enterprise must have tangible reasons for continuing, expressed in cold figures, before staking other added millions to an already colossal venture?

The Officials had facts gathered from 1933 and they started to compile them: They knew that seventy per cent. of the exhibitors who participated in the 1933 Fair had found it so profitable that they considered it a great waste of money and opportunity to quit when they had just started. A year was not enough. The seed had been sown, one crop had been reaped, they were anxious to harvest a second one.

$4,783,839 had been expended in 1933, in operating and maintaining the Fair for 170 days. The cost of operation by Governments, concessionaires, and exhibiting corporations probably exceeded those of the exposition, together they totalled $10,000,000.

The World's Fair attendance figure for 1933 was 22,565,859, the greatest number of visitors that ever attended an American Exposition.

More than $37,270,000 was spent by visitors for gate and concession admissions. $1.17 was the average expenditure per person, exclusive of the fifty-cent gate admission.

The bonded indebtedness of the exposition amounted to $10,000,000. Fifty per cent of that amount was paid to bondholders on November 13, 1933. The first time in history that so large a percentage of the bonded indebtedness of any exposition has ever been paid. Officials of the Fair after payment of all floating indebtedness had on hand $1,200,000 cash and current receivables. Surely a nice nest egg. Young 1934 Exposition was now assured the proper care through what might have been otherwise, a "colicy" summer.

There had been an insistent demand on the part of Chicago, after the Dress Rehearsal of 1933, for the show to continue. Last year's performance had been the salvation of business in this great industrial centre. National and International Conventions had been housed in Chicago by the score: Hotels that had previously had rooms closed save for an occasional dusting, were now filled to overflowing. The Fair was a good thing for Chicago, and Chicago sat up on its hind legs and demanded more Fair. Visitors from every part of the country wrote thousands of letters asking that the Century of Progress Exposition might continue, that they might have an opportunity to see the Fair: in many instances they expressed their convictions that they might have more money to spend in 1934.

An analysis shows that exhibitors wanted the Fair. The public was not so particular, but they could be depended on to come. mob psychology would see to that: Chicago was clamouring for it: and the officials had already made a successful investment and wanted to continue. They knew facts. If only 13,000,000 paid admissions were rung up at the gates during the Fair of 1934, bills could be paid, and if by chance the admission equalled that of the first summer, in addition to the receipted bills, they would have a profit of many millions.

It would be difficult to estimate the value of the Century of Progress Exposition to the people of the world. Figures have not been compiled for 1934. It is estimated that in 1933, railroads brought 4,000,000 guests to the Fair. Motor buses brought an additional million. Automobiles, shiny and otherwise, loaded human freight to the tune of another 4,000,000, they occupied acres of parking space at the very gates, and spilled their dusty, carnival-spirited cargo onto the grounds.

The exposition of 1934 is an improvement on its predecessor. There is more that is worth while to be seen. The second year reflects efficiency and finish in management too: in short it is a bigger and better Fair.

One hears on every side statements which while not *practical*, are *complimentary*; "This exposition should be made a permanent thing." This idea in the minds of the people is the highest tribute to the excellence of the achievement.

THE VANISHING AMERICAN

By PASUPULETI GOPALA KRISHNAYYA, B.A. (Madras), M.A., M. SC. (Columbia), PH. D. (New York)

"There are yet many thousands of Red Indians. Some tribes, according to government estimate, are even increasing in numbers, and yet the full-blood is everywhere becoming rare. "Civilization" has been deadly to the red man. In its environs he loses his pride, languishes and falls an easy prey to its diseases. The frontier trading posts, where the Red Indian bartered his furs and buffalo' robes have passed; so too his source of furs and robes. Confined to "reservations" he must now trade with more or less modern merchants, paying for his purchases, with dole-money given him by the United States government or dollars obtained through the occasional sale of a horse. This dole, or annuity system, that seemed at the time of its establishment to be the best way to help the Red Indian, has proved itself a curse since it has robbed him of all initiative; and by maintaining it, the government is perpetuating pauperism. With this dole barely sufficient to keep body and soul together the Red Indian (and all his hanger-ons) become more and more dependent, and less and less able to care for himself -and less worthy. The old Red Indian, the warrior of his generation, presents no problem. He must be cared for until the end. But the young tribesmen, many of whom have gone to government schools, offer a grave problem, one that seems now to defy solution."

—FRANK B. LINDERMAN

NEW York is a world by itself. One can find in it practically all nationalities of the world. I had stayed in this metropolis nearly over a year and brushed shoulders with perhaps representatives of nearly all the countries in the world, except the real native of America, the so-called Red Indian. In the grand New York Zoo the greatest in the world—they have a specimen of the bison that once roamed in thousands over the plains of the New World, now alas! extinct and to be seen only in reservations fostered by the government of the United States. There is yet another species which the same government keeps in reservations and which has also vanished and which deserves a place in the same Zoo and that is the Red Indian—once the proud lord and master of these United States and now the little said of him the better.

As I began, after a year's stay in this greatest city of the world, one evening I was speeding "down-town" on the crowded and fast New York Inter-Borough sub-way, hanging by the strap, when an individual approached me and interrogated me thus, "You are an Indian, arn't you?" I nodded and querried whether he was an Indian, because he looked to me as if he could be a lad from Bengal. He said, "Yes". I next asked from what part of India he hailed from? He replied, "No, I don't come from Indianna. I come from Oklahoma". By this time I understood my mistake and replied, "Look here, I am the true Indian and you are the false Indian". He flared up and said, "What do you mean?" I tried to explain and the fellow was ignorant that there was a great and glorious country called India, thousands of miles away from his, and by this time we had come to "42nd Street Broadway" where I had to get down and his parting shot at me was, "Hey, you are kidding me. You are an Inolian (he meant Red Indian) all right.'

Since his advent in North America the European has met scores of tribes of people whom he called "Indians". He has fought with them, lived with them and yet he has never known them. Long association, even intermarriage, has failed to bring natural understanding. Unable to think alike the two races have remained distinctly apart, and yet each has influenced the other. Both recognize the bewildering barrier that separates them. Both understand that because of it the off-spring of misecegnation are, at birth, expatriated from either. Mixed bloods, being neither red nor white, have bridged no difference between the races; on the contrary, they have seemed to emphasize them. Indeed there has been so little inter-breeding between the races that the theory of final assimilation seems to me absurd. The red race in North America, leaving a little of its blood to remind a few succeeding generations of white men that it once existed, will pass; in reality it has already passed. And what do we know about it? Almost nothing.

Every imaginable trait has been ascribed to the Red Indian. Many a truth concerning his customs, traditions and religious beliefs have been recorded; and not once has he protested. The old time Red Indian was, to the end, profoundly indifferent to the white man's estimate of him. He was a poor teacher, a difficult man to know. The young Red Indians know next to nothing about their people, their ancient customs, or traditions, and now it is too late to learn. The change from a normal to an uncertain and unnatural existence came so suddenly to the Red Indian that his customs and traditions could not flourish and they all but perished with the bison in the early eighties. One is startled that so brief a time could wipe away traditions ages old, and after contemplation

vonders how much truth we know of ancient peoples.

His early experiences with the white men may have for ever estranged the Red Indian, since here, for the most part, the white man's record is bad Anyway the Red Indian never had a fair opportunity to judge the white race justly. His estimate of it was formed by his association with white men he knew best, and unfortunately most of these were far from being fair representatives. Many of them were lawless men who had been banished from white society. Even in his dealing with the government of the United States he was sometimes cheated, and nearly always the treaties which he signed in good faith were broken by whites whose violations were upheld by the Government itself, so that long ago the Red Indian became distrustful of all white men.

The Red Indians were never saints. On the contrary they have many times qualified as nearly perfect devils. Their misdeeds have been told and retold ever since they first began to resent the white man's invasion of their land. But there is really another picture which has not been told. The Red Indian has a finer side. Any alleged wrongs he perpetuated are due to the fact that he was like an animal trapped and cornered. Here was the white man with his gun trying to deprive him of his land and possessions and the only weapon he had was the bow and arrow. The Red Indian, to his eternal credit, put up an heroic fight with such a handicap and let it be said that in the circumstances, he did behave better than his Christian invokers. With the provocation he had, his behaviour has been intensely humane.

The Red Indian is a tolerant man, a believer in one God. He has never been known to quarrel with his fellows, or with anybody else, over religion. He never manufactured an intoxicating beverage. He is not a stoic, but a natural man, who loves a joke. With friends his laugh is deep and hearty, and easily provoked. He is a thorough sportsman, the best of losers in games of chance, even in a battle to the death. He is not the petty thief that some interested people would like us to believe; and he is an individualist in all things whatsoever He is a courteous being, a polite man, in his own lodge a gracious host He believes in miracles (so do his conquerors if they really believe in their Bible) and his mind is as simple as a child's. He is superstitious to a degree that is beyond a white man's understanding, and he is deeply religious. And here are his conquerors bewildered.

The old Red Indian will not discuss his religion. Any tribesman who is easily led to speak of it has ceased to be a Red Indian. The old Red Indian will not often utter the name of his God aloud, and if you, in his presence, pronounce it you will feel his reverence. Instantly [illegible] attitude will have changed.

The folk-tales of these people have interested me very much. They are as truly legends as those of the Norsemen, the Greeks, and the Hindus, but instead of representing man's combats with the elements as typified by the gods, they deal chiefly with the eccentricities of nature which they attribute to a strange character known among the tribes by various names, such as, Nahpee, Nulach-kin-nah, Esaccawata, Old-man, or Old-man-coyote, to whom the Almighty entrusted much of the work of creation. This strange character is always fickle, frequently fiendish, often foolish, and, on the contrary, sometimes almost sublime. In this you will recognize a wise provision, since it is evident that in his finding fault with created things, like the elements which sometimes tortured, the old Red Indian could not blaspheme against his God for whom he holds the greatest reverence. Speak of Nahpee or Esaccawata, Old-man, or Old-man-coyote, by whatever name he is known, and every old Red Indian will laugh merrily. They hold him in no reverence. But the pronouncement of the name of the Almighty is quite another matter. No man is more deeply religious than the old Red Indian; and no man ever loved children more. Knight-errantry, so highly respected in mediaeval times, flourished among the plains Red Indians of North America long before and long after it was known in Europe. Individual desire for fame was not alone responsible for the practice of "coupcounting" the striking of an enemy with a bow, or cup-stick, while he was armed and fighting, without otherwise injuring him, etc. Tribal custom forcefully encouraged this to the end that young men might be brave, and through them the tribe maintain itself against the enemies. A young man could not marry until he had counted "coup," or had reached the age of twenty-five years. Even here custom made distinction in favour of valour. The young man who married at twenty-five, or after, and had not counted "coup," could not "paint his woman's face". She was obliged by tribal custom to ride with the women companions whose painted faces constantly reminded her, and the rest of the world, that their husbands were brave warriors who had distinguished themselves in battle. Any woman, white or red, would feel this, and inspire her husband to count "coup," and "paint her face". Besides the face-painting, a woman whose husband has counted "coup", was privileged to ride her husband's best war-horse, and to carry his lance and shield whenever the village moved; and it was always moving.

There were, among all the tribes of the North-western plains, clans and secret societies. These, especially the latter, possessed great influence over their members, so much that even to this day I believe them in a measure

responsible for the lack of unity that sometimes presents itself in the administration of tribal affairs. The secret societies, one must remember, were apart from the clans. A man or woman was born to a clan, the mother's clan, always. When a man married he was obliged by tribal law to take a woman from another clan. He could not marry within his own clan. The resulting children belonged at birth to the clan of their mother; a mother's blood determined both family and tribal relationship. The secret societies elected their own members upon petition. There were the Mad-dogs, the Back-fats, the Foxes, the War-clubs, and others, each tribe having different names for its secret societies, and clans. I know of but one secret society that confined its membership to a certain class. This was the Fighting-bulls of the Crows. Its membership was confined to aged and respected warriors.

Today it is difficult for one to imagine a Red Indian without a few feathers. On Red Indian men, women and children, artists insist upon painting feathers, so that we naturally suppose all Red Indian wear eagle feathers. And, today, they may wear them; but this was not so when Red Indians were real. The eagle feather was not worn for adornment It was a mark of distinction, and might be worn only by men who had counted "coup" (excepting the war-bonnet, which is a different thing than a single feather).

Nowadays, half the tribesmen, off their reservations, are "chiefs," and every tribal flapper is a "princess." This is movie material, counterfeit as the cowgirl. I have never known a truly hereditary chief; and there never was a Red Indian "princess". The old Red Indian chief was too wise to foster a belief in hereditary leadership, and he never did. A man became chief of a Red Indian tribe by prowess, and held his place by demonstrated ability. When he died, or was superseded, his son, if he possessed ability, stood a little better chance to succeed as a chief than any other young man of the tribe. I have known a son to succeed his father as chief, but neither blood nor breeding had anything to do with his selection. Instead of a Red Indian chief being the wealthiest man of a tribe, he is usually one of the poorest. The reason for his poverty is that he continually helps his tribesmen out of his store. If a man has no horse he goes to his chief to get one, that is, if he is unable to steal one from an enemy; and those days have gone. Last winter old White-quiver, a blackfoot warrior, prefaced a story he told me with these words: "Long ago, when I first knew you, and it was honest to steal horses."

The plains Red Indian is a great believer in dreams. He will starve and torture himself in preparation for his hoped for "medicine-dream," and then repair to some difficult spot, usually a high mountain peak where, alone, without food or water, he will spend four days and nights, if necessary, dreaming and appealing to "helpers." His condition, both physical and mental, is necessarily unbalanced by weakness brought on through abstinence from food, taking enervation sweat-baths, and otherwise courting fatigue. Some go even further, and deeply wound their bodies so that they may be severely weakened by loss of blood. Their resulting dreams are weird, sometimes terrifying, though often strangely prophetic of the future. In a "medicine-dream" a bird, some animal, or a "person" appears and offers help to the troubled dreamer. Sometimes, however, these apparitions only proffer advice, or teach lessons by parables which are later interpreted in council by the tribe's "wise-ones," usually known as "medicine-men." Thereafter, or until he has a greater dream, which seldom happens, the animal, or bird that appeared to him in his dream, is the dreamer's "medicine." This term, "medicine", is altogether wrong, and yet it is with us to remain. "Medicine" is not particularly curative; it is more nearly protective in its qualities. It is a talisman, or charm, a lucky-piece that no old Red Indian will forgo. His "medicine" is of immense importance to an old Red Indian. He implicitly believes that the superlative powers of the animal or bird that appeared to him in his medicine-dream are his own to command in time of need.

I have used the term "person" here, and my readers will need some explanation. Old Red Indians, recounting their medicine-dreams, which they very seldom do, or in repeating folk-tales, often use this term. A "person," as used here, is a sort of apparition in human form, ghostly and capable of changing itself into an animal that is equally eerie, Old Red Indians have told me that a "person" as used here is one who lived "long ago without fire."

White men have tried in vain to establish some language that might be spoken by all nations. They go on fighting and trading in many different tongues ; but this is not so with the plains Red Indians. There are many tribes of the plains, each inheriting hatreds for the others that are ages old ; yet they have a common language. By comprehensive signs these tribesmen can converse, even at a distance, without uttering a sound. They can clearly express themselves under all circumstances, excepting in darkness, or when they are unable to see each other Nobody knows when the sign-language came into being. It was in general use among the tribes of the plains when white men first met them there, and it has continued down to this day. It was never known far west of the Rocky Mountains, and perhaps not east of the Mississippi River.

Perhaps the true origin of the North American Red Indian is for ever hidden by centuries of transmutation. Who is he ? From where did he come to North America ? And how ? He does not attempt to answer these questions himself,

believing that his people have always been here. White men answer them quite readily, and yet they are but guessing. There are similarities of features, of customs, and sometimes even of folk-tales, that seem to point to definite directions, but in trying to follow them we end in tangling inconsistencies. A year or so ago I was in the Crow country, and met Plain-feather, the old warrior. I told him that there were quite a few similiarities between the folk-lore of the Red Indians and the Hindus. He was greatly impressed, as I knew he would be. After listening to this he stood for a time looking intently at the far horizon, his strong face a study, his eyes in a dream. Then he said softly, more to himself than to me: "These things are beyond us." They are, indeed.

SWEET NEPAL, A LAND OF FOLK-SONGS

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

SWEET NEPAL is Nature's cradle of beauty and lies on the southern slopes of the great Himalayas. Beneath the snow-clad peaks, these slopes look like a broad fore-head under an old saint's hoary head. Viewed from a distance, the Nepalese villages, situated amidst the lovely scenes and sites of Nature, appear to be the embodiment of some mystic poet's golden dreams. The blooming faces of the children of the peasantry, who pass their days and nights in the simple huts of these villages, shine among the many flowers that adorn the Nepalese landscape; and their hearts sing and dance to the tune of the rippling music of the innumerable cascades and falls of their native land. They are the nurslings of Nature and delight to frolic and gambol in her company. The "noiseless tenor of their days", is passed, in the words of the poet, along the cool, sequestered vale of life where the dust and din of modern civilization come but as faint echoes from a distant land.



Bhutia girls singing Nepali songs
Photo by Das & Co, Darjeeling

Extreme sympathy and wide hospitality for all who knock at their doors, are the principal traits of the Nepalese village-folk's character. Their deep-rooted belief in the inherent goodness of mankind is seldom shaken by pride, doubt or fear. It appears that the natural simplicity of the earlier races of man has come to stay with them.

In the olden days the name 'Nepal' was confined only to the Nepal valley proper, but now it represents the country as a whole. The present Nepal is bounded on the west by the river Kali, in its east lie Sikkim and Bengal; on its north is Tibet, and the United Provinces and Bihar-Orissa are on its south. Its area is nearly 54,000* square miles and the population is about 55,74,756 †

One may divide the country into four parts:

1. The Terai. It lies a little above the sea-level and covers almost the whole of the southern boundary of the country. As low-land it is moist and swampy and therefore very malarious.

2. The Valleys. These are known as Duns

3. The Hill-Country. Its average height from the sea-level is from 1,000 to nearly 4,000 feet.

* As given in *Gurkhas* (an army Hand-book, Govt. of India, 1915).

† As given in *Gurkhas* (an army Hand-book, Govt. of India, 1933).

4. The Alpine Region. It includes the main range of the Himalayas.

So, in Nepal we find all varieties of climate. All seasons manifest themselves in full glory. Season follows season and awakens the sleeping sentiments of the mountain Muse. During the rains Nepal looks like a land of clouds. The people in these days live amongst the clouds and sing the carols of their dancing beauty. The village-folks' minute observation of Nature shines out in many of their songs, sung at the time of re-plantation. Again, in spring, when the buds blossom forth, the youthful beauty and grace of Nepal rejuvenates her people and the praise and glorification of Nature find an echo in the village-folks' songs and dances, that welcome the happy advent of the new season.

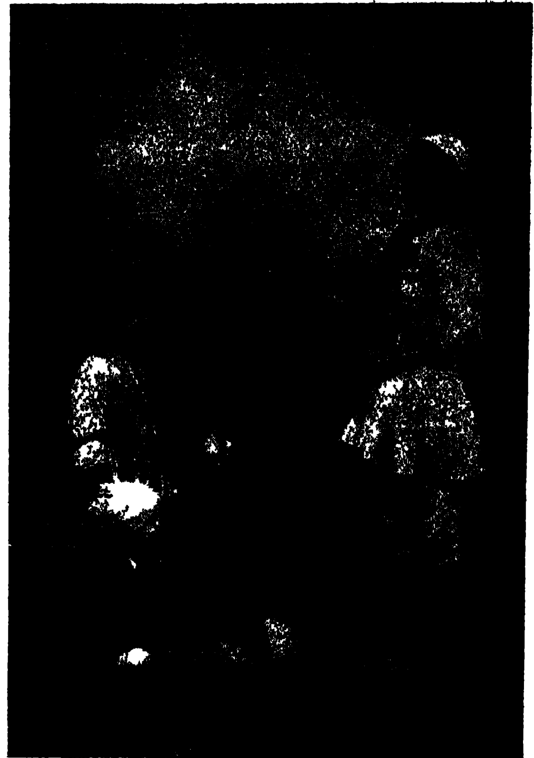


Nepali girls playing on the flute

The Nepalese are primarily Hindus and are ruled by the only independent Hindu King The Brahmins, the Chetris, the Thakurs, the Newars, the Gurungs, the Magars, the Limbus, the Raies, the Sunwars and the Tharus are the principal castes and tribes of Nepal Of these the Brahmins, the Chetries and the Thakurs speak Nepali,* while all others have dialects of their own.

In 1559 the Maharajah Dravya Shah, the ancestor of His Royal Majesty, the present King of Nepal, conquered the petty state of Gurkha† and laid the foundation of the present independent Gurkha Raj And since then the development of the Nepali language began. Now Nepali is the court-language of the country.

Before Gurkha Raj was firmly established, Kathmandu, Bhat Gaon and Patan, all the three towns of Nepal, were the royal seats of three separate Newar states. These Newar states and many other petty states of the country were conquered in the course of time by the later Kings of the same dynasty. The Newars now reside in the Nepal Valley and are great lovers of art. They have made considerable progress, especially in the realm of architecture. Cottage-industries, trade and cultivation form their principal occupations. In former days they were also great lovers of literature. The first book in Newari language was probably written in the fourteenth century, but according to Sten Konow books were written in this language even prior to the eleventh century.*



Children attending to the music of the wandering Nepali Minstrel

The Newars include both Buddhists and Hindus; the Buddhist Newars are known as Buddhamargis and Hindu Newars as Shivamargis. Both these schools of religion are in no way rivals of one another amongst these people. The Newari life may aptly be said to be a garland of festivals. The word 'Yatra' forms the synonym of festival. Some of their principal Yatras are: Bhairab Yatra, Gai Yatra, Indra Yatra, great

* The original name of the language is 'Gorkhali'

† Gurkha is a particular place near Kathmandu and in those days it was a royal seat.

* There are many old manuscripts of Newari literature which are preserved with great care in the State Library of Kathmandu. But since the adoption of Nepali as the court-language of the kingdom, the Newari has lost its place of pride even among the Newars and the love of Newari literature has consequently declined among the natives.

and small Machhindra Yatra and Rath Yatra. Hindu and Buddhist influences have blended in these Yatras and it is not always possible to separate them from one another and dogmatize about their real origin. Songs and dances lend an additional joy to the Newari life, during these Yatras.

Excepting Nepali no other language or dialect of the country is of Sanskrit-origin. People speaking in different tongues are unable to understand one another. So, many people, who come in frequent contact with the Nepali-speaking masses learn Nepali and hence it is Nepali that serves as the *lingua franca* among the various tribes of the country. Many people have discarded their own dialects and have adopted Nepali as their mother-tongue in the course of time.



A peasant girl singing

Nepal may aptly be said to be a land of fairs and weekly markets, that are usually held at the places adjacent to the confluence of two rivers. People come from far and near to join in these fairs and markets. Along with trade, which seems to be the principal object of these periodical gatherings, interchange of culture, civilization, and ideals, too, takes place. This is the time when dances and songs go hand in hand and contribute much to the social glee of the people. Different men and women of different castes and tribes love, learn and copy one another's songs and dances and derive immense pleasure by exhibiting them in their own villages after returning from these gatherings.

The Gurungs who are the residents of Central Nepal and are usually shepherds by profession, are great lovers of dance. Their dancing-hall, known as Rori Ghar (रोड़ी घर), is always adjacent to the village headman's house. A particular type of dance, that is called Sorti (सोरटी) and is very popular, takes place in the Rori Ghar during the harvest. Songs that accompany the Sorti Dance are named as Sorti Songs



A Gurkha mother with her baby in the cradle
Photo by D. Singh, ..., Darjeeling

(सोरटी गीत). In a year of rich harvest an additional grace and colour is lent to the songs and dances of Rori Ghar as the joy of the rustic folks knows no bounds. The Rori Ghar is confined to the young only and while dancing and singing in unison the youths and the maidens find their opportunity to choose their own sweet-hearts. Sorti songs as well as the rest that are sung in these days are usually love-songs and every year there is a rich extempore composition of many new ones that reflect deep

sentiments of sex-psychology with all its light and shade. Along with the many songs in the Gurung dialect, some Nepali songs, too are sung.

Amongst the Limbus of Eastern Nepal, two types of songs, differing in tune from each other, are mostly prevalent—the Lai Bari Songs (लय-बरी गीत) and the Hak Para Songs (हाक-पारा गीत). There are also some minor types differing from these two tunes but they are almost negligible. As the Limbus happen to live far away from the Nepali speaking area, they find no opportunity of coming in touch with the Nepali songs. So, the Lai Bari, the Hak Para and the rest are always in the Limbu dialect. There is a pretty custom among these people. Occasionally



Girls singing *Bhailini* songs during the Diwali days

the youths and the maidens indulge in a continuous exchange of answering songs. These songs are like the Amoebaean Contest of the shepherds and shepherdesses or the Duets of the European music-halls.* The girl sings a love-song and the boy sings back a carol of passionate love in reply. If the boy wins, he can claim the girl as his bride; but if he loses, very sportingly he surrenders his chances to a rival who may be more fortunate than himself. Whoever defeats the girl has the right to marry her. Dancing accompanies many of the songs of these people and are mostly of two types—Langma (लाङ्मा) and Ke-langma (के-लाङ्मा).

* The Jubari Songs (जुवारी गीत) of the Nepali language, too, are similar to these songs.

Amongst the Nepali-speaking masses there are some wandering minstrels who are named as *Gaine* (गाइने) and who form a caste of their own. The singing is confined to their males only.* These minstrels sing of love, heroism



Wandering Nepali Minstrel known as Gaine, with the instrument *Sarangi*

and the glory of Nepal to the accompaniment of Sarangi, † a particular kind of harp, which they themselves prepare; they generally possess a cheerful disposition and fill the village-atmosphere with cheerfulness. It is really a matter of great pity that these rural bards, who add new life and colour to the national life of Nepal, are considered as untouchables.

There are many types of Nepali folk-songs, sung at special times and seasons, some of them differing from one another according to different castes and occupations of the singers.

The following are the main types of these songs.

1. Jhiauri Git (झ्याउरे गीत). The word 'Jhiauro' in Nepali means :'thin' and

* Major W. Brook Northey and Capt. C. J. Morris, the learned authors of *The Gurkhas'* (published by John Lane, the Badley Head Ltd, London), did not perhaps receive correct information about these wandering minstrels and so roundly wrote: "There is a class of professional singing women, known as GAINIS in Nepal" Page. 101.

These professional female singers, who are akin to Nauch Girls of India, form a separate class of singers and are named as Bhanrini (भँड्रिनी). The males who accompany them to play on the musical instruments are called Bhanr (भँड़)

† The Sarangi of these minstrels differs in shape from that of Indian type.

weak.'* Jhiaure Songs are never longer ones and are generally quatrains. Love forms the subject-matter of these songs.

2. Swai Songs (सवाई गीत) These are the songs narrating the popular stories, current among the masses and may aptly be named as ballads.

3. Malsiri Songs (मालसिरी गीत). These songs are sung during the Durga Puja festival. The victory of Mother Durga over the demons is the subject-matter of these songs.

4 Bhailo and Deusi Songs (भैलो तथा देउसी गीत). These are the melodious rhymes recited sweetly by the boys and the girls of the poorer classes who go singing from door to door demanding sweets.

5. Jubari Songs (जुवारी गीत).† Like the Jhiaure songs these also are quatrains and are sung in the form of questions and answers at the time of fairs and festivals; the singers are generally the lover and the beloved



A cowboy playing on the flute

6. Sangini Songs (सगिनी गीत) These songs are sung by the women in chorus during the *Tir* festival. The women assemble in the village temple or under some banyan or pipul tree. They form a circle and two of them go in the centre by turns to sing and dance and the others standing away also join in the songs in a chorus. Many of these songs deal with the domestic life of the country. The women have a superstitious belief that, if they do not dance during these days, they will be born lame in their next birth

7. Rasia Songs (रसिया गीत § The tune of these songs is deliberately drawn out and lengthened. The peasants, men and women, sing these love-songs while sowing the seeds and also when transplanting the paddy.

8. Balun Songs (बालुन गीत).* These songs deal with the stories of Hindu classics—the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Bhagavata and are generally sung by men.

9. Ratlli Songs (रतेली गीत).† The night of the day on which the bridegroom's party leaves



A Nepali wood cutter, mystic in appearance but more mystic when singing songs
Photo by Das Studio, Darjeeling

for the bride's home, is celebrated with songs and dances by the village women in the bridegroom's house. It is considered to be the happiest time in life and the women pass the whole night in singing and dancing

10. Nani-Phuioune Songs (नानी-फुच्यँने गीत) These are nursery-rhymes and cradle-songs.

11. Baramase Songs (बारामासे गीत) § The heroines of these songs are those women who are suffering from the pangs of separation. These songs weave the natural beauty of Nepal at all times of the

§ The sick are often asked किन झाउरो भये ओ (why have you grown so thin and weak?)

† जुवारी खेल्नु to sing in answering chorus—Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 238

§ A particular kind of song...Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 530.

* A particular song in dance ..Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 436.

† रतेली game played at a wedding by the women in the bride-groom's house in the course of which they sing amorous songs, dance and mock the bride-groom's mother . Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 528.

§ A song sung at all times...Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. P. 435.

year around the joys and sorrows of the women who sing these pathetic songs.

12. ASARE SONGS (असारे गीत). These are the songs, sung during the month of Ashar (June July). The rhythm of these songs is always short and quick.



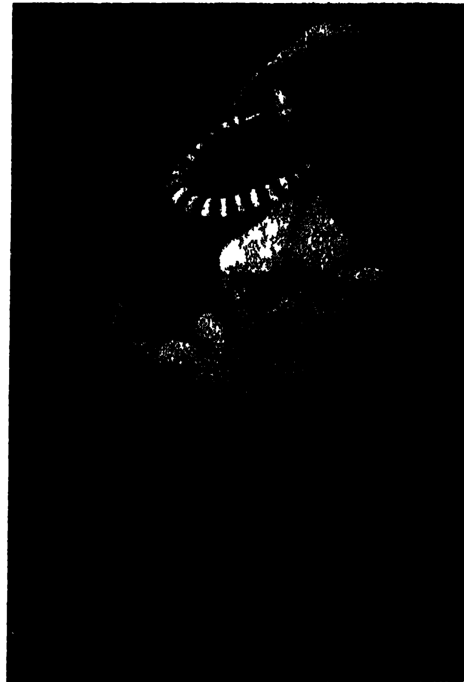
A Gurkha bride in her national Costume
Photo by D Singh & Co, Darjeeling

13. SAUNE SONGS (साउने गीत). These are sung during the month of Shrawan (July-August). During these days the parents usually send for their daughters from their husband's home. The heroines of these songs are generally of two types: Those who are in their husband's home and are extremely eager to get back to their parental nest, and those who are fortunate enough to see their parents and are celebrating the rains with them.

14. CHAITE SONGS (चैते गीत). These are the spring-melodies sung especially in the month of Chaitra. (March-April)

The charm of all these folk-songs lies in their original tunes and one would lose much of it, if they are put down to writing. Great allowance must, therefore, be made for translations which can never adequately convey to readers unacquainted with the Nepali language, the real charm of the original songs. Some illustrations of the folk-songs of Nepal are given below.

In the following song the peasant sings the joy of his life at the sight of a rich harvest :



A Gurkha mother feeding her child
Photo by D Singh & Co, Darjeeling

Lovely are my brindled oxen,
And see my plough is lovelier still;
Lovely are my fertile fields,
And see my crops are lovelier still.

Again he celebrates his love and respect for mother earth that sustains him :

The earth is both my father and mother,
Nourishing food from it do I get:
Blessed—O blessed, is Mother Earth, so dear,
To the earth goes all my love and respect.

The following is the song of a luckless one, not so fortunate as his brethren :

In ploughing have I spent all my years,
Oh ! the day of joy never came to me:
Too old—O too old, are my body and heart,
Joy's face, not for a moment, do I see.

Some of the songs are very charming in their expression of simple feelings artistically seen against the background of some of the local aspects of Nature. They, therefore, are not merely rich in their emotional quality but also for their observation and praise of Nature.

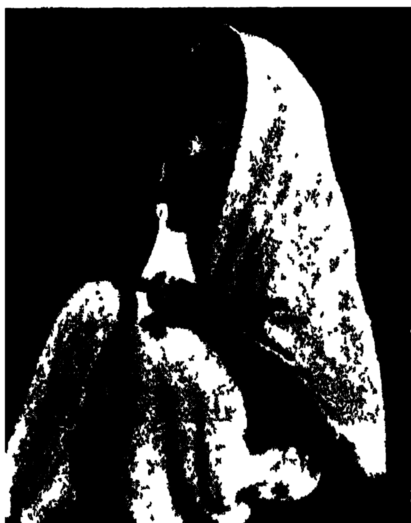
The simple truth that the heart that once loves never turns back, is most beautifully depicted in the following song :

When—O when may snow gather
On the Himalayan peak's yonder part ?
Where, where—O where, will stop
The rippling stream and the flying heart ?"

Love is compared here to a rippling stream ; the snow may impede its flow for some time but very quickly it thaws and again we see the rippling stream. Misfortunes cannot warp the flying heart of a lover.

A childless mother pours forth her sad heart in plaintive notes :

Withered looks the pipal tree of Terai
In the burning heat of the sun :
Oh ! of what avail is my beauty to me
As I've no daughter or son.



A Nepali peasant girl

A damsel compares her love with a musk-deer :

On the yonder side of the Himalayan peaks
Lo ! there grazes a musk-deer
How handsome looks my love,
O lovely is he as the musk-deer.

A lover adores his sweet-heart's eyes :

Full of fruits and flowers is the garden
And side by side are the KARELAS,* my love !
Like fireflies are thy lovely eyes
And through the lids they twinkle, my love !

A bride, suffering from the pangs of separation from her love, asks a village-swain to stop playing on his flute :

How charming is the Himalayan peak
Like the cast-off skin of a serpent, it looks.†
Play not O play not, on thy flute.
All the more sad, my sad heart, it makes.

Again, she sets her feelings to Music :

Nine lakhs of stars are all in the heavens above
I cannot—O I cannot, count them :
Up to my lips surge up the words of my hearts.
I cannot O I cannot, utter them.

In many of these little songs as well as elsewhere love for golden beauty plays a remarkable part. It should not be taken as an idle play of fancy. Let it serve as the exponent of the Nepali's passionate fondness for the beauty of the golden colour as well as of his national lover for his native land when he sings of 'heaven-like golden Nepal', of 'Nepal's golden furnaces', of 'the golden streams of Nepal', of the golden birds of Nepal, and of 'village-mothers of Nepal, offering sweets to their sons-in-law in the golden plates.'

In the following song a happy bride sings a glad song of his moon-like sweet-heart :

How beautiful looks golden Nepal,
A heaven upon the world it is :
How beautiful looks my golden sweet-heart
The moon of the world of love she is.

Again, she sings of flowers that adorn his gold-like face

Three towns only are there in dear Nepal
(In every house is there) a golden furnace :
A pair of flowers on thy turban do I see, my love !
They show that thine is a young gold-like face

The heroine of the following song is glad to take her bath in some golden stream of her native land, but as she forgets to bring the auspicious vermilion to adorn her forehead according to the custom of the country, her glad heart becomes a little sad :

Here runs—lo here runs
Dear Nepal's golden stream.
My hair—O my hair, am I cleaning
In dear Nepal's golden stream.
My hair—O my hair, I've cleaned
In dear Nepal's golden stream,
On a rock do I sit to sun my hair
(Near dear Nepal's golden stream).
Alas O alas ! I left at home
The vermilion that adorns my hair.
Sad O so sad, is my heart
(For the vermilion that adorns my hair.)
How should I return to my husband's place
Alas ! the vermilion I left at home,
'Here comes back my careless girl'
Shall say my mother, if I go to her home.

Here is a sad bride, who is continuously reproached by her cruel mother-in-law and begs a sparrow to bear her pathetic news to her parents but to take care that her brother and sister should be ignorant of the real message, lest they be sad on her account :

Of how much love for mother dear
Should I sing, O golden sparrow !
Of how much love for father dear
Should I sing, O golden sparrow !

* KARELA is a particular vegetable.
† The peak of the Himalayas enveloped in snows is compared to the long white slough.

How sweet is thy song, O golden sparrow !
How lovely is thy flight, O golden sparrow !
Fly, fly—O fly to my mother's village
And carry my news, O golden sparrow !
If my mother questions thee tell her
'For her mother-in-law's cruelty, thy daughter is dying,
Tell my brother, "thy sister is all right"
If he asks, O golden sparrow !
If my father questions thee, tell her
'For her mother-in-law's cruelty, thy daughter is dying.
Tell my sister "thy sister is all right"
If she asks, O golden sparrow !
How sweet is thy song, O golden sparrow !
How lovely is thy flight, O golden sparrow !

The following song is sung by some mother-in-law :

Marsi *-rice in a golden plate, do I offer
But see our bridegroom eats not :
How lovely he looks when he comes
But even when addressed he speaks not.

Nepali girls seem to be very fond of pigeons. In the following song a girl asks for a pair of pigeons from her parents to whom she is bidding adieu .

'Nine pairs of pigeons are sitting on thy roof, father '
Give me—O give me, father, a pair of pigeons.'
A cow—O a cow shall I give thee, daugher,
Sorry am I that I cannot part with a pair of pigeons.'



Pigeons sitting on the roof of a Nepali house
Photo by Das Studio . Darjeeling

'What will I do with thy cow, father,
Oh, luckless am I not to get a pair of pigeons.'
'An elephant shall I give thee, daughter
Sorry am I that I cannot part with a pair of pigeons.'
'What will I do with thy elephant, father!
Oh luckless am I not to get a pair of pigeons.'

Then the father, unable to see his daughter crying, breaks forth :

'Weep not—O weep not, daughter dear, weep not,
At once shall I give thee a pair of pigeons.'

* Marsi is a particular variety of rich rice.

And the song ends with a note of joy that lights up the face of the girl :

'The household work at my husband's place,
Shall I always gladly perform, father !
Hearing the sweet coings of the pair of pigeons.'

The following song shows the intensity of some mother-in-law's cruelty :

'BUHARI * ! O BUHARI !!' calls the SASU †,
'Yes, yes, O SASU !' replies the BUHARI,
'Who hath taken away, O BUHARI !
The ghee I kept in the wooden pot ?'
'I did not see it, nor have I heard about it,
How could I eat, O SASU ! ghee from the wooden pot ?'
'Thy lips look glossy with the ghee, O BUHARI !
The whole mystery do I conceive, O BUHARI !
All the doors shall I shut up,
And shall keep all the windows open :
Thou art my BUHARI, the thief of ghee,
Thy lips—O thy lips shall I brand.'

Most pathetic are the notes when the sad bride sings the tragedy of her life :



A Newari peasant ploughing and singing.
His wife and children are enjoying the song.
Ten miles down from Darjeeling.

In this strange land shall I die
And alas ! There is none to shed a tear for me !

Her next vein, too, is not less tragic :

Nothing but a defeated destiny is a woman's life,
Alas ! she is meant for slavery.

During the Diwali festival, when every member of the house wishes to have new cloths,

* BUHARI=a Nepali word for 'daughter-in-law' or 'son's wife.'
† SASU=a Napali word for 'mother-in-law'.

the mother-in-law asks the bride if she wants any new costume. See how she refuses the offer, because she thinks that there is no heart behind the gift and prefers kind treatment to such a show of charity :

No bodice—O no bodice do I want
Nor do I want any PATUKA*
All I wish is love and affection
At the hands of my mother-in-law.

In the following song an exceptionally beautiful bride, who has become the object of her sister-in-law's† jealousy, thus describes her lot:

Mark of vermilion did I wish to put
On the parting of my hair
O my tiny darling sister-in-law !
But Ah me, I found not my mirror
To see in it my pretty face
O my tiny darling sister-in-law !

The implication of this song is that the mirror was hidden away by the mischievous sister-in-law.

Some soldier § has gone to the battle-field, see how his newly-married bride pours forth her heart in her sweetheart's absence.



Musicians in a Nepali marriage

Alas ! very uncertain is a soldier's life:
Even death in the battlefield is he to face !

The soldier's sister, in order to please the sad bride, says, 'My brother, thy love has returned'. But the bride cannot believe it and in the following song we find the conversation that followed between the two:

'Adorn—O adorn thy hair, O bride!
Here returns my elder brother to dear Nepal':
'O why doth thy heart leap up for thy brother, O sister-in-law !
In the field of battle has he gone far away from dear Nepal.'

The hero of the following song is a soldier on his way to hunt tigers, and the heroine, who seems to be his sweetheart, is simply charmed by his lovely youth and beauty and is glad to see the lustre of heroism on his face:

Who art thou ?—O who art thou ?
O thou the hunter of the tigers !
Who hath given thee this lovely youth and beauty
O thou the hunter of the tigers !
'The son of a brave father
Am I, the hunter of tigers.
God hath bestowed this youth and beauty
Upon me, the hunter of tigers.'
The tiger is shot dead and heroism shines
On the face of the hunter of tigers,
Who art thou—O who art thou,
O thou, the hunter of tigers !

The following is the song of Queen Bibli, who is filled with joy at the approach of motherhood :

Ninth month ended and the tenth ran
Now queen Bibli's travail began,
So she broke forth as she got a flower-like son
'Study me, O astrologer ! the destiny of my son
'A pot full of gems and pearls is my share,' said he,
'As you have got, O queen, a moon-like son.'
'What are gems and pearls ?' broke forth the Queen
'Half of my kingdom shall be given by me, the mother of a son.'
'What will I do with the kingdom, O Queen !
Happy as a king am I in thy land, O the mother of a son !'

The following is a *Deusi* song that the boys and the grown-up men of the poorer classes sing while asking for sweets during the Diwali festival. It should not be taken as a piece of flattery only. It may aptly be taken as an exponent of the people's felicitation for their patrons :

The pebbles which the mistress of this house touches,
May they be turned into gems,
The earth, she treads upon,
May it be turned into grains.
The leaves, she brushes past,
May they be turned into silks.
The water, she touches with her hands,
May it be turned into oil.*
May LAKSHMI† always abide in this house,
May the young and the old grow like the bananas,
May they all prosper like the *Dobi* grass,
May they stand like the banyan and the pipal trees.
May this house be filled with rich raiments from the plains,
May the salt of Bhot ‡ and the gold of Lhasha § fill the stones of this house.

* PATUKA is a Nepali word for a girdle.

† Here 'sister-in-law' means 'husband's sister.'

§ The Gurkhas of Nepal are well-known soldiers not only of the army of Nepal but also of the British Indian Army. They have given a brilliant proof of their valour at various times.

* In a hill-country like Nepal where the means of conveyance for trade are very rare, oil becomes all the more precious.

† The goddess of wealth.

‡ § In olden days Tibet used to supply a good quantity of salt and gold to Nepal.

May all sufferings and diseases of this house,
Be washed away by mother Ganges.
May all the troubles of this house be blown off
By the winds, above the Hymalayan peaks.*
May all the blessings come true that we the
Deusi-singers pray for.

* The *Deusi*-singers perhaps do not have any sympathy for the Tibetans due to many wars that took place between Nepal and Tibet. So the singers feel it a great fun when they sing that their troubles may be blown off by the winds above the Himalayan peaks (towards Tibet).

The song of felicitations is ended
Come, ye brothers, let us return to our homes.

These songs paint the everyday-life of Nepal with its exact light and shade. The characters portrayed in this realm are essentially human and seem to be characters whom we have met in the streets and who are not above the vicissitudes of life, but they are all the more endeared to us by the confluence of their tears and smiles, joys and sorrows, hopes and despairs and various other happy and sad traits of life.

AN APPRECIATION OF "THE MODERN REVIEW'

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

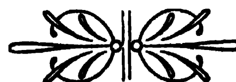
I have long had in mind sending you [the Editor] some brief words expressing my high appreciation of the monthly magazine which for so many years you have edited and published. I have taken it almost from the beginning of its issue, and consider it indispensable. It is a constant wonder to me on account of the breadth and wealth of its contents, covering as it does, and with such intelligence, the wide fields of politics, history, literature, art, education, economics, industries, social reform and religious reform. I speak with care when I say, that we do not have in America, nor is there in England, any monthly review that covers so wide a field, and does it with such accuracy of scholarship and at the same time so interestingly. One might well suppose that your Review would confine itself to Indian affairs. As a matter of fact, it gives a larger amount of important Indian matters than any other periodical with which I am acquainted, while at the same time it takes the world for its field, and is surprisingly rich in information regarding everything of most importance that is going on in all countries.

It ought to have a large circulation in foreign lands, as well as in India. I know of no other periodical that so truly and adequately represents the real India, giving to the world what the world ought to know about India's civilization, her great past, the present condition of her people, the real nature and effects of British rule, and the meaning of her great struggle for freedom.

I regard *The Modern Review* as not only an invaluable asset to India; but as a messenger to the outside world, the importance of which increases with every year of its publication.

My dear Mr. Chatterjee, I trust you will pardon these frank words from me, which I am sure will surprise you. But my personal debt to your able monthly is so great that I could not forgive myself if I refrained longer from expressing them.

New York, September 1, 1934.



ELEMENTARY EDUCATION AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

By DEBENDRA CHANDRA DASGUPTA, M.A., ED.D. (Calif.)

BERKELEY is the seat of the famous university of California. The public school system at Berkeley is under a Board of Education consisting of five members, four of whom are elected by popular vote. The fifth is an ex-officio member the Mayor of the city of Berkeley who retains his membership during his tenure of mayoral office. Berkeley is the first city in the United States of America to organize her school systems on 6-3-3 plan. The first six grades are organized into elementary schools, the seventh, eighth and ninth grades into junior high schools, and the grades tenth, eleventh, and twelfth into senior high schools. Hence we clearly see the American high school from the chronological standpoint is equivalent to our intermediate college though the standard is much superior to it. The unique feature of the public school system from the kindergarten to the University not only at Berkeley but also in the whole of the United States of America is that it not only offers free instruction to the citizens of the states but is also co-educational in character, though there are some private colleges such as Mills College at Oakland, California, for the exclusive education of the girls.



"Western Gardeners Corporation" –Columbus School

The kindergarten department of the Berkeley Public school system admits young children at the age of five and they stay at the school half a day where they receive training in manners and etiquette and undergo physical exercises such as dancing, singing, playing band, etc. Sometimes meals are served in the kindergarten schools where the children learn table etiquette. The children draw whatever pictures they feel like. In a word, the Kindergarten school does not attempt to impart any instruction to the children from books but it aims at social, moral and physical development of the young children at school. In the afternoon new batch of students attend the kindergarten schools when the old batch retire to their homes.

There are seventeen elementary schools, fourteen special classes and a sunshine school attached to the Thousand Oak School at Berkeley. The chief objectives of the elementary schools at Berkeley, as in other elementary schools in the United States of America, are to give the children a command of the fundamental 'tools of knowledge', besides a training in health, and citizenship. Briefly speaking, the elementary school authorities in the United States of America aim at the full development of the growing child. The American elementary school authorities regard the school child as a growing being and it is their sole purpose to develop the child as such and unfold his latent powers.

In order to discover the mental abilities of the child the Berkeley Bureau of Research and Guidance gives intelligence tests each year to all children in the fourth, sixth, and ninth grades. Such tests are also given to the senior high school students as well. Such intelligence tests are also given by the Research Bureau at any time according to its decision. But unfortunately the Indian school authorities give no such intelligence tests to the school children to classify them on the basis of mental abilities so as to develop their mental and physical well-being along the line of their growth. Instead the children are made to follow the courses of study in the same class and the inevitable result is that the class-room instruction cannot be well adjusted to the needs of the children who vary from each other in mental equipments.

The children of the Berkeley schools system are classified into three groups, *viz.*, "X", "Y" and "Z" according to their abilities. The first group consists of children of superior intelligence who receive instruction under the same teacher in the same class and the students belonging to the second group receive instruction in another section. The third group children receive individual instruction. Children of exceptionally retarded abilities are not included in these groups but receive instruction in the special classes.

Children from the Kindergarten to the High school showing any remarkable interest or skill are reported by the teacher and the principal to the Bureau of Research and Guidance for test and observation. Each school child has a cumulative card in which his or her intelligence quotient, class progress, special interest, temperament, social status, and conduct are recorded for vocational and educational guidance. To encourage and inspire the gifted children they are sometimes introduced to "Big Brother" or "Big Sister" in the community which resembles the various honour societies of the American Universities enrolling members only on the basis of high records at the Universities.



Christmas Pageant, John Muir School

Each elementary school has one part-time counsellor, generally a lady, chosen from among the regular class-room teachers. The counsellor represents the central office of the school and makes constant investigation of the needs of the school children. Every child in every school is under constant observation and sympathetic guidance of the counsellor. The counsellor works in close co-operation with the class-room teacher, and looks after the needs of each child whether educational, mental, physical, social or moral. In case of emergency the counsellor is helped by the visiting counsellor, who investigates the case by visiting the home of the child and also the central office which records psychological, medical and psychiatric aid. The visiting counsellor who is in charge of the 'follow up' service, records the progress of the refractory child and recommends further treatment or examination according to needs. The vocational and educational guidance is a unique feature of the American school from the elementary class to the university—a feature which is quite foreign to the Indian school system.

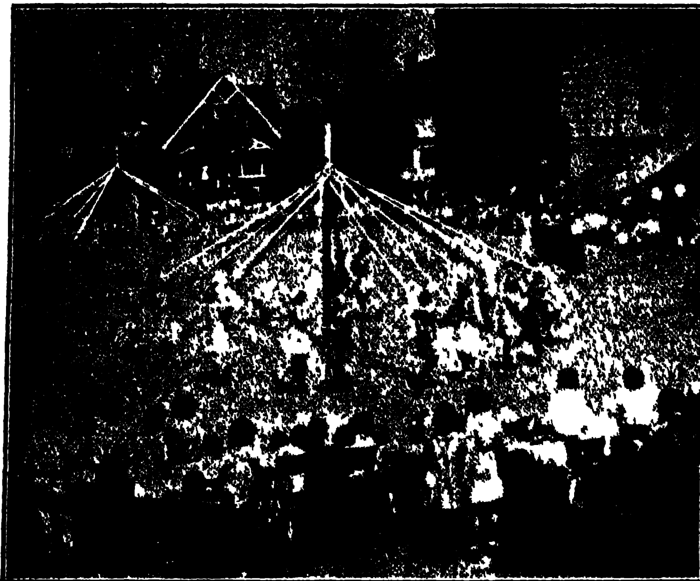
The American schools, whether elementary or high, are a community within a larger community, and the school curriculum reflects the vital needs of the community and it is constantly changing with the moving needs of the time and society, whereas in India the school curriculum is static though recently it has shown a tendency to include some new items of courses in its fold. The elementary school curriculum at Berkeley is closely connected with the vital needs of society and it is organized on the principles of educational philosophy, and each of the courses has a well-defined objective. The curriculum of the elementary schools at Berkeley includes the following courses of study, *viz*, the three R's, history, elementary science, home economics, art, nature study, music, civics, physical education, gardening, and manual arts education. The school authorities aim at the full development of the elementary school children and they develop the reasoning or thinking powers of the children rather than pour mere bookish informations through improved technique or method at the cost of reasoning powers. The elementary schools make no effort to give vocational training to the children. Such training is deferred till they graduate from the elementary schools.

The school buildings are modern and furnished with up-to-date equipments for the purpose of imparting instruction. The school hours begin at eight in the morning and continue till three in the afternoon. Some children carry their lunch with them, some again take their lunch in the cafeteria during the recreation period. The school instruction runs for a period of five days a week and Saturdays and Sundays are observed as holidays. The classes at the Berkeley Public schools are organized on two semesters plan and the classes are called VI L (that is six low) and VI H (six high), and the students are promoted at the end of half a year. In some of the states the school authorities maintain quarter plan and the students are

promoted at the end of three months. Such promotional plan has this much to say in its favour that if a student fails in the class he or she loses only half or quarter of a year.

The school teachers teach the children courses, particularly, natural science, manual arts, civics, and gardening, through an "activity programme." To illustrate the case let us narrate some of the courses of study at the Berkeley elementary schools.

In the natural science course, the pupils make excursion into the city parks, observatories, museums, Lake Merrit in Oakland, and Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. These observations are followed by discussions in the class-room and each child contribute his or her share in the discussion. These discussions are utilized by the teacher in stimulating the children in some activity, such as, making of class pamphlets, making of collections, planning of gardens, and in dramatizations depicting the various phases of nature work.



May Pole Dance—Washington School

In civic studies, the children depict the life of children or some aspects of social life. When the writer visited Longfellow school at Berkeley, he found the children engaged in the study of the social life of Arabia. The whole room was decorated artificially with Arabian scenes and a little girl who was describing the Arabian life was donned in Arabian dress and the teacher was giving aid only when it was necessary. Sometimes the school manages to invite foreign people to give talks on his or her country particularly on the social and economical aspects of life. When the writer visited the California University elementary experimental schools at Berkeley, the fourth grade students questioned him about the social and economic problems of Indian life. One student asked why some Hindu* woman covers her whole face with veil, whereas another puts the veil only in the middle of the head while some again do not use any veil at all. Another student questioned what his (the writer's) national colours were. Besides they asked the writer many questions about the types of houses the Hindus used for their dwelling purposes, and the types of food they had in India.

Trade and industrial education is also imparted to the children through an activity programme. The trade and industrial courses in the schools are the typical representation of trade and industrial activities of the local communities and through this activity programme the teachers attempt to discover the latent abilities of the children so that these may be utilized in the future vocational guidance. Through these courses the teachers also try to develop the character and sociability of these children. The following quotation from the Berkeley Public school leaflet shows the objective of manual arts education as follows:

"Through the above activities it is hoped that children will be kept alive to the changing aspects of the out-door life about them, that there will be aroused desires to investigate on their own responsibility, to know more of the truth of the laws of nature. We hope that this will later help to make these children interested, active citizens in the larger communities where they will live and that they will help to frame and observe intelligent measures for the proper development and protection of the great out-of-doors."

Music is a required subject from the Kindergarten school to the high. Through music course the schools try to develop in the children an appreciation and love of music and to train them for citizenship. "Music makes for citizenship, the highest expression of which is service." Music lesson is given for 1 hr. 40 minutes a week from the Kindergarten school grades to the elementary. The elementary school also has music band

* In U. S. A. the people of India are called Hindus regardless of religious affiliations. Thus in U. S. A. The Muhammadan is also called a Hindu. On rare occasions they also call us East Indians. Indians there means the aboriginal tribes of America.

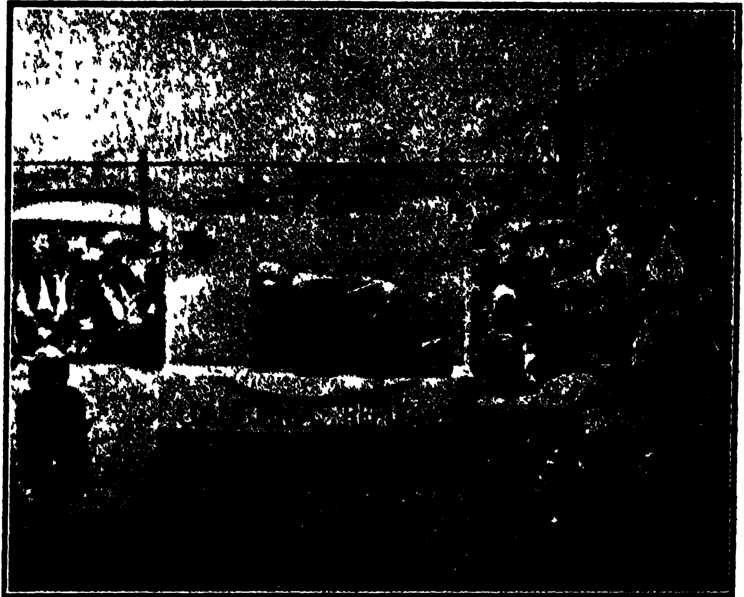
The physical education for the elementary school children at Berkeley includes a programme of instruction both theoretical and practical. A programme of activities such as stunts, pentathlon, and games is followed by a mass corrective work of five to ten minutes which is given daily to all children of the seventeen elementary schools. The students in the elementary schools, in addition to receiving twenty minutes' theoretical physical education, are given a half-hour dance in a week.

To test the physical fitness of the students they are medically examined at the time of registration. In addition to these medical examinations they are further examined in the presence of parents in the third and in the sixth grades as required by the California State Law. They are also examined by physicians when recommended by the class-room teachers and nurses. The nurse also makes physical examinations of the pupils when they return to schools after suffering from illness.

Thus the elementary school children at Berkeley receive both mental and physical education and the training of the mind as well as of the body is well-balanced. Through this training of the mind and the body the teachers attempt to make them good citizens of the State.

In the State of California the compulsory school law is extended upto eighteen years of age. If a student can graduate from high schools at the age of sixteen he is exempted from further attendance in the school. Children who are not mentally fitted to proceed for the high school education are shifted into the continuation school after exploring their abilities in the junior high school. In the continuation school these children receive trade and industrial training for a period of four hours a week for one hundred and forty-four hours a year. The California State Law passed in 1929 regarding the continuation school requires the unemployed children of school age to attend the continuation classes for three hours five days a week, The school attendance officer enforces the school law and students failing to attend the school are demanded satisfactory explanations. The law provides for both penalty and imprisonment of parents or guardians of children for wilful violation of the law.

Teachers in the State of California as in other States of the Union do not hold a permanent tenure of service. Generally they are appointed by school Board on the recommendation of the City School Superintendent. For one year the new teacher remains as a probationer and if she shows a satisfactory result then she is 'hired' for another period of time. The reader may question why the writer here used "she" instead of "he" for the teacher. The real explanation is that about ninetyfive per cent of the elementary and about ninety per cent of the secondary school teachers are recruited from the fair sex. The teachers of the elementary schools must be University graduates and must hold a teachers, diploma issued by the State of California. These teachers, though "hired and fired"* by the local school Board, may appeal to the State Board of Education for justice. The teachers though appointed and discharged by the local school Board are State officials in that they hold State teachers' diploma and the local school boards are the creations of the State to carry its educational programme. Even the private schools maintained by the Catholic orders are under the control of the local school Boards. The teachers though fresh from University do not find any difficulty in securing positions. Besides these teachers do not have to show their eminence before their appointment. Experience also counts little with the school Boards, because it has been found by experiment in U. S. A. that teachers after about eight years' service lose their teaching efficiency unless they take sabbatical leave of study to acquire fresh knowledge. The same is true of



Pageant of California History, Longfellow School

* "Hire and Fire" are common terms for appointment and dismissal in U. S. A.

secondary school teachers and University professors. The elementary school teachers generally receive a salary of 125 dollars a month.

The Table* below shows the average daily attendance in the seventeen different schools at Berkeley for the year 1929-30.

School	Kinder-garten	Grades	Total
Columbus	16	174	520
Cragmont	35	300	335
Emerson	36	286	322
Franklin	45	531	579
Hawthorns	17	201	218
Hillside	23	209	232
Jefferson	57	550	607
John Muir	24	284	308
Le Conte	36	354	390
Lincoln	39	410	449
Long Fellow	57	486	543
Mc Kinley	27	259	286
Oxford	15	215	230
Thousand Oaks	72	554	626
University Elementary	34	196	230
Washington	60	546	606
Whittier	28		300
Total	651	6,130	6,781

The followingt table† from the same bulletin shows the sources of income for the public elementary schools at Berkeley :

* Report of the Superintendent of Schools to the Board of Education, Berkeley Public Shcools, California for the years 1927 to 1931. P. 94

† Ibid p. 65.

July 1, 1929-June 30, 1930

1.	Balance-June 30, 1929		$82,802·84
II.	Received from		
1.	State	$224,816·98	
2.	County	236,422·63	
3.	District	219,020·23	
4.	District Building	107,004·84	
5.	City	340,799·64	
6.	Miscellaneous	19,370·52	147,414·84

The tables§ below shows the *per capita* cost on the basis of State average daily attendance.

Department	Elementary average daily attendance	Cost per capita	Per cent of total
General control	37,431.55	6.11	1.66
Auxiliary Agencies	20,873.99	3.10	.926
Co-Ordinate Activities	9,582.52	1.56	.425
Instruction	622,357.42	101.53	27.604
Salaries	577,020.77	94.13	25.593
Supplies & Other expenses	45,336.65	7.40	2.011
Operation	66,857.44	10.91	2.966
Maintenance	57,696.46	9.41	2.559
Fixed charges	13,212.69	2.15	·586
Total Expends Exclusive of Outlays	828,012.07	135.07	36.726
Outlays	109,113.37	..	4.81
Total Expenditures 1929-30	937,125.44	.	41.566

§ Ibid p. 86.



THE RESPONSIBILITY OF WOMEN AS CITIZENS IN THE INDIA OF TODAY

By Rajkumari AMRIT KAUR

IN dictionaries "citizen" is defined as a dweller in a city—especially one who enjoys certain rights and privileges. But the meaning of words often changes with the progress of time and the term "citizenship" today should convey to us all something very much more comprehensive than a mere dweller in a town enjoying its freedom and privileges.

For the conception of the word "citizen" we have to go back to Greek and Roman times where "city" involved the ancient idea of the State or City-State and did not apply to the place but to the whole body politic. Aristotle defines a "citizen" to be one to whom belongs the right of taking part both in the deliberative, or legislative. and in the judical proceedings of the community of which he is a member. A citizen, therefore, can only exist in a free State and Aristotle felt that the State, as a body of citizens, was sufficient for the purposes of life. A citizen is, in short, one who rules and is ruled in turn and one whose aim is the salvation and safety of the community, its being and well-being. At first, the rights of citizenship in Athens and other Greek communities were readily attained by those who were not born to them, but at a later period when the organization of Greek civic life had reached a high degree of perfection, admission to the roll of citizens was procured with difficulty. The public ceremony. however, of the dedication of Greek youth to the service of the State was a most inspiring one and I often wish we, in our country, had something of the same nature for the guidance and inspiration of our youth. In any case the rights of citizenship in Greek and Roman times were a coveted possession and this association of rights with citizenship has lasted down to the present day. It is interesting here to note that when self-government developed in ancient Greece and Rome, women had no share in it. Citizenship rested with men only and it was not until the 19th century that it was realized that it is a mistake to treat sex as a factor that should militate against one half of God's creation.

Civics, or the philosophy of citizenship, is today recognized Social science. By some it has even been described as a science of civilization for the three words, citizenship, civics and civilization are all derived from the Latin word for citizen which is "civis." It is also interesting to note the close connection between politics and civis. Aristotle's definition of a "citizen," which I have already quoted is mainly political and relative to a State. The Greeks developed a vigorous social and political life in their city-states—the Greek word for City being Polis. The Romans developed the same type of government in their "Civitas" or City. Therefore, just as Politics referred to affairs of the City in ancient Greece, so Civics referred to affairs of the City in ancient Italy. But, though etymologically Politics and Civics mean the same thing the former, politics, has come, in our time, to treat specially of national and international affairs; it traces the evolution of political forms and institutions and lays stress primarily on rights and the ways of securing them—while the latter, civics, lays stress primarily on *duties* and on the education and character requisite for their performance. Civilization has progressed to such an extent that no side of life, whether economic, religious, social, literary or humanitarian can now be divorced from civics. European civics has been based on Greek and Roman traditions and has evolved in different countries according to varying national temperaments, characteristics and needs. In our own country Hindu ideology also laid down that one should give up oneself for the sake of one's family, one's family for the sake of one's village, one's village for the sake of one's country and the world for the sake of one's soul. The Hindu conception of citizenship has probably been more social, humanitarian and spiritual than political in that spiritual salvation of the soul has always been given the highest preference. Generally speaking, however, the modern idea of a good citizen is not merely that of one who is a member of a State or obeys its laws, but one who has an active sense of being an integral part of the State. He is not a part of it because he lives within its boundaries or has accepted its ideas or become naturalized in it *but* he is a part of it only in so far as he helps to make it and maintain it as a great civilized and civilizing group.

Citizenship, therefore, is the right ordering of our several loyalties and the proper performance of our functions and duties in life and the correct balance and adjustment thereof.

Civics, as a social science, may then be stated to be:—(1) a study of what is really good life for oneself, one's society, one's country and the world in general and (2) the practice of the knowledge gained in the best ways of life which are consonant with one's past culture and present needs and environment. As a science it extends from local interests to national, international and human relations. It has to consider all aspects of life, individual and social, physical and moral and adjust activities in the light of past experience and future aims. It touches human interests so intimately that it calls upon its students to cultivate in themselves that understanding sympathy with the lives and general conditions of others without which no well-being or progress is possible. Aristotle laid down that man is a social animal—he is born in society and lives in society. From earliest ages he has built up for himself institutions such as family, clan, tribe, caste, community, village, town, province, country, empire, world, and has taken intense pride in the ever-growing and expanding nature of such progress. Today we are so linked with each other by scientific discoveries that it is not possible for any nation to live in isolation.

Being, therefore, members of society it is our duty to see how best we can contribute to the well-being of that society. The aim of society is the good life of the individual and certain rights which give free scope to the individual for progress are fundamental to our idea of a good society. The basic conception of such must, therefore, be one which sets out clearly as its end the realization of the good life for all its members through the maintenance of this fundamental rights. It is in the daily exercise of these rights and duties and in the opportunities which the State affords to the individual of developing his or her faculties that constructive citizenship is built up.

India today is standing on the threshold of a new life which is pulsating within her veins. We are struggling to find ourselves and evolve for ourselves what we consider to be our rightful place in the sun. In this transition period, as is only natural, there is in our country a conflict of opinion, an internal turmoil, which may, at times, obscure the goal we all have in view. The womanhood of India has awakened from an age-long slumber and the responsibility of seeing and feeling aright our duties at this critical period of our history is very great. The women's organizations of the country are today pressing for the recognition in the New Constitution of our inherent right to citizenship—citizenship which will give us the same political rights as are enjoyed by men. But I hope and believe that our conception of citizenship will teach us to reckon our citizenship as something very much higher and bigger than mere political freedom or privileges. Civic rights will mean nothing to us unless we realize to the full the *duties* that these rights imply. Rights and duties are surely interdependent—for what is a right in regard to oneself is a duty in regard to others. Mazzini said to the workmen of Italy—"Every right you have can only spring from a duty fulfilled." I would ask every Indian woman to remember his dictum.

The crying need of our country today is social and educational reform and the burden of social service lies heavily, at the moment, on the shoulders of a few selfless workers. If India is to progress along right lines it is incumbent on us women to seek to play our rightful part in the building up of a structure of society which shall have solid foundations.

1. In a land, such as ours, of universal marriage, motherhood as well as household work is in itself a vocation. The proper ethical training of children is the sacred task entrusted to women. To instil into their young hearts love of country, love of humanity, hatred of wrong, to train them to follow the paths of virtue and to live and sacrifice for truth is to make them worthy citizens of the India of tomorrow.

2. It is the bounden duty of women to see to it that our daughters as well as our sons are given opportunities for education and we must continue to press that such education shall be of the right type.

3. I feel very strongly that it *is* possible for a wife and mother to command sufficient leisure for an active interest in the wider life around her and contribute to the well-being and advancement of those less fortunate than herself in every way. There is room for endless voluntary workers in our schools, our hospitals, among our own servants, in our maternity and child-welfare centres, in our large industrial centres amongst our women labourers, amongst our fallen sisters—and, above all, in our villages where the large majority of our population lives and where ignorance breeds disease and increases poverty. I am sure that we who have had the privileges of education and live for the greater part in towns have been negligent of the needs of our sisters in the villages. Believe me when

I say that there *is* an awakening amongst women in the villages; they are anxious to have schools for their daughters, they welcome with open arms those of us who can even ocasionally find time to go and talk to them and take an interest in their conditions of living. We owe an enormous duty to them and we should consider it a privilege to stretch out the right hand of fellowship and help to them.

4. We who are convinced of the terrible results of early marriage should band ourselves into groups pledged to banish this evil from our midst not only by non-co-operating with all such of our own class of society who still persist in following this custom, not only by doing our best to bring to book those who violate the Sarda Act, but also by doing endless propaganda among those who are victims of an age-long habit from sheer force of tradition and ignorance.

5. It should be our aim to create a healthy public opinion against such harmful customs as "pardah," polygamy, the dowry system, immoral traffic in women and children and others that still exist in our country. Social legislation, however necessary, can never wholly eradicate evils—but as soon as society realizes that an evil exists its day is, *ipso facto,* over.

6. We must believe in and value the dignity of human labour so that the sin of untouchability may be cast out from our midst.

7. One of the greatest contributions we women can make to India today is the creation within us and around us of that spirit of unity without which our true welfare is wholly impossible. If we ourselves realize that we are members one of another and that the gain or loss of one is equally the gain or loss of the other and if we inculcate this ideal in the minds of our children we shall indeed be laying the corner-stone of a national structure which shall endure. The value of co-operation cannot, in my opinion, be too highly estimated.

I have touched very briefly on the practical side of such work as I believe lies within the power of all of us to do. In particular I should like to appeal to the younger generation to come forward in their hundreds for the field of work is immense and the labourers few. It is not so much in the actual attainment of the goal as in the earnest endeavour to accomplish what we believe to be a noble purpose that the measure of success lies. It was so with Browning's Grammarian. Men laughed at him while he lived, but what did that matter? In the end they paid their homage to him and when he died they laid him to rest in the highest place they knew.

Aristotle's dictum that "The State came into existence to make life possible, it continues to exist to make life good" is true for all time.

Lastly, therefore, and above all else the women of India must see to it that our State is a great moral agency. We must, at all costs, stand by principles for principles alone are constructive and ideals are never translated into facts without faith. Great things are never achieved except by "the rejection of individualism and a constant sacrifice of self to the common progress." Women as the embodiment of devotion and self-sacrifice have got to realize that the things most worth having cannot be had without much toil—and self-denial is a lesson that began to be inculcated while man was still a savage and has never ceased to be reiterated generation after generation. If, therefore, we want to become citizens in the fullest sense of the term we have got to give the highest place to the moral and spiritual values of life without which all material gain or political freedom is mere dross. "Religious thought is the breath of life of Humanity; at once its life and soul, its spirit and its outward sign." *But* it must not be the religion of dogma and ritual which breed superstition and intolerance; it must be the religion of love which "creates for us that theory of duty which is the mother of self-sacrifice which ever was and ever will be the inspirer of great and noble things." If this spirit of love dominates our lives, of it will be born the spirit of service—service in the sense of sharing our gifts with others—and that faith which can move mountains. It is through the religion of love that I would fain hope and believe that India's women will rise to their full stature and become worthy citizens not only of our own loved country but of the world. For it is the gospel of the brotherhood of all men that must inspire and guide us so that, rising above the man-made barriers of caste, creed, community and race, we may make our humble but lasting contribution towards the ushering in of a new era of peace and happiness into a stricken and a suffering world.

May each one of us strive to be as Browning so admirably put it:

"One who never turned his back but
    marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted,
    wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight
    better,
Sleep to wake."

SOVIET'S RELATIONS WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By BIMAL BEHARI BASU

REUTER has flashed across the wires the news of Soviet Russia's entry into the League. For months past rumours have been afloat and a flutter in the political dovecotes was visible. But all rumours have at last been set at rest and Russia's entry into the League has become a *fait accompli*. It is one of the most unexpected and paradoxical events of recent times. The post-War world is no doubt rich in paradoxes, but this beats them all. The only proletarian State in the world has thought fit to enter a League which she not long ago characterized as "wasp nest of international intrigue," "League of Capitalists against Nations," "an alliance of world-bandits against proletarians" and what not! It is also surprising to find France engaged in flirting with her former ally and later enemy. Not long ago, one of the most influential of French papers characterized the Soviet as "the most abominable regime of oppression and spoliation that the world has ever known." Yet France was the prime mover in getting the support of the major powers like Great Britain in inviting Russia to enter the League, though the smaller powers stoutly opposed the move. Russia was only too glad to enter the august portals of the League.

In order to understand the sequence of events, we have to trace the gradual change in the attitude of the Soviet towards the League and *vice versa*.

Russia has chosen to enter the League at a time when its prestige is at the lowest ebb. Its opinion is openly flouted with impunity and its function has degenerated into passing pious resolutions which nobody cares to execute. It serves as the most important platform for affording an opportunity to the Foreign Ministers of displaying their eloquence. But there are other causes at work which account for the changed attitude of the Soviet. The accession of Hitler to power has given rise to a new situation in international politics. Germany under Hitler has bidden good-bye to the defeatist policy so successfully and assiduously followed by the late Herr Stresseman and Chancellor Bruening. One of the most important planks in the programme of the Nazis is to scrap the Treaty of Versailles, if necessary by resorting to violence. Von Papen, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Reich, declaims: "Germany has struck the word 'pacificism' out of the vocabulary"; and Baron von Neurath, the Foreign Minister in the Hitler Cabinet, thunders: "Germany will re-arm, never mind what the result of the Disarmament Conference is." Finally, her withdrawal from the League caused profound uneasiness in France who, therefore, wants to strengthen herself. She sounded Russia, who readily fell in with her suggestion. Russia, too, is mightily perturbed at the anti-Soviet policy of the Nazis and the political designs of Hitler. Hitler, she says, is secretly trying to come to an understanding with Poland whom he promised to help in wresting the Soviet province of Ukraine in return for the Polish Corridor. Further, he had not made any secret of his desires to expand on the West and proclaim the divine mission of Nordic domination over the Slavs.

Threatened on the European front, Russia was still more alarmed at the militaristic policy of Japan, who was directing her covetous eyes towards the rich resources of Siberia. But here the question arises, why should Russia look upon the League as a guarantor of her safety? Was not the lesson of the Sino-Japanese war a sufficient warning to her? This is all the more puzzling when we consider the contempt in which the League was held by the Soviet. In 1924, her Foreign Minister, Chicherin, refused to join the League on the ground that that would be helping the capitalist States in their aggressive designs. Yet ten years later, his successor, Litvinov, eagerly seeks an opportunity of joining the League.

It has to be remembered, however, that the Soviet has never objected to the aims of the League, *viz.*, the maintenance of peace. She has consistently pursued this aim and her foreign policy is conspicuous in this respect. The objections of the Bolshevists against war is fundamental. Since it is the masses who suffer most in any international war, the Soviet, as an expression of proletarian dictatorship, can ill-afford to engage in wars. That would be, according to it, distinctly criminal and foolish.

The Soviet peace policy has found expression in the advocacy of total disarmament and.

secondly, the building up of a network of non-aggression pacts with foreign powers. She has energetically directed all her attention towards effecting this purpose. The declaration of her pacific intentions has drawn sardonic smiles from the capitalist Powers, who describe them as "an exhibition of good-will advertizement." But a student of international politics cannot fail to realize that the Soviet is sincere in championing the cause of peace, if not for any other reason, for her own interest. We can trace her efforts in this direction from 1922 when at the Genoa Conference she laid stress on disarmament as a prelude to re-construction. Again, before the Preparatory Commission of the Disarmament Conference in 1927, she courageously pleaded for the total abolition of the army, navy, air force, war departments, war education and war budget. The Powers assembled at the Conference scornfully rejected the scheme as utopian. Undaunted by this, she submitted a second draft treaty advocating their partial abolition, but this also met with the same fate. Having been foiled in her attempts, she declared her intention of co-operating with other Powers in any arrangement, however incomplete, that represented even a slight advance towards disarmament. Moreover, in all the subsequent Disarmament Conferences she was conspicuous in not insisting on any reservation based on her own requirements. Unfortunately, her example did not commend itself to other Powers.

Realizing that disarmament was impossible in the present state of affairs when Mars seemed to be in the ascendant, the Soviet persistently sought other means of practical safeguards and assiduously built up a network of non-aggression pacts with other nations, which by this time number 14, including those on her borders. Hence it is that we find the amazing spectacle of capitalist France and Fascist Italy entering into an alliance with the only Proletarian State in the world. Great Britain, Japan and China stand outside this chain of pacts. The efforts to come to an understanding with Japan proved abortive.

The Soviet system of alliances stands in marked contrast to the policy of the League which seeks to prevent wars by means of arbitration, sanction and collective responsibility of members. The Soviet, on the other hand, makes no secret of the fact that her alliances are guided by practical necessity and are, therefore, of a temporary nature, and are not based on collective responsibility, or on the contrary principles of neutrality and non-aggression.

According to Soviet definition, aggression means all economic boycotts, intervention and hostile acts short of war; neutrality means neutrality in the case of unprovoked attacks.

By this network of treaties, the Soviet has established a regional system and her contribution is great towards the maintenance of peace. It may be stated that by this means she has established virtually an Eastern Locarno.

Though so far as the maintenance of peace is concerned, the Soviet has been at one with the League, she had so long kept aloof from it as she considered it to be an impotent machinery for achieving the ideal. Moreover, she could not easily forget the memory of the active help rendered to the counter-revolutionaries within her borders by the members of the League. The anti-Soviet tendencies of the League only served to kindle the bitter memories afresh and her relations with it "varied from correctness to hostilities." When Germany entered the League as a result of the Locarno Pact, the Soviet had strained every nerve to the utmost to dissuade Germany from doing so.

The Soviet's participation in the League's humanitarian and scientific fields of activities has been little, although during the first few years of the post-War period she actively co-operated with the League in coping with an outbreak of epidemics within her borders. Her adherence to the League's treaties regarding non-controversial matters amounts so far to six only.

Apart from Disarmament Conferences, she took part in the World Economic Conferences of 1927 and 1933. In 1927, the first signs were visible of the Soviet's changed attitude towards the capitalist Powers. In the Conference of 1927 her representatives repudiated any intention of coming into conflict with them and advocated a proper understanding of, and an intimate contact with, the Soviet. She stressed the fact that a practical understanding between the Soviet and other Powers was possible, feasible and desirable. The Soviet delegates also took advantage of the international conferences to advertize the stability of her economic system and to point out the immense potentialities of her markets. They also protested against the prohibition of the import of Russian goods into other countries. From 1931 onwards the Soviet succeeded in concluding a number of economic non-aggression pacts. This economic co-operation with capitalist Powers undoubtedly paved the way to political co-operation.

So far the Soviet's participation in major works in the settlement of international disputes

was unthinkable. In 1920, Persia had applied to the League against the Soviet aggression, but it was peacefully settled through direct negotiation. In 1923, Georgia, then an independent Republic, sought the League's protection against absorption by the Soviet, but beyond passing a sympathetic resolution, the League could do nothing. In 1922-23, Finland appealed to the League on behalf of the Finnish residents of the Soviet province of Carelia. The League referred the matter to the Hague Court, which after some deliberation refused to move in the matter, as Russia did not recognize its jurisdiction. It was for this reason that China did not refer her dispute with Russia in 1929 to the League and Chiang-kai-Shiek had to remain satisfied only with making bitter complaints against the Red Imperialism.

In the Sino-Japanese war of 1931 the interests of Russia as well as of the League were vitally affected. But even then the Soviet could not persuade herself to co-operate with the League; she refused her co-operation to the Lytton Commission. The report of the Commission was followed by the creation of a committee of 29 which invited both the U. S. A. and Russia to sit on the Committee. The U. S. A. accepted the invitation, but Russia declined on the ground that she could not be expected to deliberate with the committee, for more than half the members were not in diplomatic relations with her.

But an indication of the change was visible in February 1933, when Litvinov, on behalf of the Soviet, accepted Chapter I of the French plan of November, 1932 which provided for consultation among the signatories of the Kellogg Pact in the event of any threatened or actual aggression, the launching of a drastic economic sanction against the aggressor and the enforcement of the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition. The Security Committee of the Disarmament Conference accepted with some modifications the Soviet definition of 'Aggressor' on the 24th May, 1933. According to it, an aggressor is any State that invades or otherwise attacks another State with or without any declaration of war. Moreover. acts otherwise aggressive should not be justified by any consideration of political, economic or strategic necessity.

In a speech delivered before the All-Union Executive Committee on 29th December, 1933, Litvinov spoke of the Soviet attitude towards non-aggression pacts in these words: "There should be no question of military alliance on old lines, but co-operation for the rightful self-defence of all those who are not interested in violating peace, so that no one could think of infringing it. The U. S. S. R. is ready to participate in carrying out this task." Stalin is reported to have said in an interview with an American journalist, "If the League is only the tiniest of bump—somewhat to slow down the drive towards and help peace—it is not excluded that we should support the League despite its colossal deficiences." The Soviet Ambassador, Troyanovsky, spoke before the American Society of International Law on the 28th April, 1934, on the wisdom of international organization for peace. These all pointed to the same direction, *viz.*, the Soviet's desire to co-operate with the League as an international organization of nations.

During the past few months negotiations were being conducted behind the scenes and frequent consultations between the French and the Soviet Foreign Ministers gave rise to widespread speculation that something was being staged behind the political curtain. On May 18, 1934, the French Foreign Minister Barthou discussed with Litvinov the question of the Soviet's entry into the League in Geneva. On May 20, 1934, articles appeared in the leading Soviet newspapers welcoming the French suggestion. They, however, opined that it was not the Soviet which had changed its policy, but the League which had given up its Anti-Soviet bias.

This, in short, is the history of the Soviet's connections with the League and shows how its attitude underwent a gradual change under the stress of world conditions.

As a great Power, the Soviet will be given a permanent seat on the League Council, though this will cause dissatisfaction to Poland, which failed to obtain a permanent seat in spite of strenuous efforts. This may have a repercussion on the Franco-Polish *entente cordiale*.

The entry of the Soviet into the League is a great political event. This indicates a new orientation in the Soviet international policy and may be put on a par with her far-reaching new domestic economic policy. The Soviet has no intention to expand her frontiers and she has ceased to espouse the cause of International Communism and World Revolution. The Third International has ceased to be militant. As realists the Soviet wants to be let alone in her efforts to build up the new social and economic order within her own borders on a permanent footing. Though she believes in the ultimate and inevitable establishment of world socialism, the new Stalinist doctrine recognizes the peaceful co-existence of Marxism and Capitalism.

The question naturally arises, how long will this co-operation continue? It depends on the

attitude of the capitalist nations. Undoubtedly, the Soviet will defend the Red Flag to the last ditch, if she is threatened with a capitalist attack. But so long as the necessity does not arise and so long as capitalism remains strongly entrenched, she will prefer to co-operate with others instead of remaining in splendid isolation.

The Soviet's entry means a tremendous addition to the League's prestige and power. What it lost by the withdrawal of Germany and Japan, it has regained by the joining of the Soviet. Of the two great world Powers which had so far kept aloof, one has joined the League at the present critical juncture of international politics; it remains to be seen how long America persists in standing out.

Those who see in this departure in the Soviet foreign policy an indication of her gradual inclination towards Capitalism, are sadly mistaken. So far as fundamentals are concerned, the Soviet is, and will for ever be, a Socialist State. This is evident from her drive towards collective agriculture and farming and the progressive decline in the number of small shop-keepers.

A PLEA FOR A COMMISSION ON THE LEGAL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN

By RENUKA RAY, B.Sc. (Econ., London)

THE legal position of Indian Women is undoubtedly one of the most inequitable in the world today. It has entailed so much suffering and misery to the women in India that, were it not for the extraordinary apathy of the social conscience, it could never have been tolerated for so long. Changed ideas regarding the position and status of women in society came into England and the West only about a hundred years ago. At one time, not so long ago, the status of English women in law was extremely low, and far more unjust as compared to that of women under Muhammadan Law, and the Hindu Codes of Ancient India. Yet today they have already attained a position of equality in law in regard to property and marital rights. In India, too, a changed outlook, as regards the rights of women, has been discernible for some time among a small minority of the progressive and liberal-minded, who have striven to bring about the regeneration of women; but the larger majority of Indian women have so long been entirely untouched by this newer spirit of progress. During the last fifteen years, a fundamental and momentous change is making itself manifest. True, women today have not attained a tithe of their just rights, they still suffer under innumerable disabilities in law, countless numbers are often branded to a miserable existence due to the reigning social customs, but their 'Pathetic Contentment' is broken at last, they are alive and pulsating, and every year brings an increasing and more insistent demand from them that their just rights and duties be accorded to them once more. Much still remains to be done, but it is significant that so many of those who in the past used to suffer in silence are no longer inarticulate. Many of us find it difficult to realize to what extent the laws of the land have been accountable for the unjust and oppressive treatment meted out to large numbers of women.

This position has clearly arisen because both Hindu and Muhammadan law are based on religious enactments, and it is upheld that these are immutable and cannot be changed. The policy of non-intervention which the Government of India have pursued in religious matters, have led them to leave the greater part of the Legal Codes entirely unaltered, and so they are perpetuating and upholding a system of laws which can have no place in a progressive and ordered modern State. Law can no longer remain static in a dynamic society. It is the duty of the State to adjust and suit the laws of a country to the requirements of the times. In spite of all sacraments and religious injunctions, the history of Hindu law will show that it has continually changed with the changing times, right down to the advent of the British period. When law and order prevailed in Vedic India, both the legal Code and social customs accorded a large measure of equality to women. It was during a period of strife and conflict, when ordered conditions of society could not prevail, and physical valour was the primary need of the day, that woman gradually lost her status in society. When times of peace came again, the demoralization of women was almost complete. As seen during the period of the Smritis, there was a continuous and long struggle between the

different law-givers as to the position of women and many contradictory enactments came into usage, according to the social ideas of the day. When the laws were applied during the British period, grave injustice was done to women, as the Pandits and Priests who were asked to expound the laws, gave the most reactionary interpretations in respect of women's rights, so that the little that law still allowed them was further curtailed.

In order to understand and appreciate the present position it is necessary to give a few broad general characteristics of the disabilities women suffer in law, in our country. There is a great diversity in law in India and it is necessary to deal with the different Codes separately. A minority of the people are governed by more liberal and progressive laws, such as the Parsis, Christians and all those who come under the Special Marriage Act and the Indian Succession Act. Women governed by these laws do not suffer any particular disabilities as regards their marital and their property rights. Those who are married under Act III of 1872 are governed by saner laws of marriage but it is one of the anomalies of the legal system that in regard to inheritance, they are guided by customary laws, which means that the inequitable laws of property of the older Code are enforced. For the vast majority of Indian women who come under either Hindu or Muhammadan law, the position is quite different.

Hindu Law is not uniform all over India and differs, according to the diversity of interpretations given, to the Vedic and Smrity texts in later times by successive commentators. This has given rise to the different schools of law. The Dayabhag and Mitakshara are the two main systems of law. Broadly, the former is prevalent in Bengal, and the latter in the rest of India, with the exception of Bombay, where the Mayukh school of law holds sway. The Mitakshara law again is not uniform and has sub-divisions, probably to suit the customs and requirements of the different parts of the country. So far as the rights of property are concerned, it is true of all the schools of law that a woman has no absolute rights of property, except under certain circumstances. In other words, she cannot dispose of, or sell property at her will. It is only in certain specific cases of "Stridhan" ("woman's property") known as "Saudayik" that this right accrues to her. She cannot even dispose of "Stridhan" which comes to her after marriage, without her husband's consent, even if it be her self-acquired earnings. It should be noted here that, apart from the fact that a wife cannot be ejected from the dwelling house, and that the obligation to maintain her remains binding on the husband, the latter can do as he desires with his property without consulting her. As the money is earned and contributed by him, the justice of this principle is not disputed in any legal code. Is it not only fair that a wife too should have complete right of disposal of the income she has earned by her own endeavours? Absolute right over property is only recognized by the Mayukh school in Bombay, so far as a daughter's right is concerned. Here the daughter is entitled to an absolute share in her father's property. The Mayukh law differs from the Mitakshara Code, only in regard to the daughter's rights of inheritance in her father's property. Under Dayabhag law in Bengal, a daughter has no right over her father's property. If she is an unmarried daughter, she is only entitled to bare maintenance and marriage expenses. The married daughter has no right of inheritance at all so long as sons, grandsons, widows, unmarried daughters and daughters' sons are alive, who inherit in the above order. Under Mitakshara law the position of the daughter is even worse as due to the system of survivorship, if no immediate male heirs are alive, the property reverts to the coparceners. It is often held that once a Hindu woman is married, she belongs entirely to her husband's family where rights and duties are accorded to her, and so it would be unfair to the sons if women should also inherit property as daughters from their father's estate. If we probe deeper into the matter we will find that a woman's rights in her husband's family are very precarious. It is true that under Dayabhag law a woman who has no sons is given a limited interest in her husband's property; but she cannot dispose of, or sell or gift away this property, except under certain cases known as legal necessities. Often her heirs or 'reversioners,' as they are legally called, harass her and question her actions to such an extent when legal necessities arise, that even under these circumstances, she finds it difficult to sell her property except at a great loss. "Widow's Estate", as this property is commonly called, gives rise to so many law suits that few people are willing to take the risk of buying such property unless they are amply compensated. Whenever bills are brought forward to improve the position of women in regard to inheritance, a protest is invariably launched by certain reactionaries in Bengal, that under Dayabhag law, women's rights of inheritance are equitable and require no redress, unlike the law in other parts of India. The case of the widow without sons, who is given a limited interest in her husband's property, is cited to uphold this argument. Yet they forget to mention that a widow with sons is only entitled to bare maintenance. If there is a partition of the property, then a widow is entitled to a share, but this is entirely at the will of her sons as she cannot ask for a partition. If her sons misuse her husband's hard-earned money, which occurs oftener than we imagine, she has no legal redress as long as she is given bare maintenance. As long as the

father is alive, a "son's childless widow" is not even entitled to bare maintenance and her fate is most pitiable. Neither in her husband's family nor in her own has she any right. Married in childhood, and entirely helpless and unable to fend for themselves, these poor women are frequently left without any means of subsistence when they become widows. Few of us realize how many of these unfortunate women are ultimately compelled to lead a life of shame. Under Mitakshara law, a widow and a son's childless widow are both entitled to bare maintenance. The widow does not even inherit 'Life estate' in her husband's property even if she has no sons, for as shown in the case of the daughters, if there are no male heirs the property reverts to coparceners.

In the normal happy home, legal distinctions do not matter, and it would be a gross exaggeration to say that the majority of women in India are not happy or treated well because their legal status is so low, but as in the case of the widow in regard to property, so in the case of the married woman, if she does need redress, the law of the land is against her A Hindu woman has no choice in marriage. In a way it may be said that she merely changes the guardianship of the father for that of the husband when she marries and as things stand no matter what he is, he has almost absolute right over her. She has no redress, whether he be suffering from the worst diseases, or be guilty of adultery, cruelty or desertion and as such is the irony of fate, that she has no redress even if he marries again in her lifetime, because that is not only allowed by law, but considered only right and just if she be childless. So for all practical purposes, a man has the right of dissolution of marriage and his wife can only claim bare maintenance of him Divorce is entirely banned by Hindu law and society, as marriage is a sacrament, but no sacrament holds, when a man takes unto himself a second wife, and this is considered entirely equitable if the first wife is given maintenance and a right to live in the dwelling house. Even judicial separation is not allowed in Hindu Law, except if cruelty can be proved to amount to a personal danger to life. According to recent rulings of the Courts, marriages to lunatics are considered invalid, but under no other circumstances can a Hindu woman be freed from an unhappy marriage. Aborigines and those Hindus who do not come under Brahminical law, have rights of divorce. Women who are the home-builders, the mothers of the race, surely cannot want to break up the home and family life, and yet there must be some reason why thinking men and women consider that the rights of divorce should be allowed. We do not want divorce to be introduced for any flippant reason but for only those reasons brought under the light of modern conditions, which even the old Hindu system considered right and just, as expounded in the Smritis of Narad and Vasista.

The guardianship of children is another matter which is of special importance to the women as the mother. Not only the wishes of the father but even of other male relatives, such as the maternal uncle, take precedence over those of the mother in regard to her children, under certain circumstances. We hear so much of the glories of motherhood, and yet the mother, whose natural and moral right cannot be denied, is by a system of retrograde laws deprived of her greatest right, because she does not earn her living and agrees to give her life to rearing the family instead. Can anything justify such a system?

As regards the adoption of children, a Privy Council Ruling allowed certain rights to accrue to woman, —but only recently there was a Bill in the Bombay Legislature to preclude her from this right.

When we turn to Islamic Law we find that the rights of property are far more equitable to woman. Although a daughter is not given an equal share with the sons, she is given a definite share of her father's and also of her husband's property. But a grave injustice is done to the women of many Muhammadan communities in parts of Bombay, Gujarat and Kathiawar, as these communities are not governed by Islamic Law but by customary law. Consequently the rights of Muhammadan women of these communities are guided by the unfair Hindu laws of property. As regards marital rights, the Muhammadan woman is often in a far worse plight than her Hindu sister due more to the backwardness of her community as a whole than to her position in strict law. Plurality of wives is not only allowed by law, but even today it is frequently found that a man has more than one lawfully wedded wife. Recently due to the advance of modern ideas and the exigencies of economic necessity, there is a great decrease in this practice and number of such cases. Amongst Hindus, although law allows a man to marry again if his wife is childless yet cases of this nature, if not non-existent, are extremely rare. The principle of divorce is recognized in Muhammadan law, but it is only at the will of the husband that a woman can obtain a divorce. A man is entitled to obtain a divorce at his mere will to do so, and so a woman not only does not receive redress when she is in need, but also may find her home broken up, at the mere caprice of the man, as her consent to the divorce is unnecessary. It must, however, be admitted that the law of dower mitigates to a certain extent the harshness of the provisions relating to divorce. Sometimes she can purchase her divorce by giving up her property, and this is called 'Khula", but even here the husband's consent is necessary. The usual mode is 'Mubarat', where the woman receives back her

full share of the property when divorce takes place. So we find that alterations in Muhammadan law are also necessary.

In Hindu law a wholesale revision is absolutely necessary as regards inheritance and marriage, if we are to remove the disabilities under which women suffer. We have had great champions and liberators from time to time, from Rammohun Roy downwards, who have espoused women's cause and sought to redress her grievances. But it is clear that individual efforts alone will not suffice to ameliorate the legal position of women. Even today with the championship of Rai Harabilas Sarda Bahadur, and Sir Hari Singh Gour and other liberal-minded men, efforts are being made again and again to improve the legal status of women, but in spite of all their gallant help it cannot be denied that redress is slow to come. Mr. Harabilas Sarda's efforts to remove the legal difficulty with regard to women's rights of property and inheritance, are a clear indication of the slow procedure. His first Bill which aimed at a real removal of grievances was thrown out completely by the Assembly, and even his Widow Maintenance Bill, which was very much a half-measure, has not been taken up by the Assembly this year. The Council of State is now considering a Bill on women's inheritance, but there is little chance of its becoming law. A complete change and wholesale revision is necessary. Palliatives and half-measures cannot do any longer. Apart from these, anomalies will always creep in when laws are amended by a patchwork method. As in the case of Sarda's Child Marriage Restraint Act, amendments will become necessary to enforce the provisions of the acts passed. For all these reasons, the representatives of India's women, at the last Session of the All-India Women's Conference, considered that an Enquiry Commission should be set up to suggest reforms under the light of modern conditions and ideals, and that the recommendations of this Commission should be set forth in a Bill before the Assembly and passed into law. They feel that if the Government of India realizes that they are earnest about their demands and that it is the express desire of thinking men and women from all over the country, we shall be able to obtain the establishment of this Commission of Enquiry. It should have a large non-official element, including prominent lawyers and liberal-minded men. Women should also be adequately represented by their chosen representatives. The work of the Commission will help to create a widespread public interest and opinion in the matter, and to lay bare to the country at large the great evils that are rampant as a result of the present legal codes. The materials collected by the Commission will help them considerably to suggest a simplified system, which will recognize a code of laws, where women will be given equal rights with men, and which will yet be in conformity with true Indian culture and traditions. The enlightened States of Baroda, Mysore and Travancore have already reformed their laws regarding the disabilities of women on the recommendations of Commissions of enquiry set up by them, and the result has been very satisfactory. It is surely not too much to expect that women in British India will be afforded a similar concession.

The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act gives the widow a legal right to marry again, but few widows use this privilege that law allows them, and so, it is sometimes argued that a removal of the disabilities in law will not alter the status of women, to a considerable degree, as custom is rigid, and until the prejudices are removed from society, the law will be a dead letter. It is true that social prejudices hamper the work of reform considerably, and law cannot alter these, if changed ideas do not come in simultaneously. The propaganda and work the Commission will do while it is holding its session, will have a tremendous effect on the popular mind. Apart from this, social conventions are already changing rapidly and women have shown that when their help is needed in the social or political sphere, they have proved themselves more than equal to the task. Not only is it unfair that the legal system should hinder them from attaining their emancipation, but until an atmosphere of comradeship between men and women pervades society and the social environment is unfettered by legal restrictions and blind prejudices, it will not be possible for India to work up for herself a position of dignity and equality in the comity of nations.

[NOTE. Rammohun Roy has shown in his pamphlet on "Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, ..." that according to the ancient legislators, such as Jajnavalkya, Katyayana and Manu, the daughters are entitled to one-fourth part of the portion which a son can inherit. In this connection reference should also be made to another paper of Rammohun on "The Rights of Hindoos over Ancestral Property, according to the Law of Bengal." Ed., *M. R.*]



AN ASPECT OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S GREATNESS

By Pandit VIDHUSEKHAR SHASTRI

RECENTLY an attempt was made on the life of Mahatma Gandhi by means of throwing a bomb; but he had a providential escape. Indeed the unfortunate man who threw the bomb knew not what he did. But what did the Mahatma himself think of it? What did he say about it? Only what could reasonably be expected of a real devotee, and a true Vaisnava, as he himself is. And so he is reported to have said:

> I have nothing but deep pity for the unknown thrower of the bomb. If I had my way and if the bomb thrower was known, I should certainly ask for his discharge, even as I did in South Africa in the case of those who successfully assaulted me.

Naturally it reminds one of what Jesus Christ said once under similar circumstances.

> Father forgive them, for they know not what they do. Luke xxiii 34

Readers of the Bible know the details of this attitude in the life of Jesus Christ, which has a striking resemblance to that of a true Vaisnava. About the end of the year 1500 A. D., in the time of Chaitanyadeva in Bengal, there was a great devotee Haridasa by name. By birth he was a Muhammadan,* but became a follower of Chaitanyadeva. Being a Muhammadan he was regarded by the Hindus as untouchable. Yet, he was very saintly, and the following passage taken from an authorative work† on Vaisnavism will clearly show what regard Chaitanyadeva himself had for him.

Once Chaitanyadeva having seen his other disciples came to meet Haridasa who paid his respects to him prostrating himself before him. Chaitanyadeva made him rise from the ground and embraced him. And both of them were so glad and so much moved to meet each other after a long separation that tears flowed from their eyes, remembering each other's kindness. Haridasa then said:

"Don't touch me, Lord, for I am very inferior, low, and untouchable."

But replied Chaitanyadeva: "I touch you to become pure. The pure *dharma* that is in you is not to be found in me, for every moment you take bath in sacred streams, every moment you perform sacrifices and practise austerities, and scriptures you read always.* You are the most purifying one, greater than a Brahmin, greater than one who has renounced the world."

The Muhammadans got very angry with Haridāsa, because in spite of his being a Muhammadan he became a Vaisnava. The Muslim ruler of Bengal at that time remonstrated with him again and again to give up the religion which he had adopted, and threatened him with severe punishment if he did not obey his orders. But Haridāsa could not do so. He said:

"If even my body is cut to pieces and my life goes out, I will not give up the name of Hari".†

Judgment was delivered in the court that he was to be beaten in each of the bazaars of the town, so that he might die of its effect. The orders were carried out immediately and there was none who was not moved at the sight or did not try his best somehow to save him from that punishment. But what was Haridasa himself doing all the time? He was remembering his Krisna feeling the happiness arising from muttering his name. He did not feel the physical pain, but was very sorry in his heart only for those who were beating him mercilessly, and made devout supplication to his Krishna saying, "Be kind,

* Some say that originally he was a Hindu but was brought up in a Muhammadan family.

† *Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Madhyalīla.*

* This is, in fact, from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, iii 33,7.

† खण्ड खण्ड हय देह यदि याय प्राण ।
तबो आमि बदने ना छाड़ि हरि नाम ॥

Caitanya bhāgavata, Adikanda xi

O Krishna, to these creatures! may they not be considered guilty owing to the harm that they have done to me'*

These words are, in fact, almost identical with those of Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi only in different languages or phrases. The *Bhāgavata Purāna*, which is the most authoritative work on Vaisnavism is full of this kind of mental attitude on the part of a true devotee.

* ए सब जीवेर कृष्ण करह प्रसाद।
मोर द्रोहे नहु ए सभार अपराध॥

A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"But, when all is said, the taste, which is an essential quality of a critic, is something with which he is born. It is something which is not born of reading Sophocles and Plato, and does not perish of reading Miss Marie Corelli. This taste must illuminate all the reviewer's portraits. Without it he had far better be a coach-builder than a reviewer of books"—Mr. Robert Lynd in *The Art of Letters* (T. Fisher Unwin : 1920).

I

IT has been declared, by one who ought to know, that it is not everybody that says, "Lord! Lord!" who can enter the Kingdom of Heaven: a truism that has, I venture to think, the merit of being meticulously true. Mere shouting at the top of one's voice does not, it is clear, unlock the gates of anything: if it did, matters would become wonderfully (and, sometimes, even woefully) simple. Everybody has heard of the sorry plight of the lady who protested too much: why, the poor dame was not believed at all. Similar is the case with your spiritual gentleman, falsely so called: the more he mentions the name of God, the more he takes God's name in vain.

II

A reviewer, in my opinion, is in a like predicament. Every review of a book, or a series of books, does not necessarily deserve that cognomen. On the contrary, it may, very often, be even a complete travesty of it. Not one in a dozen reviewers, I dare to say, can, if put to the test, fully sustain his claim to that title He occupies that position—if the truth is to be told merely on sufferance. The fact is that there is a rooted misconception in the public mind about this matter of book-reviewing. Unhappily, it is regarded as the simplest possible affair: one, for instance, as easy as falling off a cliff, or sliding down an inclined plane. It would be well if someone took courage in both hands and came forward to dispel that illusion lock, stock, and barrel: it has, Heaven knows, wrought enough mischief even as it is. Book-reviewing, I should like to lay down with all the emphasis at my command, is no more capable of achievement by all and sundry than, say astronomy, or mountaineering, or numismatics is. There is, one ought to bear in mind, such a factor as "aptitude" even for this seemingly colourless stuff: the plain truth being that some can review books well, and that some cannot: just as some can play lawn-tennis or Rugby-football, or contract-Bridge, better than others. It is all, I suggest, a question, in the last analysis, of where your interest, your mental-alertness lies: the wind, as always, blowing where it listeth.

III

There is, of course, another aspect of the problem. After all, the reviewers—or the most of them—may not really be so blameworthy as they seem. In many instances, it is fairly apparent, they are compelled to do that for which they have neither the will nor the inclination. The unpleasant job is, more often than not, *thrust* upon them: with the result that we see for ourselves almost daily. Even a willing horse, as everyone knows, must not be worked too much. The best rule, here as elsewhere, is moderation: the willingness to work within the frame-work of your capabilities: not, as some erroneously put it, finding out what you cannot do, and then going to do it. Public prints are not, I take leave to point out, exactly the places wherein to experiment with your heroism. The entire trouble, however, has—or so it seems to me—arisen in this way. There are so many papers in the world at the present time: likewise there are so many books that are being published day in and day out. What can the poor editor do in such circumstances? Book-reviews are, unfortunately, a "feature" in almost every journal of any

pretensions; and the hapless editor has, if only for the satisfaction of not being outdone by the others, to follow the prevailing mode, the accepted fashion. Of course, if he were a man of devastating originality he would throw contemporary usage to the winds, and would cease to display this "feature" the moment he found it irksome: he would rather *not* "clutch the inviolable hope" of being able to make it a success. But generally, as we all know to our cost, he is not a person of outstanding "guts," of marked freshness of vision, the editor of supreme originality being as rare as the flowering of the aloe, or the laying of the phoenix's egg. So he runs about hither and thither among his friends and begs of them the favour of reviewing the books under the weight of which his table is groaning. Muttering comminations within himself he abjures them to do the thing somehow or other. Well, to cut a long story short, they do it. The result may be disappointing but what else can one expect? One cannot gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles; and by the same token, one cannot hope to get masterpieces of criticism and composition from those who simply have not the root of the matter in them. Let us for once, face facts: in book-reviewing as elsewhere many are called, but few chosen.

IV

This "disease" of modern life, if I may bodily take over a phrase of Mathew Arnold's and apply it to some modes of reviewing, admits of but one remedy. I suggest that only those journals that can afford both the space and the material ought to go in for this luxury, the rest meanwhile being content to exercise a wise self-control in not even trying to touch that which they cannot hope ever to adorn. And some books, let one say as gently as possible, ought not to be reviewed at all. Selection and centralization: these are the two things that are greatly to be desiderated. It would be best, of course, if one could bring out a special supplement every week for this purpose. The proprietors of the London *Times* were never so happily inspired as when they originated a separate publication under the the name of the *Times Literary Supplement*, which, without question, is unique in its own *genre*: as Cowley said of Pindar, it forms "a vast species alone." Failing this, it would be well to set apart entire pages every week, or even twice a week, specially for book-reviews: as is done, for instance, by the *Morning Post*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *News-Chronicle*. Much useful work is being performed in these papers by Miss Rebecca West and Sir John Squire and Messrs. Osborn & Lynd.

V

Something now remains to be said about how a book-review should be written. The author's point of view must, in all cases, be kept before the reviewer's mind. Some sort of indication must be given about the former's trend of thought; and, however reprehensible it may seem to be, the latter must not lose his or her temper. I am perfectly aware that there are some situations when it becomes almost impossible to follow this injunction. Suppose the book under consideration is *Mother India*, or its sequel, *Slaves of the Gods*, written by that exemplary virgin, Miss Katherine Mayo, of Philadelphia, U. S. A. Suppose, further, that the reviewer is an Indian—preferably a Hindu. Well, I can, as the saying is, by all Lombard Street to a China orange that the latter will not be able to keep his head while reviewing the afore-mentioned books. On the contrary he will be tempted to explode: every cell of his body and mind being, if the expresion be allowed, on fire. But even in this extreme instance he will, I have not the least doubt, do well to a keep a tight hold upon himself. Our calumniator-in-chief may have, after all, a message to impart to us: and though that message is difficult to isolate from the heaps of vulgar abuse surrounding, and all but smothering it, like a costly jewel embedded in innumerable folds of cotton-wool, still the time, in my opinion, is not ill-spent, or the effort wasted, in "putting it across" to the millions and millions of people who inhabit our country. So long as a book is written with a definite and ascertainable purpose, that purpose must, it seems to me, be done full justice to, no matter what the extraneous circumstances may be. The only thing that we must not, on any account, tolerate is pretension: what the Americans call "high-falutin." Whenever, and wherever, this is detected we must take care to give a resounding thwack upon its back: such a thwack as Meredith extols in his famous extravaganza, *The Shaving of Shagpat*. For the rest, a little kindness is never out of place.

VI

Having said so much about a review being a faithful portrait of the book in question, I should like further to state that it should not, by any means, be a mere synopsis of it: else, where does criticism come in? A reviewer is a critic in little: at any rate, that is what my conception of him is. If one has sufficient space at one's command, one may let oneself go while one is reviewing a book: the only condition being that the book merits such treatment, and that the reviewer is a competent writer—one, that is, who can write simply and elegantly and interestingly. In such circumstances, one may, without great risk, write an independent essay on the theme of the book, at the same time keeping an eye on its central point, or points. And why not? A review should not be a mere catalogue or prospectus: it should have a life of its own. Some of the most distinguished reviewers have adopted this mode; and are, to put it mildly, none the worse for it. What, else, did the late Mr. T. Earle Welby—"Stet," of happy

memory—do? Yet he was acknowledged to have been a prince among critics, the noblest Roman of them all. Mr. Robert Lynd, however, is of the opposite opinion. He advises a reviewer to go straight to the point, to pounce upon it like an eagle upon its prey. All I can say in reply to this is that in literature there is no such thing as going straight to the point, or pouncing upon it like an eagle upon its prey: in fact, there ought not to be. It may be the correct thing in science. But literature is something quite different, and we prize it for its delicious irrelevancies, for its majestic asides. To what does *Tristram Shandy* owe its well-merited fame? Or *Moby Dick*? Or *The Good Companions*? Or Mr. Shaw's prefaces? Or any of Mr. Chesterton's multifarious writings? In literature everything is excusable so long as it is not slipshod or uninterestingly done.

VII

Finally, no one, I venture to think, should write upon a book, or upon an author, with which, or with whom, for one reason or another, he does not happen to find himself in sympathy. Destructive criticism is the easiest thing on earth, and anybody can perpetrate it. Indeed it is quite possible, on this hypothesis, to write a damaging estimate even of Shakespeare that shall show him to be no better than an amateur in literature. This, however, is not to say, that criticism should flow in one uninterrupted stream of applause: it would be to err at the opposite extreme. No author,—not even the greatest that ever was,—is immaculate. Homer himself is said to nod. Taking the example of Shakespeare again, an excellent article could be written proving what a bad craftsman he was. There never, perhaps, was a more careless writer. Everyone remembers the famous retort of Ben Jonson when somebody was praising Shakespeare for not being in the habit of blotting out a single line of his manuscript. "Would to God he had blotted out a thousand!" All this, however, does not invalidate my argument. Some sympathy is demanded of him who sets out to appraise the works of an author. Moreover, if one examines critical writings closely, one will find that the best criticisms have invariably been laudatory. That is why Pater, as Mr. Robert Lynd has noted, called his book of criticisms, *Appreciations*. That is why, Mr. Chesterton's *Dickens* is the best book that has as yet been written upon that great novelist. My point is very simple. The critic, or reviewer, should not, as far as possible, say gloatingly: "I have come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." He should, on the contrary, come to praise him: all other things, of course, being equal. Else, let him keep away: there are others to do the job better than he.

PROMETHEAN CONQUEROR

By VERRIER ELWIN

Descendant of a royal race,
  My coolie stumbles on ahead,
With body bent and weary face,
  And an uncertain tread.

Across his back a pole is laid,
  To either end of which he ties
A heavy basket, richly weighed
  With Western luxuries.

He mounts upon a little rise,
  His arms outstretched from side to side;
I see him dark against the skies,
  Weary and crucified.

My comforts load him wearily,
  His arms are stretched to hold them still
His is a very Calvary
  Upon that little hill.

Across the sad world endlessly
  The humble suffer for our pride:
On the grim cross of luxury
  The poor are crucified.

And to a million Calvaries
  The poor are nailed by heavy toil.
We sit below, their garments seize,
  And gamble for the spoil.

Yet even now our victory
  Must on their cross depend;
That sad and solemn agony
  Will conquer in the end.

And then the rich to beg will come,
  In days of mental dearth,
And plead outside the poor man's home
  For treasure not of earth.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE: *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C. I. E. Vol II. 1754-1771. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Ltd. Calcutta. 1934. Price Rs. 5.*

This is the second volume of Sir Jadunath Sarkar's great work on the fall of the Mughal Empire, the first instalment of which was reviewed in these columns some months ago. It carries the history of the empire down to 1771 and covers eighteen eventful years, the principal theme of which is the Afghan-Maratha contest for the lordship of Delhi. It is a story of horrors and rapine and political incompetence, redeemed only by the consolidation of British power in the Eastern, and Sikh power in the Western extremity of India. Sir Jadunath has treated his subject with a fulness of detail not to be found anywhere else and a competence which it would be impertinent to praise. Many doubtful points in the history of this obscure period have been cleared up in the light of sources not utilized before. The new volume of his latest, and we hope not the last, work makes us look eagerly forward to the instalments still to come.

GARGANTUA AND PANTAGRUEL: *By François Rabelais. Translated from the French by Sir Thomas Urquhart and Peter le Motteux. Newly annotated. The World's Classics. Oxford University Press. 3 vols. 2s. each.*

The Oxford University Press continues its services to culture by adding the famous work of Rabelais to the indispensable World's Classics Series. The version reproduced in these volumes is that of Sir Thomas Urquhart and Peter le Motteux, which if it does not give us the exact word of Rabelais is certainly as close an approach to the original as a translation could reasonably be expected to be. Besides the work is a classic of English translation-literature. Its value is enhanced by an introduction summarizing the latest researches on Rabelais and explanatory notes.

N. C. C.

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY: *By Nalin C. Ganguly. Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta. 1934. Pp. Crown 8vo. 229+10. 7 illustrations printed separately. Popular Edition, Re. 1-12; Cloth, Rs. 2-8.*

Within the compass of 229 pages Professor Nalin C. Ganguly has given a very interesting instructive and readable account of the life, achievements and personality of Raja Rammohun Roy. The book is well documented. Considering the multifarious activities of the Raja and the wide range of subjects—spiritual, theological, political, social, administrative, educational, economic, literary, etc.—dealt with in his writings, it cannot be expected that all his biographers will pronounce the same opinions on them. Mr. Ganguly's opinions, like those of other biographers of the Raja, may, therefore, be considered debatable by some. That does not in any way detract from the value of the book. What is commendable in it is that the author is not dogmatic, but gives reasons for his conclusions. He has worked hard and has succeeded in producing an impressive picture of his hero

C.

NEO-HINDUISM: *D. V. Athalye. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Rs. 5-8, pp. 220, 1932.*

This is not a mere biography of Swami Vivekananda but it aims also at summing up his teachings which are grouped here under various heads. In times like these we cannot ignore the lessons which were taught by the great Swamiji who meant so much to Bengal and to India. He was an inspiring presence, and the book is a suitable introduction to the study of the

great personality. Mr. Athalye has already established himself as a biographer of repute. and his exposition of Swamiji's conception of Vedantism will be generally found useful.

There are, however, several inaccuracies and slipshod expressions in the book; *e. g.*, 'U. S. America' (p. 1), 'of so prime importance' (p. 21), 'low' for 'slow' (p. 12); Narendranath did not pass the 'Matriculation' Examination but the 'Entrance', and the groupings in the earlier University Examination results are called 'divisions', not 'classes' (p. 2); further, the Gazipur saint is 'Pohari' Baba, not 'Parari' as on p. 11. It may be fairly expected that these will be rectified in a later edition.

THE LAST ENCHANTMENT: *G. K Chettur. The B. M. Bookshop, Mangalore. S. India Rs. 5 net. 1934.*

Mr. Chettur had spent some memorable years of his life 1918-1921 in that city of serene intellectual atmosphere, Oxford, and we are treated here to a book of recollections, most of which, if not all, were published in the different periodicals between December 1921 and October 1933. The introductory chapter has lent its name to the volume. Mr. Chettur's verses and short stories have been appreciated by the reading public and his reputation as a writer of English is maintained in this volume. The book is both informative and pleasant reading and it succeeds in making Oxford (residence in which is justly considered as in itself a real help to a liberal education) and its influence felt by the reader. Dr. Spooner, poets Yeats and Masefield. Rabindranath and Sarojini Naidu. Arthur Symons and Canon Streeter, are some of the figures which caught his notice and his comments on them as well as the social side of Oxford's life not excluding College servants- are enjoyable. Mr. Chettur regrets there is no suitable translation of Rabindranath's verses and he doubts if he has risen to the "height of spiritual passion and loveliness" achieved in *Gitanjali*! This is a remark which will not be accepted as sound by those who have read the poet in his original Bengali,—but Mr. Chettur, we forget, has not read Rabindranath in Bengali.

While writing of Oxford's influence, the author fondly yearns after its parallel in the East, and longs for an institution "where adequate facilities are provided for the co-ordinate study of all the different cultures that have contributed to India's art and civilization—the Vedic, the Puranic, the Buddhist, the Jain, the Islamic, the Sikh, and the Zoroastrian, as well as the Chinese and the Thibetan (*sic*)," and where side by side with all these would be found the Western. The Calcutta University, in spite of its many deficiencies and limitations, has set forth this ideal envisaged by the writer in the passage quoted above, and sought to combine the different streams of culture into one full river; the success or failure of such a plan only the future can show.

We are, however, in perfect accord with the sentiments expressed towards the close, sentiments which do credit to an Oxonian and show the soundness of his training:

"We, who have been so ready to assimilate a foreign culture and a foreign language, must not forget that we have a duty owing nearer home; that whatever treasures we may gather unto ourselves, and however proud we may be of an accomplishment acquired, or of an understanding enlarged, little of value attaches to these, unless we are prepared to offer them in the spirit of devotion at the altar of the realization of our ideals and our nationhood."

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THOUGHTS FROM THE GITA: *By L. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M. A., B. L., Advocate Tinnevelly. Published by the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. XVI+191. Price Re. 1 only.*

Students of the Gita will find the book interesting in many ways. The author is a profound scholar and professes to give us what he calls a popular presentation of the teachings of the Gita. The Gita has been interpreted in so many ways and by so many persons that the addition of one more book to the existing literature on the subject will not materially increase the labours of the student. The jungle of scholarship through which he has to wend his way is already thick enough.

INDIAN SPIRITUALITY: *By Mohan Mohan Chatterji. Published by J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London. Pp. 253. Price 5s. net.*

This book contains an eminently well-written account of the travels and teachings of an Indian Saint. Those who wax warm over Indian Spirituality as well as those who do not, will find enough food in it for meditation. It is an informing book and will amply repay perusal

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

ON THE NATURE AND DESTINY OF MAN: *By Syuan Shu. Central National University, Nanking. (Author's own Copy-right.) Pp. 183.*

Disclaiming all 'originality', the author of the book under review endeavours to present, as he writes in the *Preface*, those thoughts that have occurred to him during lucid intervals of the 'unrest and storm' he has had to pass through. Nearly all the greatest artists of the world confess having received their 'baptism of fire' during the *Sturm und Drang* periods of their lives; and Goethe, whom our author hails as 'a great master in the art of life' has evidently proved for him the abiding source of inspiration. Whatever their genealogical history, there is no gainsaying the point that these thoughts although based on 'personal experiences', actually 'felt and lived', do nevertheless claim a universality of appeal.

We intimate in advance our agreement with the author's dictum that "the more I find to admire in the West, the more I have cause to love our own culture and the hoary wisdom of our ancient philosophers" (*loc. cit.*) To the purists in Aryanism, wedded to cultural exclusiveness, it comes, with the added authority of personal experience, as a timely warning! Instead of dogmatizing on the question the author remarks with pointed emphasis thus: "Profoundly as I have been influenced by Western thinkers, my views as here presented will be found. I presume, to be almost in perfect accord with the teaching of Confucius in its original purity and splendour." (*loc. cit.*) It is, therefore, no wonder that one, internationally-minded like him, should bear testimony to this effect: "The belief daily grows upon me that nationalities are nothing else than our accidental trappings, and humanity is one and the same everywhere." (*loc. cit.*) This luminous

insight, it is refreshing to note, has been pressed into the service of that perfecting of human relationship by means of "the same nobler instinct which is in everyone of us and is in a sense divine." (*loc. cit.*)

We are introduced in Book One to the 'Sense of the Tragic' which, as born of 'the disparity between the Ideal and the Actual world', has 'a peculiarly uplifting power' (p. 3). It is here, in this "discontent divine," that we discover 'the origin of every genuine philosophy of life'. (*loc. cit.*) In Chapter II ("On the Soul"), he prefaces his general survey of the inner world 'with the distinction between the Mind and the Soul, or between the Understanding (*Verstand*) and the Reason (*Vernunft*)' (p. 6) in the manner of Kant whom he claims to be 'a safe guide in philosophic thinking' (*Preface*). Developing the distinction he designates Mind 'the faculty of Concepts', and the Soul 'the faculty of Ideas'. Now philosophy, it is interesting to learn, 'is no mere business of the Understanding': it 'must spring ultimately from a man's whole heart and soul, being in truth no less impassioned and personal than poetry' inasmuch as 'one thinks and knows only to the extent one feels, and what one feels is always conditioned by the kind of man one is' (p. 15). In short, 'philosophers are only poets become perfectly reflective' (p. 28). Discoursing 'on Religion', he opines that 'it is nothing but the feeling of Ought that forms the ultimate basis of Religion' and Religion alone 'reveals the supreme End to which everything is to be subordinated (pp. 21, 22). Chapter III dwells 'on the Constituents of Personality ('A Study in Characterology')—on 'sensuality', 'desire' and 'love'. 'As desire is the principle of our sensual nature, so is Love the principle of our Soul. The object of desire is the pleasant, that is whatever merely pleases for the moment; whereas the object of Love is the Beautiful, which while possessing a value at once intrinsic and permanent reveals itself, though only imperfectly, in Nature, in Character, and in Art' (p. 39). 'Love alone admits us into the world of Ideas. There we behold the images of the Good, the Beautiful, and the Divine'. Finally it is the Sense of Duty that reveals the truth to us that we are not mere passive creatures, but also free and active Beings, that is, in a sense, creators, who can apprehend and can freely participate in the shaping of our Destiny' (p. 53). 'On the Nature of the Good' (Chap. IV), he enunciates a creed that is frankly in tune with the Vitalism of our times It is exuberance, freedom and activity, that is, whatever springs from the expansion of Life, that constitutes the real and abiding Good, not feebleness, poverty, or constraint (p. 61). In chap. V ('On the Freedom of Will') our author gives a simple solution of the age-long, knotty problem of "free will"—a solution which might well redound to the credit of a professional philosopher. 'Man as well as everything else is conditioned by his immediate past, but he is also incessantly moulding and shaping his future' (p. 79). 'On Immortality,' (Chap. VI) he thinks, 'the only justification we can offer for our belief in Immortality is that most vital feeling of humanity, that the Good ought to triumph over the Evil (pp. 86-87). Further 'no Good is ever lost, no Good ever perishes, we feel instinctively persuaded' (p. 89); and in a matter like this, metaphysical argumentation does not avail, for, as Bradley puts it, 'metaphysics is the finding of bad reasons for what we believe upon instinct.' The seventh chapter bears 'on God', and is both instructive and illuminating. 'The Idea of God, we are told, springs from the spiritual or moral nature of man,' and 'is, like all other Ideas, dynamic' (p. 90). But 'the existence of God is neither capable nor stands in any need of proof. Man can become aware of the Godhead only through the immediate apprehension of his Soul, never by any inference of his Mind' (p. 91). Accordingly, 'all vehement outcry against idolatry argues stupidity as well as narrow-mindedness. It fails to see the fact that with idolators it is spirits or powers that form the real objects of worship, not the mere idols as such. A. France is perfectly right, when he says of Polyeucte, the great iconoclast, that he did not know how much that is divine and adorable can be contained in a wooden God' (p. 92). Book I terminates with a dissertation 'on the Meaning of Life' (Chap. VIII), which closes on the high-pitched key: "Life and whatever promotes Life is the Good. Nothing else is. And let there be the Eternal Yea" (p. 103).

Book Two similarly abounds in characteristic flashes of insight on cognate topics, such as, the 'Hedonistic Morals' 'Kant's Ethical System' 'The Ethics of Schopenhauer' 'Virtue and Knowledge' 'The Doctrine of the Mean' and 'Wonder, Reverence, and Mercy'. We regret, however, that the exigencies of space-economy would not allow as liberal quotation here as in the case of Book One.

SAROJ KUMAR DAS

THE GREAT DESIGN: *Edited by Francis Mason. With an Introduction by Sir J. Arthur Thomson. London, Duckworth, 1934. Pp. 324. Price 8-6.*

These are the days for symposia and omnibus volumes. Though written by fourteen scientific experts the *Great Design* does not weary the reader with much technical detail. Primarily written for the man in the street, it has its peculiar appeal for the earnest and advanced student of some of the intricate verities of the universe. Is the World a soulless mechanism; is it a work of blind chance; is materialism true? These are the main trends of the argument used and answered by these experts. As Sir Arthur Thomson puts it: "The study of Nature is as preoccupying as are the everyday interests of our life, yet in both fields we are continually pulling ourselves up and asking what it all means. At every corner there stands the great mark of interrogation, the Riddle of the Sphinx. Science has its own questions and answers: Whither, and How but beyond science is the not less inevitable question Why." This volume attacks the Why of the phenomena of the Universe and brings out the order and intelligence in nature. Beyond this nothing can be adequately described of the fourteen chapters which go towards making this volume. In the solitude of one's own library the *Great Design* is sure to yield thoughts and consolation which cannot be purchased. A great book indeed!

LANKA SUNDARM

THE SONG OF THE CARAVAN: *By Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, New History Foundation, New York, pp. 410.*

Four hundred and ten pages of weird writing, teaching the "ideals of new humanity" and imparting the message of "the Spirit of the World's Teacher." There is a weary series of sameness throughout the book, in all the battles, the adventures, the hair-

breadth escapes. The author is no doubt the consummate master of high-flown language, and the many examples of attractive Americanism have decidedly stimulated his ingenuity. But literary skill has failed to make his seemingly luminous account of the Gor-Gor and other supernatural characters interesting enough for the reader. In perusing the chapter "Devil's Kitchen" we thought that after labouring through 314 dreary pages of flowery language we had at last some fun in store for us,—"the Devil loves his stomach best," but as one proceeds the description of the kitchen supplies no appetizing aroma either, and even the feeder on the coarse Sexton Blake series is disappointed. There may be a sufficiency of grounds on which, in other quarters, the book may be regarded as a more heart-reaching production; but sustained scrutiny makes that theory also almost untenable. In the detective stories written in the U. S. A. the adventures have no connection with religion, and juvenile readers are easily attracted. The present work deals with Buddha, Mahomet, Christ and others. The Army of the Stars, the Vagabonds and other regiments can hardly be expected to satisfy young readers who do not thirst for a joke with a religious moral; and as the book is written in the ideal penny-horrible style, we think the argument is a spacious one that maturer readers too do not wish to be taught any "new ideals" in soc Nick-Carter a manner; and it is difficult to expect the book to be anything else than an imperishable memorial of an outlandish teaching method.

Critic

SELF-REALISATION: *Life and Teachings of Ramana Maharshi*: *By B. V. Narasimha Swami. Published by Niranjanananda Swami, Secretary. Ramanasram Tiruvannamalai (Arunachala).*

Ramana Maharshi is a saint of Southern India. He was born on 30th December, 1879. Before he took orders his name was Venkataraman. But we will not pursue his uneventful worldly career. we at once begin and end with two quotations, and leave the reader to form his own opinion. In the foreword written by a Madras High Court Judge, Mr. K. Sundaram Chetty, we find the following as the saint's view on Happiness: "Happiness is really an inner attitude, or a subjective realisation of the mind, though many are under a misapprehension that it depends upon external conditions only." Though a Sannyasee in all outward appearance, there is nothing medieval about him. Rather, he is quite modern in his view of the self to be realized in this our mundane existence. He does not preach otherworldiness, which is the bane of all old orthodox religions. Says the author (p. 223): "The basic principles of Maharshi's saintly life,—*Ahimsa*, *Samatva* and *Sarvahitatva*, *i.e.*, Harmlessness, Equality and universal benevolence naturally lead him to approve of the liberalising and humanising aspects of social reform. Persons of the depressed classes have long been his immediate attendants and are treated exactly as though they belonged to the higher classes. The question was raised in 1917 whether women and sudras were fit to be given vedic teaching and to be inducted into the mysteries of Self-realisation. Maharshi without any hesitation answered it in the affirmative and has in practice imparted instruction to women and sudras, whatever the Brahmasutras and the commentaries thereupon might say. The tendency of spiritual aspirants has generally been to shun society, not merely in the initial stage of preparation but even later. Maharshi. on the other hand, is fully in sympathy with the tendency of present-day ethics to stress social service rather than the perfection of the individual ascetic in isolation, and to note the importance of society even for the perfection of individual character."

JESUS THE WORLD SAVIOUR AND COMING KING: *By B. L. Chandra, Rai Bahadur. Calcutta. Printed at Metropolitan Printing & Publishing House, Ltd. 56, Dharamtala Street.*

The author is dead but as the book has been sent to us we are obliged to make some remarks on it. The book has been written from a very crude orthodox point of view, quite oblivious of the higher criticism which has torn to shreds the traditions of Christ and Christian history.

Dhirendranath Vedantavagis

NICHOLAS ROERICH, PAINTER AND PACIFIST: *By R. C. Tandon. Published by the Roerich Centre of Art and Culture. Allahabad, 1934.*

"This short Monograph was prepared for the occasion of the opening of the Roerich Hall of the Municipal Museum at Allahabad." It contains a short account of the various activities of the celebrated Russian artist. Roerich Museum has been founded by him in New York, with its branches all over the world. "There are today more than seventy Roerich societies dotted over twenty-four countries." Urusvati Research Institute is founded in the Himalayas at Kulu in the Panjab, where Roerich has now settled.

Roerich is a great explorer. He has been in "Little Tibet, over the Karakoram Pass to Chinese Turkestan, across Mongolia and Tibet, completely encircling the heart of Asia."

Roerich is a pacifist. He wants to bring peace in the world through art. His remark on art is "Art is for all Bring art to the people where it belongs."

We should have not only museums, theatres, Universities, public libraries, Railway stations and hospitals, but even prisons decorated and beautified. Then we shall have no more prisons.

Manindra Bhushan Gupta

RUDIMENTS OF COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY: *by M. A. Ghare. Sajjanwadi, Baramati. Price As. 8.*

A very indifferent compilation.

VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY'S MONOGRAPH NO. 5: *Varendra Research Society. Rajshahi, Bengal. 1934. Pp. 52 and 9 plates.*

The monograph contains a few useful and interesting articles on Epigraphy, Ethnology, Architecture and Literary Archaeology. Mr. Kalidas Dutta's description of "The Antiquities of Sundarbans" reveals the interesting fact that there were several examples of the *deul* type in that region. Our author equates them with the temples of Bhubaneswar; but they rather belong to a specific local type which grew up in West Bengal (Bankura, Birbhum and also Man-

bhum) in imitation of the Rekha temples of Bhubaneswar, but which had a sufficient amount of difference to mark it off from the parent style. Mr. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar's Catalogue of aboriginal rites and customs in Chutia Nagpur is very interesting, but it lacks details regarding the exact localitias where each ceremony is observed or the particular tribes or castes to which each is confined. If these details are added the paper would be of great scientific value. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal contributes an interesting history of a forgotten seat of learning named Somapura in North Bengal. There are a few more interesting papers on a very rare work on Sanskrit Prosody, namely, Purushottama Bhatta's Chhandomakhanta, one on a copper-plate grant of Ranavankamalla Harikaladeva, on the iconography of Aghora-Rudra and on the Vrindavanakavya and its author.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MASS EDUCATION IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY: *By R. V. Parulekar. Published by C. D. Barfivala for the Local Self Government Institute, 9, Bakehouse Lane, Bombay.*

In view of importance, the problem of primary education in India has not been studied to the extent to which it should have been. Hence this little monograph by Mr. Parulekar is a welcome addition to the existing meagre literature on the subject. Though he confines his study to the problem as it exists in Bombay yet it deserves attention from others in other parts of India.

The monograph is divided into two parts; the first contains his study of the position of primary education in the Bombay Presidency, discussions of what he considers to be its chief defects and his suggestions for remedying them. In the second part Mr. Parulekar has given some notes and documents illustrating relevant points in the condition of primary education in other countries and supporting his arguments advanced in the first portion of the monograph.

Mr. Parulekar rightly observes that "the progress of India is dependent largely upon the extension of mass education and that this reform cannot be delayed too long since on it hangs the future destiny of India." So, he says, "the problem is one of making the masses of this country literate." Now education and literacy are not synonymous though there is a close connection between the two: and herein lies the chief ground for criticizing all suggestions for the extension of literacy (as distinguished from education) among the masses in India. Mass literacy is not mass education and though literacy goes a long way towards education it does not, as has been abundantly proved in the West, necessarily lead to it. We however admit that literacy is a necessary tool and so if we cannot provide for education of the masses we can at least place that tool within their easy reach. But by doing so let us not have the false satisfaction that we are *educating* the masses.

Out of three children of school-going age only one is in attendance at the primary schools in the Bombay Presidency. Extension of primary education (as understood by Mr. Parulekar) in this case would mean making provision for the other two who are now staying away from schools. Mr. Parulekar considers the problem in that light and his recommendations are directed to that end. At the outset he makes the rather dismal statement that at the present time we cannot expect more money for education either from the Government or of the Local Bodies; and consequently we will have to carry on the programme of extension "within the possible resources at our disposal." Perhaps most of us under the circumstances stop talking about further expansion but Mr. Parulekar does not. He believes in number and in expansion and he is prepared to go on with his scheme at all costs. His suggestions for that purpose are (1) Reducing the period of primary School course from 5 to 4 years; (2) Raising the minimum age of admission from 6 to 7; (3) Simplifying the curriculum by concentrating on the bare essentials, *i. e.*, the three R's; (4) increasing the number of pupils per teacher from 30 to 60; and (5) adopting the Shift System or variation thereof.

We are prepared to agree with the first two suggestions. By adopting them we may certainly effect some economy and thereby help further expansion. Through effective teaching the primary course can be shortened without detriment to the pupils. It is a pity that while in the West the educationists are thinking of extending the scope of primary education to include the children of even the pre-primary level we in India, for lack of funds, should be compelled to raise the school-going age. But perhaps under the existing circumstances it cannot be helped.

When we come to the third suggestion of Mr. Parulekar, we think we cannot accept it. It goes against all modern ideas of education. Every educationist knows that over-emphasis on the three R's defeats its own ends. Certainly the curriculum should be simplified but not by the exclusion of essentials. Subjects are ever-shifting boundaries in the field of knowledge and over-emphasis on subjects *per se* is apt to hamper the unity of knowledge which is essential for education. It is only by treating these subjects as seperate entities that difficulty arises. Unfortunately we are very often given to that fault. But if these subjects are treated as natural interests of children their inclusion in the curriculum is not only essential but their exclusion may be harmful even for literacy. We are of opinion that history, geography, etc., should be included not as subjects but as activities and interests.

Unfortunately, in making this and the following suggestions (*re* the increase of pupils per teacher) Mr. Parulekar takes up the most unfortunate attitude of precedents and supporting his arguments by citing the practice in use in other countries, in the past. His idea that "what was considered good for the masses in England, Germany, Japan and other countries would not be considered as unwholesome for the good of the masses in India" (p 17) cannot but be too strongly condemned. We should never copy the mistakes of others but should learn by them. What was prevalent in other countries forty years or more ago when they first introduced primary education and suffered from inexperience in the matter should never guide our course. Even in those countries experience, matured considerations and enlightened opinion led to reformations. Instead of old practices these reforms should be our precedents. Whereas in other countries the movement is towards decreasing the number of pupils per teacher Mr. Parulekar advocates the retrograde step of doubling it. But he too has to confess that "the lesser the number of pupils per teacher the better it is for pupils" (p 19). It is hard to reconcile his confession with his recommendation. Only an over enthusiastic protagonist of expansion can agree with Mr. Parulekar's suggestion on this point.

But perhaps a remedy can be found and this has been suggested by Mr. Parulekar in his fifth recommendation, namely the introduction of the Shift System. This system has been tried effectively in certain places and should be widely experimented with. That and the introduction of methods of plural class teaching may together allow us increase the number of pupils to some extent.

But after all one is not convinced that expansion rather than improvement should be our immediate objective in the field of primary education. For it still remains to be proved that bad education is better than no education.

FLYING VISITS BEING A RECORD AND IMPRESSION OF A TOUR IN EUROPE. *By S. M. Pagar. The Times of India Press, Bombay.*

One wonders why a book like this is written and published except if it be for dedicating it to noble personages.

ANATHNATH BASU

HITLERISM OR THE ARYAN RULE IN GERMANY: *By Saumyendranath Tagore, pp. 106, Calcutta, 1934.*

It is an undeniable fact today that the apologists of Hitlerism have been carrying on a systematic propaganda in India for a long time. The propagandists, sometimes of Indian origin, out-Heroded Herod in their profession: it was highly amusing to all that when the Nazi propaganda minister Goebbels himself at Geneva deplored the excesses of Nazi storm-troopers, his agents in India never hesitated to declare all such rumours to be false. Obviously they counted on the ignorance of the Indian people. Now the inevitable reaction has set in and Mr. Tagore's book is perhaps the first of its kind in India and it is sure to be followed by others. The people of India, whose ignorance has been wrongly exploited by Nazi propagandists out of interested motives, will now get a glimpse and of the other side of the medal.

The volume under review is descriptive and not analytical. Perhaps it is better so, for it is written obviously for the purpose of counter-propaganda among the masses,—the emphatic expressions, of which the book is full, clearly show that it is not a dispassionate and objective criticism of Hitlerism. Yet the facts recorded in this volume cannot be denied by anyone acquainted with the real state of things in Nazi Germany. No amount of sophistry, paid or unpaid, can explain away the atrocious cruelty inflicted on Jews, socialists and communists: none but the blind will deny that a recrudescence of pre-War militarism is clearly perceptible today and that Odin and Thor are well on their way to being re-installed on the throne of Christ; only those who have never tasted the fruits of German art and literature will beam benevolence on this unholy fascist regime which spells death to refinement and culture.

Yet, something can be said in apology for Hitlerism. It would be doing injustice to Germany if we do not recognize that the German nation has completely lost its power of reasoning.—that Germany has been actually driven mad by the callous English and the vindictive French. Who was the greatest ally of Hitler in his struggle for power? Obviously the cruel and narrow-minded French premier Tardieu, who took every opportunity to inflict a crushing humiliation on Germany in bondage. He and his school rediculed Strasemann and Bruening when they demanded that Germany be granted what by right belongs to her, and at every fresh insult Germany growled in helpless rage. At last, driven into despair Germany threw in her lot with Hitler. Tardieu in Paris and Benes in Prague are trembling in their shoes today at the rise of Hitlerism, but it is they who are directly responsible for the successes of Hitler.

The rise of Hitlerism has been often called a unique event without parallel in history. But a student of history would hardly acquiesce to such a view. Hitlerism, rightly interpreted, would be found to conform fully to the historical tradition of Germany.

The Germans stepped into the history of the world for the first time when they dealt the deathblow to the fast disintegrating Roman empire. Satiated with culture and enervated by luxury the Romans had lost all capacity for organization and failed to adapt the old institutions to their own times. The Germans appeared on the scene, completely demolished the old social and political structure, and considerably simplified the older institutions and thus rendered them again useful to mankind. Many have shed tears over the decline and fall of the Roman empire but few have appreciated the great service rendered to humanity on that occasion by the Germans: when the antique world was passing away and all the nations found themselves entrapped in an *impasse*, out of which no way could be found, the Germans imported fresh vigour and gave the lead. If their first impact civilization doubtless sustained a tremendous set-back, but when it again resumed its onward march it far exceeded the highest limits reached by the older culture. Again towards the end of the mediaeval age the great Catholic Church which for a whole millennium had been the fountain-head of western civilization and culture, showed all the signs of senility and old age. The civilization had grown so complex and individualistic that no motif for collective culture could be found anymore The world was confronted with another deadlock ot civilization. Again it was reserved for the German Luther to initiate the great Reformation which replaced the old complex religion by a simpler one and thus laid the foundation to modern civilization. At the present day the world is passing through another crisis of unprecedented magnitude. In spite of undreamt of advance in every branch of knowledge the modern man finds himself a complete bankrupt, unable to formulate even a tentative philosophy of life. The proudest products of modern civilization are all, without exception, prophets of pessimism and the prevailing mood is that of a tired indifference. A healthier view of life is necessary even if mankind would only consent to live. No sacrifice is too great for it, and the least that we should have to concede to is a partial curtailment of our modern civilization. Perhaps Hitlerism is nothing but this partial curtailment.

Hitlerism can therefore be fully explained by history. Perhaps in the long run Hitlerism will prove to be beneficial to human civilization just as the Germanic invasion of the Roman empire and the Reformation have been. Yet ordinary mortals cannot live beyond present actualities and the Nazis themselves are but blind instruments of history. Hitlerism too is therefore to be considered in the light ot the usual ethical code which bases its judgment on immediate causes and immediate results. This code of morals will certainly give the verdict of guilty on Hitlerism.

Indeed the Nazis themselves are conscious of their guilt. They are trying in vain to drown the internal tumult of their conscience by the pompous din of arms.

Germany, defeated in War, conquered her conquerers and commanded their respect. Her real debacle dates from the day when Hitler rose to power.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

THE IDEAL DIET FOR PERFECT HEALTH AND REJUVENATION: *By Rai Bahadur Dr. L N. Chaudhuri. Published by the author from Jubbalpore, pp. 58, price paper board 12 annas, full cloth Re. 1.*

The author has dedicated this book to his wife, "who lost her life through medical men's ignorance regarding food and dietetics."

The subject of dietetics has unfortunately been neglected so far in the medical student's curriculum. We recommend this book to them and also to the general public; it contains a lot of information about the food we should eat to keep ourselves healthy.

The get-up of the book is excellent and price moderate considering its usefulness.

SHALL CANCER CONQUER UN-OPPOSED? *By H. Reinheimer Cancer Campaign Series No. 7. Pp. 44. Price 2 shillings nett.*

The author maintains that those who would be free from cancer, must diet with integrity and hold aloof from vices.

Cancer problem does not look so easy as it appears to the author.

A. K. MUKERJI

SADHU SUNDAR SINGH: *By C. F. Andrews Hodder and Stoughton, London.*

This charming book is a personal memoir by Mr. Andrews of the great Sadhu. The writer knew him in his youth, and from the pages of this book comes out the vivid picture of a sincere and spiritual young man who left home, left everything that makes for ease and comfort to search after God. Sadhu Sundar Singh embraced Christianity in his early youth and the story of his conversion which we have from these pages, is as wonderful as it is convincing. He was one of those rare followers of Christ, who tried to live as He lived and to act as He acted. His life has a message for the whole Church both in the East and in the West

In 1929 the Sadhu left India for Tibet on an errand of love and has never been heard of since. The Government of India sent out search parties along the way he expected to travel but they failed to trace him. He was officially announced dead in 1933. Sadhu Sundar Singh died as he lived, a great saintly figure who chose to tread along the Christ-way.

BIBHUTI BHUSAN BANERJI

SANSKRIT

BHATTADIPIKA OF KHANDADEVA BHATTA WITH BHATTACHINTAMANI OF BANCHHESHWARA YAYYWA: *Edited and Published by late Mahamahopadhyaya Venkata Subrahmanya Sastri of Tirubeshha and then Aryaswami of Bugga. 668 pages, cloth bound, price Rs. 6, printed at Madras Law Journal Press.*

We do not know how best to express our deep sense of gratitude to the most revered Jagatguru Sankaracharya of Kanchi and Pandit Arya Swami Sastri for their persistent effort and zeal in bringing out this invaluable book of Mimamsa Philosophy, notwithstanding the series of obstacles of which the editor has given a detailed account in the preface, caused by the lamentable death of two successively appointed editors, since it was first taken up for publication. For the complete mastery of the Mimamsa Philosophy and consequently of the Vedic principles, Bhattadipika of Khandadeva with its commentary Bhattachintamani by Banchheshwara Yayywa is considered absolutely necessary as Tattwachintamani of Gangesha Upadhyaya with its commentary, the Didhite, by Raghunath Siromani is regarded indispensable for the mastery of Nyaya Philosophy. As the precision and accuracy of Nyaya Philosophy culminate in its new school so they do in the Bhattadipika of the new school of Mimamsa. The appearance of Nabya Nyaya eclipsed the excellence of all other Philosophies so much so, that in order to re-establish their prestige and superiority Vedanta was recast by Anandabodhendra and then by Chitsukhacharya, and Mimamsa by Khandadeva and his followers. To understand Vedanta rightly just as Nyaya is considered indispensable, so is also the Mimamsa and even more. Thus by the publication of this volume yeoman's service is, no doubt, done to the earnest readers of Vedanta Philosophy. The editing, the printing and the get-up of the book are all excellent. The price too is inexpensive. The introduction is written in a true historical spirit, which is rare amongst the scholars of the old school. The language of the commentary is so simple lucid and elegant and just to the point, that both the tyro and the veteran will be greatly benefited by it and it will facilitate the acquistion by the reader of the highly philosophical and abstruse expressions of the Nabya Mimamsa, the Bhattadipika.

In short, I believe that if the example set forth by the most revered Samkaracharya of Kanchi, in encouraging the publication of such treatises, is followed by the heads of other *mathas* and religious institutions, who are in a position to command both men and money, then the immense mass of the Sastras, which is unquestionably still the only glory of our country and nation, will be saved from gradual decadence and destruction. In the meantime we shall be anxiously awaiting the completion of the book.

RAJENDRA NATH GHOSE

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

ISTA-SIDDHI OF VIMUKTATMAN WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE VIVARANA OF JNANOTTAMA: *Critically edited with introduction and notes by Prof. M. Hiriyanna, M. A Gaekwad's Oriental Series; published at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 14.*

Ista-Siddhi, the book under review, ranks as one of the most authoritative and comprehensive works on the Advaita Vedanta, specially on the side of its dialectics. Held in importanec, as great as Brahma-Siddhi, Naishkarma-Siddhi, Samkshepa-Sariraka, Panchapadika Vivarana, and Advaita-Siddhi, this book was once read by everybody aspiring to be an *Advaitin*; but if, unlike those other books, this one is comparatively unknown now-a-days, that is because it was not availible except in manuscripts. Prof. Hiriyanna has therefore earned the gratitude of

all lovers of Indian Philosophy by bringing this almost lost treasure of our ancient culture to light.

The texts of the book edited from various manuscripts, as well as the numerous extracts from Jnanottama's tika on difficult passages, all point to the patient labour devoted by the editor to this work; while the elaborate notes as well as the introduction, characterized by lucidity, accuracy and cautiousness, are proofs of his scholarship. One has only to read the introduction, -particularly the part of it devoted to the discussion of the philosophy of our author—to be convinced of the vast erudition of the editor, his thorough grasp of the Advaita Vedanta and his charming method of presentation of the same.

The only instance where the editor seems to have discarded his habitual cautiousness, is where he makes an assumption in fixing the date of the author.

I cannot bring this to a close without a request to the editor, to consider the desirability of bringing out another edition of this book, preferably with a tika, but without it if necessary, and at a price within the means of the pandits and the students, who constitute the major portion of the readers of such books.

Isan Chandra Ray

BENGALI

SRI NIMBARKACHARYA AND HIS DOCTRINE : *By Sj. Pulin Behari Bhattacharya. M. A. Judges Court, Sylhet. Pages 152. Re. 1-8.*

The book is organized into some eighteen chapters together with a foreword from the pen of Professor Nalini Mohan Sastri of the Murarichand College, Sylhet. Here, in this book has not only been given a biographical account of Sri Nimbarkacharya but also a history of the sect founded by him. The philosophy of the sect has been critically studied not in isolation but in comparison with the doctrines of the other systems of philosophy, particularly with that of the Advaita School of Sri Sankaracharyya.

The author has such an attractive manner of putting abstract things in simple language that an inquisitive reader will hardly leave the book aside, without going through the whole. He not only furnishes the reader with a lot of information on the subject, he has been avowedly writing, but on kindred topics as well. In short, it is so well-written and informative that we shall not be charged with exaggeration, if we characterize it as a *vade mecum* for those wishing to be acquainted with the tenets of the Nimbarkara School. Of late Nimbarkara School has become very popular, mainly through the untiring zeal and energy of Sri Santadas Babaji of Brindaban. To the enquiring layman, desirous of being enlightened on the teachings of this growingly popular School, we cannot recommend a better book than the one under review It is natural that in books of this nature discrepancies and inaccuracies may creep in here and there, we hope and feel sure, that the following instances, which we of course point out in a friendly spirit, would be rectified by the author in subsequent edition. In the first place, the date of Sankaracharyya is said to be 676-780 A. D. (page 56) and it is fathered on me, although my date is 686-720 A. D. Secondly, the author appears to have no right comprehension of the doctrine of Sankaracharyya, as is evident from his distorted explanation of the import of "mithya". Moreover, there are occasional instances of self-contradictions and want of logical application too. However, these are minor points, and should not be taken as casting any reflection on the general merit of the book.

Rajendranath Ghose

MARATHI

साम्राज्यासाठी (*For Empire*): *By Mrs. Shantabai Nashikkar. Pages. 366. Price. Rs. 2-8.*

This is a historical novel describing the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Abundant natural scenes are given, but all of them are unattractive and loathsome, a few Sanskrit words are used in wrong senses, though the writer is one of the eminent lady writers in Maharashtra. The Marathi knowing reader is puzzled at the identical proper names of different persons in the same chapter. The author has described the passages of love, murder and politics intelligently. Villains are depicted darker than what they are described in the history.

V. S. Wakaskar.

GUJARATI

PANCHDAND IN VARLA: *by Shankar Prasad Chhaganlal Rāval, published by the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay. Thick Card Board. Pp. 171. Price 12 annas (1934).*

The Forbes Gujarati Sabha of Bombay owns several old Gujarati MSS, and as opportunity offers is making them available to the public one after another. About four such valuable MSS. have already been published with annotations. Mr. Raval has made researches in connection with one of such MSS *viz.*, the poem of Narpati Kavi, composed *circa* S. Y. 1560, and published it under the name of the Story of Panchdand, one of the phases of the life of King Vikrama, who, Harun-ul-Rashid-like, used to go about at night in his capital city and learn its secrets. The introduction and annotations are very creditably written in a scholarly way which goes to prove the writer's love for his work.

RAM NAGAR NO RAJVI: *by Balakram Hari Narayan Pathak, printed at the Gandiv Printing Press, Surat: Cloth bound: Pp. 210. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1934).*

The modern state of Dhurampur, near Bulsar (known as belonging to Prant Ram Nagar), is situated in what is known as North Konkan. Its *gadi* has been occupied by the Surya Vanshi Sisodia Rajputs, and it has played a very prominent part in the old and mediaeval history of Gujarat. It consequently possesses many brilliant Chapters, in which Valour, Courage, Chivalry, and the observance of promises given at final sacrifice, stand out pre-eminent. The story narrated in these pages deals with these praiseworthy characteristics of its rulers and begins with the times when its King Maharaja Somdev (A. D. 1680) was ageing but the state was still possessed of its pristine glory. It furnishes interesting reading.

K. M. J.

CORRECTIONS

October 1934 number of the Modern Review, p. 418. Gujarati.

Line	7.	*read*	Leaving	*for* "learning"
Line	17.	*read*	"in this direction"	*for* "misdirection"
Line	26.	*read*	"part"	*for* "past."

THE WATERS OF DESTINY

BY SITA DEVI

XV

SUDARSHAN came forward with a smiling face as soon as he saw Suparnā alighting from the car. "Don't be frightened" called out Amitā, "seeing that we have arrived minus the food. It is in the car behind and will be here within five minutes. The other cars were no match for this one, though all three started at the same time"

"It is a mercy that the car with the food did not arrive first", said Sudarshan in reply. "It would have proved too great a shock for me and I might have gone away in despair".

"Oh indeed!" said Amita. "Though you are a doctor, you are quite good at making pretty speeches".

Suparnā did not join in their conversation, but went forward with Gargee. Sudarshan cast a look of deep admiration at her, which caused a turmoil in her heart. She tried to thrust away these thoughts from her mind, but they insisted on coming back again and again and attacking the citadel of her heart. Everything seemed to be pushing her towards a forbidden paradise. Even her own mind was beginning to prove a traitor. If she could not pull up in time, there was no knowing where she might be carried away.

Seeing Suparnā walking away so fast, Amitā gave chase and shouted, "Where are you running away, Su? Have you seen a tiger?"

Sudarshan was coming with them. He understood this effort of Suparnā for getting away from him. He understood, at least partly, what thought underlay this effort. The god of love enables his proteges to understand each other's mind, even if they do not exchange words. The very thoughts they try to hide behind a thousand things, become clear like reflections in a mirror.

"Let us go and have a look at the garden-house", said Sudarshan. "I have made as good arrangements as I could. But I am no good at these things and must have committed a thousand blunders".

They all advanced towards the garden-house. The garden was very large and very well-kept. The garden-house was not very big. The owner was old and broken down with sorrow and care. Still as he was a rich man, the place has not been entirely neglected. The house consisted of two stories. There was a big hall on the ground-floor and another on the first-floor. There was also a very big portico. There were smaller rooms and bathrooms also. Both the halls were very richly furnished and decorated. The sunlight shone full on huge mirrors, hung on the walls, and large oil-paintings could be seen everywhere.

Most of these paintings were of beautiful women. A few of these paintings were covered with brown cloth. Amitā smiled and pinched Indu on the sly. She could not say anything aloud, as Sudarshan was with them.

Both the halls were carpeted with rich Persian carpets. Sudarshan had made the servants take away the carpet from the lower hall and had left only a *durree* there. He looked at Amitā and said, "We can have our feast here and the men can also kick up as great a row as they please in the afternoon, in this place. So I have had the carpets removed. What is the good of destroying a beautiful thing? The upper hall I have not touched. You can use it."

"But where are the rest of your party?" asked Indu. "We don't see anyone besides ourselves."

"They have not all arrived," said Sudarshan. "Six or seven are here, they are walking about somewhere in the garden. Why don't you come also? What is the use of getting indoors so early?"

The gardener came up to them running and said that two other cars had arrived and a gentleman was asking for Sudarshan.

"Then aunt and the others have arrived at last," cried out Amitā. "Let us go and see whether the curries and the sweetmeats are safe."

"What could happen to them? asked Suparna. "Nobody could have eaten them up on the way."

"But they could have fallen down on the way." Said Indu.

They all went up to the gate again. Taran Babu was alighting from the car with his party. The car containing the food was ordered to drive up to the garden-house, where the servants took down everything and carried them indoor. These things were locked up in a small room.

"Now we can walk about, all we like," said Amitā, "without any fear for the food."

The party began to walk about again. Taran Babu asked Sudarshan, "Has not your father arrived?"

"He will be here after a while," said Sudarshan. "It is too early yet for him to move about."

In the course of their walk, they met Sudarshan's friends. They were introduced to the ladies, but they could not make good use of the occasion. The ordinary Bengali youth is unaccustomed to talk freely to unrelated women

or to behave in a natural manner in their presence. So after a while, they dispersed again. Taran Babu got tired after a while and returned to the garden-house. "I shall go and sit inside," he said to Sudarshan; "when your father arrives, I shall talk to him."

Amitā's aunt was not for retiring so soon, but she saw that her presence was acting as a check on the high spirits of the girls, they were afraid to let themselves go. So after a while, she sat down on a bench and said, "Run along, girls. I am too old to run with you. I shall rest my old bones for a bit, then walk on by myself."

The girls were quite willing. They ran on and soon disappeared, leaving the old lady behind.

Sudarshan was accompanying the girls, as it was part of his duty, as a host, but mainly because he could not bear to let Suparnā pass out of his sight. But he was afraid that his own friends might feel offended and pass unfavourable comments, if he left them too much to themselves. He was trying to find out a way, by which to bring them all together. There was a beautiful stone-built sitting-place in the middle of the garden. He came up to it and said, "We can all sit down here and have some music. It is not too hot yet."

"That is a good suggestion," said Amitā. "I say Gargee, where have you left your *Vina*?"

"She could not have carried it on her shoulder all this way," said Indu. "If you want it, then Sudarshan Babu will have to fetch it."

"With the greatest pleasure," said Sudarshan. "I shall also bring along the audience with me."

Sudarshan went off with rapid strides. After a few minutes, Amitā suddenly gave a jump and cried out, "Have you got my keys, Su?"

"Why should your keys be with me?" asked Suparnā in surprise. "Have you lost them?"

"Goodness gracious!" cried Amitā in dismay. "Those keys were very important. Where could I have dropped them? If I have left them somewhere in the garden, then we are all done for."

"You left your fan, scarf, handbag and many things else in the big hall on the upper floor. Have not you left the keys there also?" asked Suparnā.

"Please go and have a look, Su," said Amitā anxiously. "I shall look in the garden in the meanwhile. If I don't find them, it will mean disaster for us all."

Suparnā got up without demur. If the bunch of keys was really lost, it would mean serious inconvenience, they might have to go without food even. The key of the storeroom was in that bunch.

As soon as Suparnā had gone out of sight, Amitā burst forth into a peal of laughter.

Gargee could speak Bengali very well, though she was a Deccani by birth. She gave Amitā a playful blow on the back and said "Why are you laughing like that, you monkey?"

Amitā took out a bunch of keys from inside her blouse and held it up for them to see.

"Then why did you send poor Su, on a wild goose chase?" asked Indu in surprise.

"I have not sent her to chase a wild goose," said Amitā in great glee. "I have sent her out in quest of the flower of heaven."

"Was there a conspiracy between yourself and Sudarshan Babu?" asked Indu. "I hope you have extorted the promise of an adequate reward from him." All the girls began to shout with laughter.

Suparnā covered the way with rapid steps and reached the garden-house very soon. She found that Sudarshan's father had arrived and was talking to Taran Babu in the lower hall. Though he was not very old in years, yet he had become quite decrepit and could not move about without help from others. He was seated in a big armchair, wrapped up in a big shawl.

As soon as Suparnā entered, Sudarshan's father asked Taran Babu eagerly, "Is this your daughter?"

"No, this is Suparnā," Taran Babu replied. "My daughter also must be somewhere near."

Suparnā came forward and bowed down to the old man. He placed his hand on her head and blessed her, saying, "May you be ever happy, and make all happy."

Suparnā moved off hastily. The old man seemed to have heard about her. He could have heard it only from Sudarshan. A flush rose to her cheeks at this thought.

She came up to the upper hall, but stopped at the door in surprise. Sudarshan was standing there alone and looking at something intently. He had not heard her light footsteps. She advanced a few more steps and saw a scarf of printed Jaipur silk in Sudarshan's hand. It belonged to her, and she generally used it while out motoring.

She was thinking how to announce her presence to him, when he did something that took her breath away. He held up the scarf and kissed it quickly. Then he looked up, startled perhaps at the sound of her deep breathing.

Both were silent for a minute. Suparnā felt like a criminal, her breath came in gasps, her face had turned white as a lotus, she could not even lift up her eyes to Sudarshan's face. Sudarshan's lips held a slight smile, he was not looking at all embarrassed. He appeared to be trying to put his thoughts in words.

Still, it was Suparnā who spoke first. She cleared her throat with effort and asked in a low voice, "Has Amitā left her keys here? She cannot find them."

"No, I have not seen them," said Sudarshan. "I came here to get the *Vina* and was detained."

Suparnā become silent. Sudarshan understood her and said, "Don't you think that what has happened, has happened for the good? I wanted with all my heart to make you understand what I felt, yet I could not find words to express it. It is well that you know it now. I am a rough medical man, and have no command over language, but I feel no less than the greatest poet on earth."

Suparnā was moved to the core of her being. Yet she tried to move off. She saw paradise opening before her, but alas, she had no right of entry there. God had exiled her forever from this realm of happiness. According to the laws of society, she had no right even to listen to these words. What could she answer then

"Have you nothing at all to say?" asked Sudarshan. "Cannot I even expect a reply to my words?"

Suparnā turned dizzy with conflicting emotions. She covered her face with both hands and cried out, "Please don't ask me anything. I have nothing to say."

But her manner of speaking, her expression, her voice, belied her words. Sudarshan came and stood by her He took away her hands from her face by force and held them in his own. "Why Suparnā?" he asked in a tone of deep emotion, "Have I no hope at all? Then tell me that."

Tears rolled down Suparnā's cheeks. These tears roused fresh hope in Sudarshan's heart. He released Suparnā's hands and drew her into his arms and crushed her to his heart. "I know you love me, my darling," he said "then why don't you want me to know it? I know I am not worthy of you. But make me worthy I cannot live without you."

Suparnā struggled out of his arms She felt ready to faint. She moved off slowly and said in a trembling voice "You are mistaken, I cannot love anyone."

Sudarshan came close up to her again and said, "Why do you say that? Nobody would believe it of you. It may be that you do not love me. My own feelings have made me misjudge you. Is not that the case?"

But Suparnā had nothing to say. She only stood and wept. Sudarshan saw that she was trembling violently. He put back her scarf on the table and said, "Please sit down here and rest. I am going away. No one will disturb you. I shall manage to keep off everyone somehow. And forgive me for having caused you pain needlessly. But it is all a mystery to me. I have not understood you clearly."

He picked up Gargee's *Vina* and went down. Suparnā flung herself down on the carpeted floor and wept tears of agony. She had hidden her feelings in the darkest depth of her heart and never acknowledged it even to herself. But this fire which was destroying all her hidden hopes, had also made everything very clear to her. Only in the moment of losing everything, had she understood what she was losing and how empty her future life was going to become. Only to-day did she understand how deeply she had loved Sudarshan. A life without love was more terrible to a woman than a barren desert. Her heart felt ready to burst with fear, sorrow and hopelessness.

The picnic was a total failure. The feast was finished somehow and everyone went back home, as early as possible on the pretext of Suparnā's illness. The real state of affairs was known only to two persons. Amitā guessed part of the truth, but she too kept silent about it. So to her friends she said, "Su is so delicate. Even this heat has proved too much for her. How she will bear the strenuous life of a doctor, passes my comprehension."

Perhaps Gargee and Indu too understood the truth, but they remained silent.

As Sudarshan saw them off, he said, "Please forgive me. I wanted to give you joy, but have succeeded only in causing you trouble."

The person to whom he spoke really lay half-fainting in a corner of the car. She looked at him once, but Sudarshan could not understand what her looks conveyed.

XVI

As soon as Suparnā reached home, she went up to her own room. She wanted to hide herself somewhere. "Go, my dear, and lie down," said Taran Babu. "I cannot understand why you fell so ill suddenly."

Amitā followed Suparnā into her room and began to assist her in making up the bed and changing her dress. The sight of Suparnā's face had made even this talkative girl silent. She could not understand what could have happened within these few hours. But Suparnā was looking dazed, so helpless, as if the earth beneath her feet was giving way, as if she had nothing to which she could hold fast. Amitā knew Sudarshan from her childhood. She could not believe that he could do any wrong And Amitā believed, too, that he loved Suparnā with his whole heart. She did not exactly know the state of Suparnā's heart. But even if she did not love Sudarshan, she had no reason to be hurt so much. If she loved him, it would have settled matters for good to-day. Amitā was very anxious to know the truth, but she could not muster up courage enough to ask Suparnā.

She placed her hand on Suparnā's hair and asked, "Shall I brush and plait up your hair for you?"

"Yes, do," replied Suparnā in a tired voice. "And please take up these clothes from the floor and arrange them on the clothes-horse. The sight of clothing, scattered everywhere, makes me feel very uneasy."

"You would keep your fastidiousness even at the hour of your death," said Amitā. "Let me bring my French comb. It soothes the head very much, when you comb your hair with it."

As soon as Amitā had gone out, Suparnā got up and began to fold up her discarded clothing neatly. The sight of untidy rooms really upset her very much. She was feeling very weak, yet she knew that she would not be able to sleep in the present excited state of her brain. She wanted to keep her mind engaged somehow, she was afraid to think any more. Her brain was feeling benumbed yet excited at the same time. Amitā had thrown Suparna's blouse and scarf on a table. As she took up the scarf in her hand, Suparna felt about to suffocate with suppressed emotion. It still held the dear touch. She stood still for a minute with the flimsy thing clasped in her fingers. Then she opened her ward-robe and hid it in a corner. She would never use it again.

As she took up the blouse, something dropped on the floor. It was a letter, the servants had placed on the table. Neither Suparnā, nor Amitā had noticed it before. Suparnā picked it up and saw by the handwriting that it had come from her father. She had not heard from him for more than a week and had been feeling a bit uneasy. But such silence was not unusual with Pratulchandra. Whenever he went out of town, such delays occured. So Suparnā had not attached very great importance to it. She opened the letter and began to read

"My dear daughter,

"I have got all your letters in time. I am very glad indeed to learn that you have obtained such brilliant results in your examination. I hope you will continue to do so in future.

"Perhaps you are feeling anxious at not hearing from me for a long time. I am well, physically, but have been much perturbed by a sudden event, so I could not write to you. I have thought much, but could not yet see my way clear. So I have decided to let you know everything. You will know what to do. I have the fullest confidence in you. A human being ought to be able to decide for oneself. Once others have played with your young life and caused disaster. I am trying my hardest to prevent a repetition of the mistake.

"About two weeks ago, Shribilas suddenly appeared at my place. It was very easy to get my address. So it was a wonder that he had not come even earlier. I heard from him that his mother was dead. He also said that he could not do his duty by you up to this, as he was too much afraid of his mother. But he had not married again in spite of repeated requests. He had recently passed the final B. L. examination and was practising as a lawyer.

"He seemed very eager to get you back. He told me repeatedly that if you consented to go to him, you would never have cause to repent it. As far as I can understand human nature, he appeared to be posing. But I might have been mistaken.

"I have not given him any answer. I have not let him know either, where and how you have been living, but he can easily procure that information from other sources. So do not be too much upset, if you see him at Delhi. He will try his hardest to get you back. But I believe you will never submit to force in any form. I have tried to train you up to be strong and independent. But the law is on his side. He may not succeed in taking you away by force, but he can cause you a good deal of annoyance. It is better to be prepared for that.

"But on the other hand, he might really have changed. If you think that he ought to have an opportunity for retrieving his past mistakes, you can easily give him that opportunity. I have no objection to that. But try to know your own heart fully before you do anything decisive. If you feel the slightest doubt, don't go to him again. It would be an insult to your womanhood.

"I hope, you won't be too much upset by this letter. Try to make up your mind calmly and dispassionately. I may go to Delhi next month. Take my blessing.

Yours affectionately,

PRATUL CHANDRA MITRA."

Suparnā felt as if her head was becoming empty. The letters began to dance before her eyes. She failed to understand their meaning. Her brain was too tired, she could not endure anything more. Suddenly she fell down on the bed in a dead faint.

When she came round again, the room was full of people Amitā sat by her bed, fanning her. Her aunt was applying eau-de-cologne to her head. Taran Babu sat in a chair, looking very anxious.

As soon as Suparnā opened her eyes, Amitā cried out, "How did this happen, my dear? You did not seem so very unwell in the car?"

Suparnā understood that her father's letter had not yet been detected. Her past life held no sinful secret, yet Suparnā would rather have died than let anybody know about it. She wanted to forget it herself. The spectre of the past had risen again and was coming to confront her with its horrible visage. But there was no use in letting others know about it. Let Suparna's unbearable sorrow, her despair, the storm threatening her whole future, be hers alone. They would only be food for curiosity to others.

The letter lay under her, on the bed. She left it there. She took it out and put it under her pillow. "Whose letter is it?" asked Amitā.

"It is from father," replied Suparnā. Amitā did not ask anything more about it.

"Get well speedily, my dear," said Taran

Babu. "You gave all of us such a fright. Don't get up to-day, but have a good rest. Our doctor has unfortunately gone to Meerut on a call. So I have phoned Sudarshan."

Suparnā turned pale as death. So they were bringing Sudarshan again to her, to show him how weak she was? Poor Suparnā had become but a plaything in the hand of fate.

Sudarshan arrived within a few minutes. He met Taran Babu at the foot of the stairs and asked, "What is the matter? Is she really ill?" He was really in great distress.

"I don't know what has happened to the poor girl," Taran Babu replied. "She fainted on reaching home. She has regained consciousness now. Come with me, you must examine her thoroughly."

Sudarshan felt ill enough to need a doctor himself. But he could not forget his duty as a medical man and followed Taran Babu into Suparnā's bedroom.

The room was a study in dazzling white. The hangings were white, the decorations were white. On a spotless white bed, lay Suparnā, looking like a white lotus herself. Sudarshan felt a burning pang of repentance. Was he guilty of trying to tarnish this beautiful whiteness? But he had no sinful thought in his heart. He had only tried to offer to her the richest treasures of his heart. But sometimes fate causes one to strike one's nearest and dearest, unintentionally. Such a fate had befallen Sudarshan.

Amitā alone noticed that Suparnā's pale face flushed as soon as Sudarshan entered the room. Sudarshan hardly glanced at her, perhaps he was afraid to do so. "How are you now?" he asked.

"Much better," replied Suparnā. Sudarshan took out his stethoscope and asked again, "Did you ever become unwell like this, before?"

Suparnā shook her head, implying that she never had.

Sudarshan took up one of Suparnā's hands in his own, to feel her pulse. Her hand trembled like a frightened bird in his clasp. This surprised Sudarshan very much. Suparnā had tried to get away from him with all her might, only some hours before. Then why was she so much agitated at his touch? There is a saying that even the gods fail to understand the working of a woman's heart. So, how was he, a poor mortal, to understand it?

He examined her thoroughly. There was nothing much wrong with her, only she appeared to be extremely agitated and excited. He could not understand the meaning of this. He could not ask her to explain, as the room was full of people. So he left the room after advising complete rest for a couple of days and prescribing a tonic for her nerves. Amitā and her aunt wanted him to stay for tea, but he made an excuse and went off. He promised to call and see Suparnā again the next morning.

In the years that followed Suparnā could not remember exactly what had happened during these two days. She had remained half dazed all this time. Her brain felt benumbed as after a severe shock. Her father had told her to consider everything well, but she seemed to have lost the power of thinking clearly.

At night, Amitā's aunt slept in her room. Amitā, too, came twice or thrice, during the night. Suparnā did not have any more attacks. But she could not sleep. Endless thoughts surged through her mind. She could not make up her mind about anything.

She fell asleep, exhausted, towards the small hours of the morning. The rest of the family got up, but no one disturbed her. Sudarshan arrived punctually at eight, and Amitā took him to Suparnā's room and woke her up. Taran Babu was usually too busy in the morning with his clients, to attend to anything else. Amitā's aunt, too, could not be found just then. As Sudarshan was regarded as one of the family, practically nobody stood on ceremony with him. So Amitā took him straight to Suparnā's room.

Sudarshan examined her pulse and asked, "Have you got a thermometer?"

"Yes, there is one in father's room," said Amitā, "I shall get it for you."

As soon as Amitā had gone out, Sudarshan looked deep into Suparnā's eyes, his own eyes full of burning love. Tears sprang into her eyes. She turned away her face in great haste.

"Perhaps I was wrong in letting you know my heart," Sudarshan said, "but I never expected the result to be like this. Please forgive me Suparnā. You cannot know how I suffer for having caused you suffering."

Suparnā turned towards him again and said, "I have nothing to forgive. It is not you but God, who has caused me this suffering." Amitā came back at this moment, preventing her from saying anything more.

There was a slight rise of temperature. Sudarshan told them to continue yesterday's treatment and left. He knew that his presence caused Suparnā to feel very much agitated. So he told Amitā, "There is no reason to be anxious about her. But if her temperature rises again, send for me. Otherwise, if I come continually, it will only serve to make her more nervous. She will begin to think that she is really ill."

Suparnā's temperature did not rise again. So Sudarshan did not come any more.

Amitā tried to cross-question Suparnā, in order to get the truth out of her, but Suparnā remained obstinately silent.

Amitā's aunt was returning to Calcutta. Her home could not spare her any longer. Suparnā suddenly said, "I shall go with her. I want to stay with father for a few days."

Taran Babu was a bit surprised, but he raised no objection. He thought it natural on the girl's part to be with her father, as she was

feeling unwell. "All right, my dear," he said, "Go and spend a few days with your father. But don't absent yourself needlessly from your college."

Suparnā began to pack up. "Goodness!" cried out Amitā "How long do you propose to stay that you are taking two trunkloads of clothing?"

"Who knows!" answered Suparnā. "I might be late in returning. It is better to be prepared."

"We are going to be left alone," said Taran Babu. "Even Sudarshan is leaving us."

"Where is he going?" asked Amitā, eagerly.

"He is going to Mysore,' he replied. "He has got a fine job there. There are very good prospects."

(*To be continued.*)

POSSIBILITY OF PRODUCING DATES IN INDIA

By J. N. BOSE, F. R. G. S.

THE date is the fruit of a species of palm, *Phoenix dactylifera*, a tree which ranges from about 15° to 40° north latitude, from the Atlantic coast of Africa to the western portion of India. It has been cultivated and much prized throughout most of these regions from the remotest antiquity Its cultivation and use are described on the mural tablets of the ancient Assyrians In Asia it goes back to pre-historic times Both Arrian and Strabo mention the palm trees and dates on the Indian frontier as the principal food of the inhabitants when Alexander the Great marched through the country in 326 B C and it was by obtaining a large supply of dates that the remnant of Alexander's army was saved from destruction for want of food.

The date palm matures its fruit only in a rainless land of intense prolonged heat, rain preventing fertilization of the flowers and the ripening of the fruit On the other hand, the roots require to be liberally supplied with water so that the habitat of the tree is limited to irrigable dry belt in tropics. The tree was introduced by the Moors along the Mediterranean shores of Europe, but as its fruit did not ripen so far north for a long time, the European plants were only used for garden ornamentation But now the trees in Southern Spain are yielding fruits † Date was also introduced in the new world by early Spanish missionaries, but without success. Its cultivation is now extending gradually in the dry districts of the south-western portion of the United States and Mexico § The cause of yielding fruits is probably due to these areas being desiccated gradually.

The dried fruit, as is usually found in the market, contains more than half its weight of sugar, about 6 per cent of albumen and 12 per cent of gummy matter. The fruit varies much in size, colour and quantity under cultivation. It is an article of food alike pleasant and healthy. It is the staple food of millions of men and animals living on an area of about 1/20th of the land surface of our earth.

All dates belong to the species *Phoenix dactylifera*, and varieties have not been distinguished by Botanists, but it is well known how nicer to the palate some kinds are than others. Date palms grow all over India These are called *Phoenix Sylvestris* or wild dates Being not cultivated properly, they are tapped for juice which when fermented produce Toddy—a cheap country liquor In some localities, as in Bengal, the date juice is also boiled to produce molasses and sugar. The fruits from these wild dates are not taken, consisting mostly of stones and skins only.

The largest single area of date cultivation in the world is probably in 'Iraq' along both banks of Shat-al-Arab for about 110 miles, and total number of palms is about 16 millions.* The quantity and value of date fruits imported into British India by sea and total export from 'Iraq' are given below †

	Imports into India from 'Iraq'		Total export from 'Iraq'	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
	tons	Rs.	tons	Rs.
1929-30	42,660	57,86,813	1,29,988	1,8763,588
1930-31	45,221	41,79,475	153,610	1,05,69,012

The above export figures represent excess of production over local consumption, because we know that date is the staple food of 'Iraq' in most of the places.

No statistics of production of dates in India is available. The Peshawar and Dera Ismail Khan districts of North-West Frontier Province produce some dates, but they are not sufficient

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. vii, p 845., 11th Ed.
† *Geographical Journal*, 1929, p. 607.
§ The date palm, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Plant Industry Bulletin No 53.

* *Geographical Journal*, 1922, p. 379.
† Figures kindly supplied by the Director General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics.

for local consumption even. Baluchistan, however, has some records of date production. The Makran and Kharran districts are famous for dates; throughout Makran the staple food is date, and the date of Panjgur is declared even by Arabs to excel that of Basra. More than 3 lakhs of date trees are said to be in existence in Makran, exporting dates worth about 5 lakhs of rupees to Sind only.

Now, whatever is cultivated in Egypt, in Arabia, in 'Iraq' and in the country bordering the Persian Gulf may be grown with success in Sind and Western Rajputana, since these countries are equally characterized by intense summer heat, little tempered by rain, severe cold winter, a dry soil and similar geological formations

The most suitable area in India for date cultivation is the banks of canals controlled by Lloyd Barrage at Sukkur constructed at an expenditure of Rs 200,000,000 There are no less than 6,166 miles of these canals and channels spreading over an enormous area They will be means of bringing over 7 million acres of parched and waste land under cultivation upon which will be grown 2 million tons of valuable crops—wheat, barley, cotton, sugarcane, etc, worth about Rs. 275,000,000 per annum These canals require constant dredging at some places for their maintenance against drifted sand, which may be dispensed with if the banks are protected with date plantation It will cause economical flow of water in the canals checking wastage due to excess evaporation temperature of the surrounding land may also be turned mild and further expansion of desert area may be checked. Date trees are planted seven to fourteen yards apart, and if on the average ten yards apart are planted, in one mile along both banks of canal in two rows $1760/10 \times 2 \times 2 = 704$ trees may be planted The actual weight of fruit produced per tree is difficult to estimate The average produce of ripe fruit from a single tree is from two to three maunds, although some trees yield as much as six maunds. So, if we consider $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per tree, in 1 mile 1760' maunds of date are expected, and if we consider the price Rs 5 per maund the price per mile will be Rs 8,800. But these figures are from 10th to 15th year of cultivation started. After some 20 years five times yield may be taken into account owing to formation of clusters with root suckers for each tree planted. Thus in 1000 miles along both banks of the canal dates worth about Rs. 8,800,000 per annum may be grown with success.

Baluchistan is probably the nearest and best place for selecting off-sets for starting date cultivation in Sind. As for the origin of dates in Baluchistan, it seems possible that offshoots of trees from Arabia and Euphrates valley have been introduced from time to time in Makran. There has been from times immemorial a great deal of traffic between Gwadar and other parts of Makran and Muskat and the names of some of the species of dates are probably Arabic in a more or less corrupted form.

The date tree is almost invariably raised from a selected off-set. Trees also grow from seed, but the fruit is poor, and it has been noted that the fruit of a tree grown from seed does not resemble that of the parent tree. When the date tree is young it produces a number of root-suckers round the root. Out of these root-suckers three or four offsets are selected and the remainder are cut off, as they take much nourishment out of the parent tree. Once the root-suckers are removed new ones are seldom made. At the time of removal of off-sets some of the root-suckers are permitted to remain attached to the parent tree, these even attain a height equal to that of the parent tree stock, gradually separate themselves further and further from the main stem, and in five or six years attain a man's height. They produce fruits like the ordinary trees and sooner than trees grown from off-sets.

The off-sets selected for the growth of new trees are allowed to remain with the parent tree for a period which varies from three to ten years; the more valuable the tree the shorter the time for which the off-sets are allowed to remain with the parent stem, but the minimum period must be three years. The leaflets of an off-set attain full size when it is only two years old. At this time however the plant is only three feet high and it is a curious fact that it seldom makes much further growth up to the time of its removal from the parent stock.

At the end of three to eight years the time comes for transplantation to the cultivator's fields. The off-sets are now brought, all leaflets on the lower part of the main stem are cut off and are used for binding together the upper leaflets round the main stem, which are also cut off at a point about six inches above the top of stem. The whole of that portion of the off-set which will be above the ground when planted is now wrapped in date fibre or in matting made of the palm. This protects it from the heat in summer and from the cold in winter. The off-set is then put in one of the holes and rammed tight with earth. Very few of the off-sets fail.

For forty days after planting water is given every alternate day. After that water is required every fourth day for a year. At the end of this time leaflets begin to grow and to appear above the wrapper of date fibre, but the wrapper is not removed until the upper end of the stem has made its appearance.

At the end of about four years the stem has grown about 2″ high and presents the appearance of a dwarf tree. From this time it begins to fruit, generally bearing 2 or 3 bunches which nearly touch the ground. By the time it is eight

* The Modern Encyclopedia for children. Carrel, 1933, p. 495.

years old the tree attains a man's height, and is known as a full-grown tree.

After the first year it is given water every 7th day, as soon as its roots have penetrated into the surrounding fields, it no longer requires a special supply of water or manure, but obtains the necessary moisture and nourishment from the field on which it stands. The strength of the tree, however, and the quality and quantity of fruit depend largely on the soil and the supply of water it gets. It grows very rapidly when young, and if it gets plenty of water experts say that it will retain its youth for about 180 years. If, on the other hand, it gets little water it soon grows old, and both the quality of fruit deteriorate. A tree which has been well cared for attains a height of 80 to 100 feet and a girth of about 5 feet

Soon after the middle of February the terminal branch or heart of green leaves begins to produce 10 or 20 brown-coloured sheaths or spathes. Those of the female tree are about 2 feet long and 4 to 6 inches wide. While those of the male tree are rather broader. The spathe is conically shaped at the bottom and wide towards the top. When the female spathe has come to maturity it cracks exactly in the middle of one side The time has now come for impregnation The spathe of the male tree is not allowed to open as by so doing the pollen which it contains becomes ineffective Before opening it is detached from the stem and the *holumb* is extracted The *holumb* consists of a central stalk containing 10 to 50 small flexible springs, along each of which grow small grains or seeds in which is contained some white powder or pollen. The springs from the *holumb* are now taken to the female tree and are inserted into the spathe which has cracked. Fertilization takes place within three days, after which the services of the male springs are no longer required.

Some trees require more twigs to effect impregnation than others. The better sorts, which produce large and heavy bunches of dates require as much as ten twigs, while for inferior sorts a single twig is sufficient. If any male spathes are ready for impregnation, the cultivators preserve the male springs by extracting them from the spathes and hanging them up in their homes away from exposure to wind and rain. Springs thus dried will last for several months, but they are not so effective as the fresh ones. In a few cases natural fertilization takes place, the pollen from the male spathe being carried by bees, or blown by the wind to the female dates. But as a rule resort is had to artificial impregnation.

The interior of the female spathe contains twelve or fifteen small yellow-coloured flexible twigs about 18 inches long and on each of these twigs appear twelve or fifteen eyelets. If the fertilization has been insufficient, or even if fertilization has not taken place, each of these eyelets, produce four grains which constitute fruit in embryo. If on the other hand full fertilization has taken place, a single date forms on each of the eyelets and no grains make their appearance

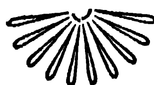
Thus enough may be said about the possibility of plantation and production of dates as is done in Kharan and Makran districts of Baluchistan. The cost of plantation may not be regarded much considering the benefits that may be derived from protection of the banks of canals against the action of the winds

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KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE

The Evening Lamp

There is a custom prevalent among the Hindus to illumine, at the approach of darkness, holy places, such as, temples, and altars dedicated to the Basil god. Young ladies, aglow with the light of the flickering lamp, bow down to the presiding diety in the ecstasy of prayer so that their heart's desires may be fulfilled by the latter.



INDIAN PERIODICALS

Importance of the Paharpur Finds

"Bengal's contribution to the store of archæological finds during recent years has been not less valuable than that of Sind or Southern India" "RKLG" gives sufficient proofs in favour of this statement in an illuminating article on "The Plaques of Paharpur" in *Indian State Railway Magazine* Part of it is quoted below

Easily the most impressive collection among the finds is in the department of plastic art Though the medium is somewhat crude the artists have put so much life into their handiwork that the Paharpur plaques rank among the most popular presentation of literature in plastic relief For it was as literature unconnected with religion that Paharpur has in a way made an outstanding contribution to the world The artist, though not as skilful as of Sanchi or Amravati has certainly excelled in mastering the difficult technique of brief yet effective visualization of the no less effective *Panchatantra* stories which top the list of true Indian folk lore

Among the more noteworthy representations of these at Paharpur may be mentioned the story of the grazing deer the winning of friends with the crow mouse and tortoise the mongoose and the cobra and the middlesome monkey all highly instructive tales with not a little element of humour in them

Subjects with a religious significance also find a place in Paharpur The form of Buddha in different aspects is often met with there Brahma Vishnu and Siva (the Hindu triad) also figure prominently Semi divine beings plant life and spirited animal life typical of Bengal—have received considerable attention at the artists' hands Men warriors musicians acrobats, ascetics and others in their characteristic pose in life form a remarkable feature of the Paharpur representations Most of all the above come from the first and second terraces.

Among the more later finds in the course of the excavations the discovery of a plinth or replica of the main temple takes the place of honour It bears a very close resemblance to the great central pagoda and contains also the same number of angels Near it were found five *vedis* or pedestals made of brick and in different styles and sizes

Paharpur evolved a rather unusual technique from the Gupta times, commencing with the fifth century and extending through Brahmin (Hindu) and Mahayana (Buddhist) influences down to the tenth century. For some inexplicable reason, no parallel of it seems to have been developed within the borders of India Only in certain places in Java and Cambodia can some Paharpur influence be traced A shrine in Central Java is said to present a striking resemblance to the features of the second terrace of this great Paharpur monument.

Architecture of Rajahmundry

Mr Subba Rao writes of the sad fate of architecture of Rajahmundry, the ancient city of Chalukyas, in the same paper partly as follows:

Of the many ancient temples that once filled the city with beauty and splendour, not one remains to-day all of them having been desecrated and turned into mosques at some period or other. The principal mosques or the Jumma Masjid as it is called, near the market was a Hindu temple in olden times as the sculptural designs on the front gateway strongly suggest There is an inscription in Persian characters over the main entrance of it which places the fact beyond all doubt Popular tradition tells us that at one time it was a temple of Vishnu under the name of Gopinatha and that it was destroyed, the officiating priests killed and a mosque built during the Muhammadan invasion roughly six hundred years ago It is said on the night of the brutal attack on the temple the remaining priests ran away with the deity, and installed it on the bank of the river and subsequently raised a small edifice which was afterwards enlarged and rebuilt The abandoned temple had thus become converted into the mosques which can be seen today. The old sculptured stone gateway or the *simhadvara* is still there but only with some of its beautiful human figures and other sculptural devices carefully defaced and mutilated so as to destroy every sign or trace of its Hindu or Brahmanical appearance The tradition relating to the desecration of the Hindu temple seems to be true for it is said in the Persian inscription referred to above that it was built as the 'temple of God There is another mosque situated to the south of the 'Fort Gate near the Godavari Railway Station as it is called even to this day, which has still traces of a Hindu temple dedicated to Siva The architectural and sculptural designs as well as the existence of a *linga* the emblem of Siva in the enclosure on the top of the tomb are strong evidences of the fact of its having been once a Hindu temple. A third mosque is in the Kazi's street (also called Dada Saheb street) but unlike the other two is in a highly ruined condition The locality in which this mosque is situated was once the *haveli* palace) of the Muhammadan rulers of the Rajahmundry province and the mosque in question is said to be the private mosque of the royal family Local tradition tells us that the site covered by this mosque is the hill Kimalachala on whose top once stood the temple of *Markandeya* and that during the days of Muhammadan occupation and rule, the temple was demolished, the *linga* pulled out and a mosque erected there during the sixteenth or seventeenth century And that later on a potter's family picked up the *linga* and placed it in their house not knowing what to do with it The potters' successors used it as a polishing stone for their pots, and later still in the beginning of the nineteenth century the *linga* was discovered to be that of *Markandeya* temple by Gundu Sobhanadri, the then

Zamindar of Rajahmundry, who was a pious man. In or about A. D. 1810 he got the present shrine constructed on his private site and installed the *lingu* in all pomp and ceremony. The mosque which is at the presant day in a ruined condition has still traces of its Hindu origin. As has been mentioned already the level of the town is rising rapidly like the level of the river bed itself. It is, therefore, possible to believe that the ancient town lies buried at least ten or fifteen feet beneath the level of the modern town, for huge massive structures in brick underneath the layers of earth when foundations for new buildings were found recently.

Some Fundamental ideas of Hinduism

Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya, Sastri, writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

The human society is composed not only of the wise, nor only of the unwise, but of both of them alike. There are various kinds of men. They vary on account of the varying of their nature, intellect, temparament, and some other factors. Various are therefore their needs and requirements. And as such all of them cannot profitably be led along the same path All the patients in a hospital cannot be cured with one medicine. Medicine varies according to the nature of the disease. A good teacher does not teach each one of his pupils even the same subject in the same way, but in meeting their individual needs he adopts different modes and methods. Realizing this very simple, natural and clear truth Hinduism bears all classes of members of the great human society, whether low or high, to the final goal of life, devising different means and ways, assigning thereby to its followers the greatest possible freedom of thought. Thus it does not leave anyone but, keeps all in unity in an atmosphere of unique tolerance. Here you can worship the Supreme Being as one without any form whatsoever, or as one with a form or forms in accordance with your liking or reasons. You may even deny Him altogether, if it pleases you. Yet Hinduism will show you a path by which you can reach your destination, which is, in fact, the one and the same. It teaches that truth is one but paths to reach it are many We can only say that we require light, but we cannot say that all of us shall have a particular kind of light. In accordance with our circumstances some of us may have an electric lamp or a gas lamp, or an oil lamp, or any other lamp, that has been so far invented or may be invented afterwards. But in inventing and choosing it we must guard ourselves against dangers that may befall us. Here we apply our own discretion and in this lies the freedom of thought that leads us higher and higher.

Indeed, in Hinduism there are some ways which are direct and straight while others are indirect or curved, yet ultimately they all lead to the same destination. It depends upon you to ascertain which of them will suit you according to the circumstances under which you live. One of our great seers says :

"Different are the systems such as the Vedas, the Sankhya, the Yoga, Saivism and Vaishnavism, all advocating that this or that is excellent or beneficial. Yet, it is thou, and thou alone who art to be approached by men following a straight or a curved way in accordance with their own liking, just as waters flow into the ocean."

Finally, Hinduism has a marvellous power not only of taking whatever is good from others, but also of assimilating it completely in its own way though it takes rather a long time to do so.

The Jainas and Indian Literature.

In an important paper in *Indian Culture* M. Winternitz attempts a resumé of the Jaina contributions to Indian literature. Of Nitivakyamritia, a Jaina work, he writes :

A characteristic feature of the Nitivakyamrita are the short pointed sentences some of which may be proverbial sayings. Here is a small selection of such sentences :

VIII, 6f. 'There is always dearth, where the king constantly exacts taxes. When the sea is thirsty whence shall there be water in the world ?'

The king is warned IX, 4 to inflict punishments only for the welfare of the people, not for filling up his own treasure, for : 'Is that a king or a physician who looks for offences (or diseases) in men only for his own living ?'

X, 48 : *svaminadhisthito mesop simhayate*, 'When set to it by his master, even a ram will become a lion.'

X, 84 : *dipte grihe kupakhananam kidrisam*, 'When the house is burnt down, what is the use of digging a well ?'

X, 87-91 : 'They who are friends in giving intelligent advice, in money matters and in war, are helpful men. Who is not anybody's friends at eating time ? As an unlearned Brahman is not in his place at a Sraddha, so a fool not at a council. For can a blind man see ? And will the blind man, dragged on by the blind, find the even road ?

XXIV, 54f. : 'If a dog be fed ever so well, will it avoid bones and unclean food ? Even when a snake is fed with a mixture of milk and sugar, it will never give up its poison. Verily, not even after a hundred lessons the ape will give up his unsteadiness.'

XXV, 38 : 'He who eats moderately, eats much.'

XXV, 53 : 'Thinking that for the strong one everything is wholesome one should not eat poison..

Much bloodshed would have been avoided, and the world would have been spared infinite misery, if Somadeva's wise rule had always been followed (X, 101) : *Sastradhikarino na mantradhikarinah syuh*, '*Military authorities should not be authorities in (Political) counsels.*'

Village Dramas and the Tagore Players

The following occurs in an important paper in *The Twentieth Century* :

Tagore's plays, like his poems, are lyrical in their nature, and in their presentation resemble the Greek dramas. In fact, the ancient village dramas of India and the old Greek plays have much in common ; and Rabindranath's unique contribution to the dramatic art of the world lies in his reviving and re-creating them in a manner acceptable to the modern world.

His plays in English do not give any idea of the beauty of sentiment that is the characteristic quality in the original, and much of their sweetness is lost when presented on the stage in dull dialogue forms. What makes Tagore's plays most interesting are their music, songs and dances.

Tagore has not fallen a victim to the modern craze of mechanizing the stage and sacrificing art to realism, beauty to facts of nature. Tagore, like all true creative artists, does not believe that the purpose of art is "to hold the mirror up to nature," and his characters do not portray individuals but types. His

art is not a record of the history of his times—such an art is common-place and mediocre- but a re-statement of the eternal verities in life and nature.

The student-actors of Santiniketan are the truest interpreters of Tagore's moods, and through their songs, dances and music they reveal not only the workings of a poet's mind and heart but the sweetness and strength of his spiritual stature. The poet has for years written plays for his pupils who delighted in staging them in seasonal festivals, often "Gurudev" himself playing the leading role along with his students.

It was only lately that he ventured to take out his pupils and present his plays to the public in crowded cities. His first successful show was in Calcutta and it marked an era in the history of dramatic art in India.

"Nateer Puja" was a gorgeous production, the joint efforts of the poet and painters like Nandalal Bose, Abanindranath and Gogancndranath Tagores. The play depicted the life of a dancing girl of the Buddhist period, which part was creditably rendered by the talented daughter of Nandalal, Gowri Devi, who looked a picture stepped out of the walls of Ajanta

Encouraged by the phenomenal success of this play, Tagore took his troupe of student-actors to cities like Bombay and Colombo, where they presented other musical plays of Tagore, which took those cities by storm. One was a mythical story, "Sapmochan," and the other a comedy entitled "The Kingdom of Cards," a subtle skit on some aspects of modern civilization, in the inimitable style of Rabindranath.

Christianity and Indian Culture

It is a happy sign that the Christians in India are emphasizing the need of Indianizing Christianity. Miss A. B. Van Doren, M. A., discusses the matter in *The National Christian Council Review* as follows :

In considering the return of the Christian community to a more distinctively Indian type of culture, there are certain difficulties which cannot be left out of our consideration. One of these is the strength of conservative Indian Christian opinion An outspoken Indian gentleman once remarked that the one person harder to move than the conservative missionary is the conservative Indian Christian. This section of the community is firmly wedded to old missionary tradition and is emphatically not open to change. The suggestion of a church without benches, of the substitution of bhajans or lyrics for translation of English hymns, of the adoption of Indian rather than Western names—of Sarojini for Violet, of Prabhudas for Victor fills this type of Christian with dismay. For the younger members of a Church to carry through any such changes against the will of the 'Elders' is almost impossible. Another real difficulty is found in certain sections, such as the Panjab, where the Christian Church has been strengthened by considerable accession from Islam. In such cases to which form of Indian culture will the Church turn? What effect will the use of Hindu types of ritual, music, and architecture have upon the Muslim convert? In the case of the Muslim enquirer, will they make it harder for him to enter the Christian way? Is this the place for a possible synthesis between Hindu and Islamic customs, or is the Western way the only common meeting ground for traditions so opposite? To this question, the writer of this article has no answer to offer.

On the other hand, reasons for such a return are numerous and weighty. There is a need for making the Christian religion at home in India, no longer a delicate exotic, no longer open to the taunt of being a foreign religion, no longer identified with the ruling class. Such a naturalization would help to float the Christian community out of a backwater into the main stream of national life and influence. It will make Indian Christians more acceptable to their non-Christian neighbours and friends. The writer, during a sea-voyage, once listened to a discussion among Indian fellow-passengers, in which non-Christians besought a Christian woman doctor of the old school to give up her peculiar costume, and dress as though she were still a daughter of India. 'If only you wore our dress,' they said, 'we would feel that you belonged to us, and would welcome you to our homes.' Lastly such a return would be a move not only back but forward, for it would offer the opportunity for creating a new fusion of the best cultural values of the Panjab and Travancore, of Bengal and Bombay, of all communities and traditions.

Art and Modern India

From æsthetic as well as commercial point of view the study of art has become a necessity. Mr. Nanalal C. Mehta, I. C. S., concludes his instructive paper on "Art and Modern India" in *Prabuddha Bharata* thus :

The language of Art is the language of humanity. It needs nothing beyond a certain amount of sensibility and life to react to aesthetic beauty No learned comments are required, for artistic creations are complete in themselves. They bring light and radiance, joy and happiness to all those who have the capacity to grasp them and to understand them. A long acquaintance with artistic creations brings a new understanding and reveals unexpected worlds of beauty even in regions where the ordinary eye finds nothing to arrest it or to impart a tinge of wistfulness. Aesthetic joy is like a mother's love, something indefinite but infinite, deep, silent and strong, disinterested and utterly selfless. It can be found and experienced even in the least promising circumstances. Its abode is not always to be sought in the palaces of the rich, for it can be found in the humblest home of our poverty-stricken countryside. It is something in the nature of an elementary urge which requires development and opportunities to come in contact with the immortal creations of the past and the monumental creations of the present.

An organized endeavour is needed to train up a whole people to rise to its native sense of aesthetic enjoyment. Art cannot be ignored or banished from the life of a nation without doing irreparable damage to its soul. It must have a place in the homes as well as in the class-rooms, in the temple as well as in the hospital, in places of amusement as well as in places of worship; for it is a thing of the spirit and no nation has yet arisen without the exaltation of the spirit. When the futility of mere literary training—of book learning—has been found to be more than a mere waste of time and opportunities, is it not time for the country to turn to something the results of which cannot for a moment be doubted?

The past splendour of India lay not in her mythical wealth, but in the imperishable monuments of her artistic and creative mood.

Are We over-educated ?

Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta, M. Sc., B. L., writes in *The Teachers' Journal* :

We often hear that there are too many graduates in Bengal ; hence all the available resources of the Government should be spent in developing primary education, especially as the figures for Literacy are too low. It is a question of policy whether primary education should be developed at the cost of the University or Collegiate education, or not ; but it is not a fact that there are too many graduates and under-graduates in Bengal.

In the following table, the proportion of students per 10,000 inhabitants in the different classes of institutions are given :

Number of students per 10,000 inhabitants
(The figures are for the year 1930)

	In Universities & Higher Technical Schools	In General Secondary Schools	In Vocational Schools
Austria	34	78	160
Belgium	20	33	188
Czecho-Slovakia	24	64	178
Denmark	11·5	140	140
France	18	45	57
Germany	22	134	421
Holland	16	54	184
Hungary	18	...	.
Italy	12	36	51
Norway	12	90	71
Poland	16	66	68
Soviet Russia	17	25	95
Spain	19	27	. .
Sweden	14	119	314
Switzerland	27	82	460
England & Wales	11	156	246
Scotland	31	316	405
Northern Ireland	11	76	190
Irish Free State	12	92	217
Canada	51	241	181
Australia	14	245	148
New Zealand	35	166	127
South Africa	38	516	164
U. S. A.	71	424	103

It will be seen that the smallest proportion of students in Universities is 11 per 10,000 and the largest proportion 71.

The corresponding figures for British India are 3·5 per 10,000 in Universities and 34 per 10,000 in the Secondary schools, and 11 per 10,000 in vocational schools of all grades.

The progress of British India during 1914 to 1930 is shown in the following table :

Proportion per 10,000

	1914	1920	1925	1930
University	2	2·5	3·5	3·5
Secondary	21	25	37	34
Primary	9	4	9	11

The Æsthetics of Gujarat

Srimati Madri Desai discusses in *Triveni* the æsthetics of Gujarat as depicted by the poets over there. She writes :

It should be observed that these poets were pre-occupied with colour. Poet Premanand for instance, remarks that the pillars of the 'mandap' were covered with various richly coloured black, yellow and white cloth like, he adds, the 'saries' of the South. He also suggests the necessity for colour harmony in architecture. He speaks of the light green of the steps, the threshold and doors in red, white walls decorated with gold arabesque, and the decorative peacocks, blue and green on the lintel of the doors

On auspicious occasions and ceremonies like the marriage and thread ceremonies, and the anointing ceremony in the worship of Krishna, the poets describe the colours of dresses and 'saries' of women. They discuss the black 'kanchuki' with saffron tassels, red and green 'saries' with golden stripes, and saffron bodices. For the 'Holi' festival, generally, pinkish and yellowish 'saries' were used. 'Red chundadies' were particularly worn for 'subhsakun' as an auspicious token.

Similarly, the different kinds of ornaments were, poet Dayaram says, worn for different occasions. Generally, the poet says that rich jewelled bangles, jewelled earrings, noserings, and necklaces of diamonds were used by the rich women for marriage ceremonies. On the occasion of ordinary festivals they used to put on ornaments of gold. In describing the Krishna and Gopi dance he refers to ornaments like 'zanzer' (bells) on the feet, 'katimekhala' (girdle) with tiny 'ghughries', 'vank', 'makut' and 'mal'. Further, these poets suggest that along with diamonds and rubies, other rich glass pieces in blue, green or saffron colours were set in the bangles or necklaces, as a variety and as a colour harmony for the gold.

Need for Co-operative Educations

Mr. V. G. Kale writes in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* :

The recently published report of the Commission appointed by the South African Government to enquire into Co-operative Agricultural Credit contains a valuable chapter on the need of education in the co-operative movement. The Commission lays particular emphasis on the wide diffusion of co-operative knowledge and an adequate supply of trained leaders and managers. The Review of International Co-operation for July 1934, draws special attention to the fact that the Commission "defends the organisation of specifically Co-operative Education on the ground that educational agencies already existing are equipped mainly to supply the needs of commerce which differ in many important respects from those of co-operation" The Commission's observations regarding co-operative leaders are very instructive and deserve to be quoted here, as they are peculiarly apt and relevant to our present purpose. "It is more difficult," says the Commission, "to discover and train the required leadership in co-operative enterprise than in similiar leadership in private business because in addition to business capacity and managerial ability it is necessary for this leader in co-operation to possess an almost altruistic point of view specially in so far as personal gain is concerned. A Co-operator is not merely a person who applied and paid for

membership. To be a real co-operator he must realise what membership entails." To create this kind of co-operative membership and leadership, is our most vital problem to-day. And only genuine co-operative members and leaders thus morally educated, can provide and sustain our movement in purity, integrity and strength.

The Co-operative Union of Canada, the National Federation of Canadian Co-operative Societies, has expressed the following views with regard to co-operative education and the duty of government towards it. "Everything possible with the limited means and facilities at its disposal, is being done by the Co-operative Union of Canada to teach Canadian citizens the principles of co-operation, and to give them guidance in the successful practice. While the fundamental principle of the co-operative movement is self-help and mutual help, and, therefore, State support and responsibility is inimical to its sound development, the State could do much to encourage the practice of Co-operation by using the educational and publicity machinery at its disposal for popularising the principles of the movement, and also by providing suitable legislation for the incorporation and regulation of cooperative societies. Several of the Provincial Governments in Canada have given definite and substantial assistance in the carrying on of co-operative education, and there are doubtless opportunities open to the Federal Government to give similar assistance."

Ideals of Moslem Education

Everyone of us, especially the Muslims, should listen to the advice of Sir Akbar Hydari regarding the ideals of Moslem education in *Educational India*. He says:

The creation of segregate and special schools and colleges for giving Islamic tone and atmosphere to education may be desirable in many cases and in certain circumstances and times but is ultimately detrimental to intercommunal harmony and national growth, nor can it overcome the difficulties with regard to Muslims who reside in rural areas. The real solution, it seems to me, is for religious education to be provided for by private individuals and associations in institutions common to all. There is need of an enlightened agency for this work, possessing a thorough knowledge of modern scientific thought and of comparative religion. But mere theology without intense spiritual feeling and experience is only a dry husk, a lifeless thing, an encumbrance. It is only where true spirituality is found that religious tolerance can really exist. The saints of all religions are at one. It is only the sinners who would like to tear each other's eyes out. There is need for a school of modern and liberal theology in Islam. In a word there is need of a religious revival. We must think of the present and the future, not merely brood over the past.

There is need for a much greater advance in education. Indian Muslims, as a whole, are backward educationally. There is enormous wastage in the primary stage in spite of there being a higher percentage of pupils than in the case of other communities in that stage. I am strongly of opiuion that we should begin to discourage and must eventually make up our minds either to abolish or completely modernize, our special schools, our maktabs and madrasahs which tend to fall below the modern standard of effective mental training.

Economic Nationalism

Mr. Khagendra N. Sen, M. A., F. R. E. S. (Lond.), writes on the above subject in *Landholders' Journal* partly as follows:

It is difficult to say whether the rational order of the future will simply be a relapse to the old competitive system. "There are certain indications which seem to point to a conclusion of that kind. If there is no free trade yet, there are, at any rate, ever-widening areas of freer Trade. The inter-imperial economic Conference that was held at Ottawa in July, 1932 is an instance in point. It is significant that the policy of Empire Free Trade was turned down by the Conference. But it lightened the incidence of restrictive tariff within the Commonwealth. The French Government also contemplates closer trade relations with its Colonies. More significant are regional trade agreements and customs unions. These are particularly advantageous to those countries whose trade with each other accounts for almost the whole of their international trade. Even bilateral treaties in respect of commodities for which mutual markets may be found are a step in the direction of freer trade. The Oslo agreement between the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and Belgium is an instance of a multi-lateral agreement. The trade treaties of the United Kingdom with Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Argentine, Ireland etc., are instances of bilateral agreements. The latter are very difficult to negotiate not only because of the slowness and incompleteness of such bargains but also because of the triangular nature of most of our trade. *B* may provide the best market for *A* for the export of cotton goods, but *C* may be the cheapest market for her (A) to import raw cotton from. A bargain between *A* and *B* or *A* and *C* would, therefore, be incomplete and disadvantageous to one of the parties in any case, if the subject-matter of the bargain were raw cotton and cotton goods. Regional agreements, again, are difficult because suitable regions more or less economically self-sufficient and amenable to agreement are hard to discover. Even the British Commonwealth of Nations which satisfies these two tests as proximately as any single region can has only been able, through Ottawa, to secure diversion of trade instead of a net expansion. There is, further, always the threat of rataliation by countries which lose their export trade through such agreements by shutting down its own market to the exports of the offending countries. The only advantage secured by such agreements is that they give the parties concerned, through a stabilized market, greater bargaining power in negotiating with other countries.

What is true of trade and commerce is true also of finance. Though at present there is a sharp cleavage of opinion as regards the future monetary standard, the very inter-dependence of the financial mechanism of the modern world will sooner or later make for an international agreement The "sterlingaria" may fitly be the preface to such an endeavour in the future. In fact, there is reason to believe that an international monetary agreement shall be a prelude to the restoration of healthy competitive conditions in trade and commerce rather than a sequel.

By the restoration of healthy competitive conditions,

I do not mean an uncritical return to the old *laissez faire*, but a competition based on co-operation. What form this co-operation will take, it is difficult to predict. The working of regional agreements and trade treaties, more particularly, the co-operation of Central Banks securing an international co-ordination of credit currency and investments, will have provided sufficient experience to define the nature of future co-operation and lay down its terms and conditions. One thing is clear now. National Governments will take a leading share in the future efforts for such co-operation. Trade and commerce will want it. Consumers will desire it. The necessities of the co-ordination of the economic activities of each country will require it. In other words, there must have to be national economic planning. One of the possible lines of future policy we see in the development of complementary production, such as characterized the Ottawa agreements. It will take the form of discouraging, as part of national economic policy, the less and encouraging the more efficient forms of production in each country. Thus will competition be raised to a more rational and therefore less wasteful plane. Its culmination will be international economic rationalism. Co-operation and competition will be the two sisters of the twin policy of economic rationalism and economic nationalism.

Safe Slimming—A Timely Caution

The following is taken from *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

A restricted diet does not necessarily mean a monotonous or disagreeable one, but one which is low in calorific value. The following is a suggested daily menu for a woman leading a sedentary life:

Breakfast.—Grape fruit juice, prunes, slice of toast, cereal drink or skim milk, one glass.

Luncheon.—Vegetable soup, small helping beans or beetroot, lettuce and tomato salad with lemon juice.

Supper.—Omeletts or jelly, fresh asparagus, fruit salad, skim milk.

Any of the following vegetables may be taken in addition to those mentioned: Cucumber, spinach, endive, celery, mush-rooms, brussels sprouts, water-cress, cauliflower, radishes, cabbage, and onions. They should be cooked without milk or oil and served without dressing, but in salads can be eaten with cottage cheese. No fried foods should be taken and no butter or lard used in cooking. All starch foods must, of course, be cut right down to a little toasted bread and an occasional baked potato Fluids can be taken *ad lib*, but not in the form of sweet or alcoholic beverages. If as a result of such simple restrictions the general health and efficiency begins to be imparied it is by far the best plan to go to a doctor for his advice.

With reference to exercises for reducing purposes the following have proved very effective:

Hip Reduction

1 Lying on the back flat on the floor, with palms facing down roll the body as far as possible to either side keeping the shoulders flat on the ground behind.

2. Lying on the back with hands stretched above the head and grasping the feet of a chair at shoulders width apart, raise each leg alternately to a right angle with the body, keeping the knee straight. Repeat six times for each leg.

Abdominal reduction and strengthening

1. Position as above. Breathe deeply, lift both legs to the right angle, and slowly lower again. Three or four times will be sufficient.

2. Lying with arms raised to the vertical position at shoulders width apart, raise the body quickly to a sitting position and swing the arms down so that the fingers touch the toes. Repeat six times.

Neck reduction

Standing with the feet slightly astride and hands on the hips swing the upper part of the body round with a circular movement, the head being moved steadily round with trunk and bent over in the direction in which the body is leaning. Repeat four times and then reverse.

General reduction

For a young person, skipping is an excellent exercise if there is no marked obesity and the heart is not strained. Walk wherever possible in preference to riding, and take plenty of deep breaths at convenient times during the day and always in the morning and evening.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Nature's Divine Intimacies

Poets and philosophers through all ages have sung of the influences of nature in healing the wounds of humanity and they say, many of our difficulties arise out of our dissociation from her. So, *The Inquirer* observes:

Nowadays, however, most of us know our Earth Mother only at second-hand. We read books or newspaper articles about her, or maybe listen to talks on the wireless, too brief to be instructive, but just long enough to give us a whiff of nostalgia. Were we to be more intimate with her, to know her better and trust her more devotedly, perhaps we should be less sceptical than we are. Atheism is the product of the town, not of the country. The countryman is too reverent of life, too humble in the presence of forces which he well knows he is the servant, to be intellectually arrogant or emotionally rebellious. Scepticism is the child of the laboratory, wherein Nature is studied only when she is dead, dissected, analysed, bottled up and corked. Those of us who are town-bred do not dwell familiarly enough with her to woo her subtle secrets and to suffer her wayward, evanescent moods, and so come quietly under the spell of her long, slow-swelling tides of creative power. The countryman knows full well that he must trust her deep elemental forces if he would live at all, and thus something of the quality of those forces enters his soul, purifying him, purging him of pride and human conceit, and at times exalting him with the sense of their cosmic power.

It is impossible for an alert mind and quickened spirit to reflect on the wonder and the beauty of the world without becoming sooner or later aware of its ineffable sacredness and mysterious potency. Nature, to the sensitive soul, is the Supernatural made articulate; this universe is the Eternal contracted into a span; the Infinite made intelligible to finite minds. As a dew drop may miror the sun, so may the mind of God be mirrored in the wonder, aspiration and love of the human soul.

It is in this high sense that man is fashioned in the image of God, with the power to interpret and to explore the world as the workshop and the playground created by the Eternal Spirit for the edification and the glorifying of man's soul. Through his ever deepening discoveries of the realm in which he lives he grows in dignity of spirit and awareness of his larger destiny as a child of Eternity. The world so viewed is no unworthy setting of the solemn drama of the soul; a drama divine in plan and intention, human in its actors.

Japanese Spectacles for British Eyes

The following editorial observations have been made by *The People's Tribune* regarding the ensuing visit of Manchukuo by the representatives of the Federation of British Industries:

Assurances have been given by the British Government to Mr. Quo Tai-Chi, Chinese Minister in London, that the coming visit of Federation of British Industries representatives to Manchuria is solely for the purpose of investigating business possibilities in that territory. The Minister was also told that the coming of the F.B.I. Mission should not be interpreted as implying any violation of the principle hitherto observed by Great Britain of non-recognition of "Manchukuo." That a protest should have been made by Mr. Quo Tai-Chi in connection with this latest globetrotting picnic may seem to some evidence of China's super-sensitiveness in such matters. After all, it a British business-man wishes to have a look round Manchuria and see what prospects there are of doing trade, who has any right to question him? And if one, why not two, or ten, or twenty? The more the merrier. Shipping is suffering from the general depression, and the more Missions that go running round the world seeking for trade-openings, the more the shipping companies and hotel proprietors will be pleased.

But those who have thought Mr. Quo Tai-Chi was getting unduly alarmed about the F.B.I. Mission to Manchuria, and the possibility of important politico-diplomatic reactions from this jaunt around the world, are probably not aware of what has been said by certain members of the party as to their political views and their influence in political circles. That a party of British business men should be anxious to get some new business in these dull times perfectly natural, and that they should believe there is a possibility of securing substantial orders in Manchuria is a matter perhaps upon which they will be wiser when they return to England. But the actual position is not quite so simple as this.

The Japanese Press regards the Mission as being composed of men who are (1) friendly to Japan, (2) possessing considerable influence, and (3) having close relations with the British Government. Putting all these things together, the inference is drawn that the F.B.I. Mission, while unofficial in character, has the complete sympathy and support of the British Government. And, what is more important, there is an impression in Japan that- despite official assurances to the contrary—there is more in this British business-men's trip to Manchuria than meets the eye.

Even if the Mission is only engaged in a "quest for orders," into which "politics will not be permitted to enter," it would be better to have a few friends of China in the party instead of collecting a group so exclusively friendly toward Japan as this group appears to be. However, it is just as well to know how things stand, and if there are no friends of China in the deputation selected by the Federation of British Industries to seek orders in Chinese territory which is in the illegal occupation of alien forces, we must assume that the F.B.I. is not greatly concerned about the maintenance of friendly relations with us.

A Well Advertised Mission

The Japan Weekly Chronicle also observes on the same subject:

In a somewhat heavy manner the *Times* has given its blessing to the mission of the Federation of British Industries which is on its way to Manchukuo—and perhaps other places. British industry, it says, has grown and prospered by bringing into the orbit of world trade territories which had been more or less stagnant in their economic life, promoting their development and profiting by the increase in their prosperity! This piece of ambiguity leaves it uncertain whether it is British industry which has spread into stagnant places or merely British goods. The same ambiguity persists as we go on. The field, we are told, has become more and more restricted, but "in the Far East there are still densely populated areas awaiting development by industrial enterprise." This however, seems a little clearer. "Development by industrial enterprise" cannot mean merely the purchase by a populous but stagnant country of British goods. Looked at in any logical manner it can only mean the creation of industries. In the case of most of these densely populated Far Eastern areas, unstable conditions discourage foreign co-operation. But Manchukuo is ceasing to be unstable. It is rather a large assumption, however, that the land therefore lies open for British exploitation. To survey a possible market and to map out plans for establishing new industries are two very different things, but at this time of day it is necessary to know which is being done. British territories have in the past been very generally open to all sorts of exploitation; but in this age of intense nationalism and self-supply, it is doubtful whether such liberal conditions will persist even in the British Empire It is certain that Japan has not taken all the trouble that she has in Manchuria for the benefit of the Federation of British Industries The *Times* also gets a little away from a sense of reality when it talks of Manchuria as a densely populated area more or less stagnant in its economic life. But the whole point about Manchuria is that it is not a densely populated area.

Child Labour in India

We take the liberty of summing up here the concluding remarks of Mr. Rajani Kanta Das, Ph. D. from his article on the above subject which appeared in *International Labour Review*, and of which we have a reprint:

Owing to the large percentage of the total population in the younger age groups, the low average length of life, the extreme poverty of the masses, and the absence of compulsory elementary education, the proportion of children in the working population is larger in India than in most other countries. The number of children employed as wage earners is, however, very small, and that of children in organized industries even smaller.

Children have always helped their parents in agriculture and handicrafts in India and the majority of children no doubt do so even today. But the specific problems of child labour arose mostly with the development of modern industry. The employment of children in organized industries under adequate control has, of course, some beneficial aspects: But to be beneficial the employment of children must be properly organized and regulated, otherwise it is liable to be a danger to society and to the children themselves.

The problems to which the industrial employment of children have given rise may be considered from three distinct points of view, namely: (1) working conditions, (2) living conditions, and (3) social policy.

Increasing attention has been given in India to such main problems of working conditions as the age for admission to employment, health and safety, hours of work, wages, and workmen's compensation.

Child labour legislation aims at securing health and safety for children and providing them with all the facilities for education in the period which is most suitable to intellectual development. This object is attained by fixing a minimum age below which they may not be employed and also a maximum age up to which they may work only under certain conditions.

The final solution of the problem of the employment of young children in India depends, therefore, to a great extent on the organization of a general system of compulsory elementary education.

Hours of work have been gradually reduced in both factories and mines, and measures are under consideration for their further reduction. Health and safety arrangements are generally satisfactory in new and large undertakings, but leave very much room for improvement in small, seasonal, and unregulated factories as well as in small mines and plantations. Wages have only been dealt with by legislation in India in respect of methods of payment.

A large number of seasonal factories, however, still remain uninspected, and under the present system, a causual visit to a tea garden is made by a subordinate officer only once in two years. Moreover, the employment of large numbers of women and children on plantations, and to a lesser extent in factories and mines, would seem to make the appointment of more women inspectors desirable.

The second class of problems concerns the improvement of living conditions with a view to creating a favourable physical and social environment for the development of childhood. The main problems of living conditions are those of housing and hygiene, maternity and infancy, and home and community. At present these problems in India are left to the welfare activities of employers and private organizations, with the exception of the grant of maternity benefit, which is dealt with by legislation in two provinces. The intervention of the public authorities in these matters, which are of such great importance for the moral and material welfare both of children and of the workers generally, is one of the most urgent needs of India.

The supply of housing accommodation by employers or landlords is undesirable, as it is liable to lead to servility, exploitation, and the growth of slums. It is the duty of public and semi-public organizations to provide housing accommodation for workers in industrial centres, so that they can live without fear of eviction and on the payment of a minimum rent.

Housing improvements must of course be accompanied by the provision of proper sanitation, including modern sewerage and water supply systems. Such improvements in housing and hygiene will do much for the protection of motherhood and infancy. Nevertheless, it is also important to provide recreational and cultural facilities both for children and for adult workers, and it is only under such sanitary conditions and salutary atmosphere that the real home and community life can grow.

What is still more important is the development of a social policy with regard to children in general

and child labour in particular. The various measures, in force or proposed, for the improvement of conditions of life and work in India need to be integrated in an organic policy for promoting the well-being of the children of India. The underlying principle of this policy should be to secure the fullest and richest possible development of childhood, upon which depends the continuous progress of society. The elements of this policy should be: (1) the encouragement of voluntary and responsible parenthood; (2) the development of compulsory primary education; and (3) the adoption of progressive social legislation.

Voluntary and responsible parenthood has a three-fold object, namely: (1) the conscious control of population growth; (2) the securing of sound birth, *ie.*, freedom from congenital defects; and (3) the safeguarding of health during childhood.

The reduction of the birth rate is therefore essential for the promotion of child welfare in India. In a country where there is a high rate of maternal mortality and stillbirths, where about one-fifth of the children born alive die before reaching one year of age, and where a great number die before reaching manhood or womanhood, birth-control becomes a national virtue. The initiative in the birth-control movement has already been taken by the Indian State of Mysore, and the Government of Madras has recently expressed its intention of introducing birth-control clinics What is needed is the introduction of such clinics all over the country.

The second main feature of this social policy is the provision of compulsory education for children, about five-sixths of whom are without educational facilities at present.

This general education should be accompanied by vocational training, especially in India, which has lost many of her once famous arts and crafts; and has made little progress in the technique of modern production.

The last and, from the point of view of this study, the most important phase of social policy is progressive social legislation. The object of this social policy is to secure to all children the fullest possible opportunity for the development of their intellectual, moral and spiritual faculties, so that when grown up they may become efficient workers, intelligent citizens, and responsible men and women, for their own greater good as well as that of society.

The re-orientation of Soviet Foreign Policy

From a place of comparitive isolation, Soviet Russia has been emerging to play one of the major parts in the game of European and world politics. Mr. Harry N. Howard gives a substantial outline of Soviet's foreign policy from the inception of the revolution to the year 1933 in *World Unity* which is quoted below:

There has been a steady evolution of Soviet foreign policy from the beginning. When the Bolshevik revolutionaries overthrew the Provisional Government in November, 1917 they were determined to achieve a new political, economic and social system within the confines of the old tsarist empire and to carry the revolurionary gospel to the far corners of the world. This was a part of the policy of revolutionary evangelism, the answer of communism to a very hostile and actively intervening capitalist world. Only in a communist and Soviet world could a communist and Soviet Russia live. There must be permanent revolution until a world-wide communistic new heaven and new earth had been made. Revolution did break out in Hungary and in Germany and it did frighten the peace conference then sitting at Paris, but it did not succeed on the great scale which the Bolsheviks had hoped for. In 1920 peace had been established with Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland. By 1921 the period of war communism, civil war and intervention had come to an end, the war with Poland was concluded and treaties were signed with Poland, Austria, Turkey and Persia. Soviet Russia was entering a new phase of her development both in internal and foreign affairs. During this second period, which lasted roughly from 1921 to about 1928, the Moscow government looked toward recognition by the great powers, began the development of a system of security treaties, and cautiously sought financial and economic collaboration with the rest of the world. Representatives of Soviet Russia sat in the conferences of Genoa and Lausanne in 1922 and 1923, and suggested at Genoa that world disarmament was a pre-requisite to economic recovery. At Rapallo in 1922 close relations were established with republican Germany. By 1924 the U. S. S. R. had secured the recognition of some twenty-one nations, including all the great powers except the United States. Thanks to the stabilization of both the socialistic and the capitalistic worlds, the Soviet government announced in 1927 that the two could live peacefully side by side. By that year, too, the Moscow government had concluded non-aggression treaties with Turkey, Germany, Afghanistan, Lithuania and Persia. These were continued until by 1932 they included Finland, Latvia, Esthona, Poland and France, though the latter two were not ratified It will be noted that they included especially the countries on the borders of the lands of the Soviets. Though not invited to participate among the original signatories of the Paris Anti-War Pact of 1928, the Soviet government was the first to put the pact into effect with her neighbours, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland and Roumania through the Litvinov protocol of February 9, 1929.

With the adoption of the *Piatiletka*, or Five Year Plan, in 1928, Russian internal policy was characterized by an attempt to industrialize the country, mechanize agriculture and socialize the entire Russian economy.

The Piatiletka emphasized and deepened the tendencies of the policy of peaceful collaboration with the capitalistic world. Any disturbance in the outside world was bound to have its influence on the fulfillment of the great plan, and the Soviet government—whatever the aspirations of the Third International—did not appear to want any upheavals abroad. Walter Duranty, the Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, wrote on November 23, 1932: "Far from trying to foment revolution, the U. S. S. R. today is ready and eager to co-operate in any sincere attempt to combat the effects of the depression and to restore the economic order." In foreign policy therefore the Russian government continued to negotiate political and economic non-aggression pacts, urged disarmament and sought the stabilizatian of its relations with the capitalistic world. Leon Trotzky, the apostle of permanent revolution was sent into exile.

France and the War Debts

Michael F. Florinsky shows in *Political Science Quaterly* that the question of debt-repara-

tions is the most vexatious topic in the history of the world since the Great War and suggests the all-round cancellation of war obligations. He writes:

The Johnson Act and President Roosevelt's war-debt message of June 1, 1934, were followed by the failure of all European debtors—with the sole exception of Finland—to meet the instalment of June 15.

These developments are another reminder of the fact that the most vexatious question which has poisoned the political atmosphere of the world for the last fifteen years and which has, no doubt, largely contributed to the depression, has not yet been solved.

Although at the present time the whole war-debt question seems to have been relegated somewhat to the background both in the United States and in Europe, sooner or later it is bound to come up again for public discussion and a new "final" settlement. In order to obtain a sober estimate of the chances of such a settlement it might be useful to recall the course of events which led to France's default and the arguments advanced in that country against the payment of the instalment of December 15, 1932.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the validity of the French claims or the soundness of the French contentions. Many of the elaborate legal theories devised in Paris cannot but strike one as preposterous. But that this frame of mind exists in France is a factor of far-reaching importance, which should not be overlooked.

It has been said that a survey of the separations and war debts problem gives one the feeling of visiting a graveyard. It is with a sense of real and deep relief that one turns from this amazing and crumbling monument of human ingenuity to the simple and clear pronouncement issued by the British Government as far back as August 1, 1922. Great Britain, whose loans to her Allies very nearly doubled what she herself had borrowed from the United States, has been an early, consistent and, unfortunately, lonely champion of the all-round cancellation of war obligations. The Balfour note, which laid down the principles of British policy on this question, closed with the following appeal, which still retains all its force: "A general settlement [of war debts and reparations] would...be of more value to mankind than any gains that could accrue even from the most successful enforcement of legal obligations."

There are no Atheists

After carefully reviewing the utterences of famous atheists and agnostics *The Catholic World* says that, rightly speaking, there are no atheists. At least no thinkers are atheists. "Free thinkers" rise to that bait more surely but it is equally axiomatic that they do not think freely. We take only one instance and that of Darwin:

In *The Unknown God* Mr. Noyes reveals and comments upon many startling passages from the works of recognized agnostics and reputed atheists in evidence of God—not merely "a god of some sort," as Lord Kelvin says, but substantially and essentially the orthodox God, the God of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas.

Take Drawin, who though himself no philosopher was the inspiration of Huxley, Spencer and a hundred other more recent evolutionistic thinkers. Darwin says of the evolutionistic process. "This grand sequence of events the mind refuses to accept as the result of blind chance. The understanding revolts from such a conclusion." None the less atheistic evolution *must* accept blind chance. The only thinkable substitute for blind chance is a Superintending Intelligence. But once an Intelligent Directing Power is admitted you have God. For as St. Thomas Aquinas says, "We see that things which lack intelligence nevertheless act for an end not fortuitously but designedly. Now whatever lacks intelligence cannot move towards an end unless it be directed by some being endowed with knowledge and intelligence. And this Being we call God." There is many a hard nut for the professed atheist to crack. And there is the first one on which he may sharpen his teeth—or more likely break them: "the understanding revolts from blind chance," very well, if not blind chance, what? Any alternative will be as Aquinas says "What we call God." It is entertaining as well as enlightening to find Charles Darwin and Thomas Aquinas expressing the same truth, one negatively and by implication, the other positively and directly.

Darwin, as we have said and as all the world admits, was no philosopher. He was not even a logician, that is to say a close and relentless reasoner. If he had been, he would have followed his own lead. "If not blind chance, what then?" Pursuing one "And then?" to another "And then?" he would have come to "What we call God." Darwin with what he thought Intellectual humility, said "Into these questions we cannot enter." But reasons like *das ewige weiblich zeiht uns hinan*, or like the gadfly it bids us, "nor sit nor stand but go." When reason urges us on it is not humble to refuse to follow. And if we follow reason we end with God. We need no theologian from the Middle Ages to return and tell us that. Socrates was no Scholastic, nor Aristrotle, nor Seneca, nor Marcus Aurelius

Twenty years after

Twenty years ago, the whole world witnessed the outbreak of a tragic catastrophe, the wounds of which we have hardly been able to heal yet, when another world war threatens us, in the near future. We all know to what extent civilization lost by that portentous lapse into barbarism, which proved the inherent rottenness of European politics. Mr. Joseph Keating in *The Month* sounds a note of warning and describes the horrors of the last war, so that a further outbreak may be averted once again:

The world drifted from crisis to crisis, each calling for an increase of armaments, and set its security on the 'precarious equipoise" of rival alliances, until, in 1914, the political murder of an Austrian Arch-Duke in Serbia caused the mobilization of Russia, Germany's violation of Belgan neutrality to attack France, and Great Britain's declaration of war on behalf of Belgium. That so relatively slight a cause should have started such a cataclysm proves the inherent rottenness of the European political system which based security on individual strength and partial alliances, instead of on the automatic combinalion of all against any unjust aggressor.

A vivid picture of the War that ensued may be quoted from "The World's Crisis," by Mr. winston

Churchill, a man who presents in singular combination a keen capacity for diagnosing international disease with total inability to perceive the remedy He Writes

"All the horrors of all the ages were brought together and not only armies, but whole populations were thrust into the midst of them Every outrage against humanity or international law was repaid by reprisals often on a greater scale and of longer duration No truce or parley mitigated the strife of the armies The wounded died between the lines the dead mouldered into the soil Merchant ships and neutral ships and hospital ships were sunk on the seas and all on board left to their fate or killed as they swam Every effort was made to starve whole populations into submission without regard to age or sex. Cities and monuments were smashed by artillery, bombs from the air were cast down indiscriminately, poison gas in many forms stifled or scarred the soldiers; liquid fire was projected into their bodies men fell from the air in flames or were smothered often slowly in the dark recesses of the sea

The folly and unreliability of the old system having been thus dramatically exposed and peace of a sort re established at the cost of 10 000 000 lives and £50 000 000 000 it might be thought that the united wisdom of mankind would now determine to abolish the causes which lead to war and to establish as firmly as possible the foundations of international peace

The Chinese Soviet Republic

The following new observations have been made by the *Young Ceylon* regarding the fundamental laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic

The Chinese Soviet Republics constitute a new force in Asia It is a great attempt to guarantee the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry in an Asiatic country It is a daring experiment for Soviet China which is one sixth of China The area of France is equal to only 89 6 per cent of the territory of Soviet China The area of Germany is equal to 65 9 per cent of Japan (without colonies) 61 per cent of great Britain (without colonies) 73 per cent of this extensive Soviet territory The Central District of the Chinese Soviet Republic alone is twice the size of Holland and Belgium taken together The Young Chinese Republic of Soviets must be regarded as quite a sizeable state not only in the light of these comparisons with European countries but also when campared with whole continents

The constitution of the Chinese Soviet is a bold document utterly democratic radically socialistic and designed to eliminate exploiting elements in the State It recognizes emancipation of women and freedom of marriage and divorce right to education and religious freedom offers asylum to Chinese and foreign revolutionaries and guarantees equal enjoyment of political rights to all foreign toilers

Its system of agrarian Legislation its Red Army and its Labour code are all adapted to serve the interests of the worker and to prevent his exploitation The economic policy of the government is so based to develop an anti-Imperialism It nationalizes all the key positions at present in the hands of the Imperialists (Concessions, customs, banks railways, shipping, mines, factories and workshops) It is impossible even to summarize the actual details of this new experiment—and *mirable dictu* everything—economic labour and social policy—is set out in the minutest detail.

The Saar Plebiscite

The Saar Basin had been the cause of many controversies and is still considered to be a storm centre by no less a man than Mussolini. Whether her reunion with Germany be a success or not, Hitler has opened his final campaign, on which *The Commonweal* observes

On August 26 Chancellor Hitler formally opened the final campaign to induce residents of the Saar Basin to vote for return to Germany when the plebiscite is conducted on January 13 1935 A gigantic assembly welcomed to Ehrenbreitenstein across the Rhine from Coblenz 150 000 members of the Deutsche Front' imported from Saarbruecken and its environs for the occasion This organization is that into which previously existing bourgeois parties in the Basin were merged during 1933 During all the years since 1919, when the Versailles Treaty loaned the region to France by way of compensation for the damage done to coal fields in Flanders there was never any doubt that 99 per cent of the 800 000 inhabitants wished to live under German rule Virtually every German government sought to induce the French to make an earlier settlement of the controversy than the one (a plebiscite in 1935) specified by the Treaty and it is doubtless regrettable that this arrangement was not made. But now powerful opposition to reunion has manifested itself A Left wing alignment was able to secure from the League of Nations promises that a vote for autonomy subject later to revision in favour of Germany would be possible, and that special police forces would be recruited to supervise the region during coming months Catholic autonomists have also been very active, and in view of the circumstance that the bulk of the population is loyal to the Church the Holy See has appointed a special envoy to the Saar Basin No doubt economic considerations will play their part in determining the outcome, since any drastic move toward *autarkie* in the Reich would emperil the market for coal It is predicted that the vote will be very close and considerable thought is being given by agencies close to the League to possible safeguards for minorities in case Hitler should win out One protective measure is, of course, automatically operative no German troops are permitted west of the Rhine Defeat would seriously impair the prestige of the Hitler government

Battle Grounds of Freedom

What Mr William F Anderson says of American universities can be equally applicable to ours It is regarding the pernicious system of control of educational institutions (which are to be the "battle grounds of freedom") by the State He says in *The Christian Century*

The chief peril to freedom in education in our own country today lies in the relation of state legislatures to state universities. The threat to reduce appropriations in case legislative committees find themselves in disagreement with university authorities, is an

ominous club in times like these. And the cringing manner in which university authorities often seem to feel it necessary to curry favour with political authorities pollutes the very sources of education. Sinister political ambitions and influences are frequently to be seen behind the personnel of boards of regents and trustees. At its best, education under such auspices becomes hackneyed, impersonal and morally neutral. At its worst it becomes a positive debaucher of the stamina of the future citizens who come under its influence.

Two results of this involvement of education with the political machine are to be seen in many state institutions. First, there is a lamentable failure to preserve academic freedom and tenure. Professors become hopelessly timid; consciously or unconsciously the education which they give to the watchful youngsters in their classrooms teaches that success depends on pussyfooting. And in the second place, this political phase of state university administration opens the doors wide to militaristic propaganda. The college becomes an adjunct of the war department, and its faculty and regents dare not so much as seek freedom from military dictation lest they rouse the wrath of the American Legion and kindred bodies.

The Indian Press

Sir James Crerar in a crowded meeting of the East India Association shows "The Logic of the Reform Proposals" in their different branches, of which we take only one from *The Asiatic Review* and present it before our readers:

It was obvious from the first that the Press would be at once the most capacious and the most formidable channel through which the heady new wine would flow.

Metcalfe abolished all Press restrictions on the ground that whatever the consequences might be, this was necessary for the spread in India of Western knowledge and civilization. The dilemma was and is one of extreme difficulty and gravity, but the record of our Indian Press legislation, with all its vacillation and incoherence, is not one which we can recall with much complacence. My own view has always been that, while we must tolerate for greater ends a great deal that is mischievous, there are definite and measurable limits to such toleration, and that a degree of control will for long continue to be necessary in India which in England, under different conditions, can safely be dispensed with.

The Press as a political organ, if we cannot assert for it so exclusive a paternity as for other indubitably native products of our soil, is an integral and characteristic part of our system. It is the Fourth Estate of our Realm, and the Freedom of the Press has been an ever more jealously guarded public prerogative since the days of "Areopagitica." We planted it in India and are ourselves largely responsible for the fruits which it has borne in that exotic soil. It would be a profound error to judge these solely by the too abundant yield of extravagance and malevolence. We may deplore that it has often grossly misrepresented our acts and our intentions, misreprentations of which some have not stopped short of incitements to crime and rebellion. We cannot complain that it has enthusiastically propagated, even though often enough with an incomplete comprehension of them, our own ideas. We cannot deny that in its better part and its calmer and wiser moods both we and India owe much to it. If we can by wise handling of the problems now before us remove or mitigate some of the present causes of distrust and hostility, I see no reason for doubt that it will be capable of playing a salutary and beneficent part under happier and more natural conditions.

Mongol Destiny of Manchoukuo

Mr. Owen Lattimore, editor of *Pacific Affairs* has given us a first-hand report of the situations in the Far East, extracts of which are quoted below from *Asia*:

Japan, in creating Manchoukuo, has founded a continental empire in Asia which is none the less an empire for being free of the title of Japanese sovereignty. The symbol of this empire is the Great Wall of China; for it is along the Great Wall that its destiny must be worked out. China and Russia are the natural empires of Asia; a mainland empire based on the islands of Japan can only be artificial When the powers of the Western World succeeded at the Washington Conference of 1921 in making Japan consent to a radical cutting down of Japanese expansion in China and Manchuria, it seemed as if the future lay between China and Russia. It seemed as if these two nations must approach each other, absorbing or dividing between them the great domains of Manchuria, Mongolia and Chinese Turkistan until, along a continuous land frontier of more than three thousand miles, the greatest Asiatic nation and the greatest western nation would stand face to face and a momentous new chapter of history would be opened.

The action of Japan in 1931 shattered this mirror of history, and we do not know, when the fragments are pieced together again, what images will be reflected in them. From 1895, after defeating China, Japan had been working for a place on the mainland of Asia, but had been kept in check by the other nations of the world, which leagued together in various combinations to prevent final success. In 1931 Japan at last broke through the half-concealed, half-acknowledged cordon of restraint and made good the ambition of nearly forty years.

Since, however, the "man-made" position of Japan in Manchoukuo inevitably conflicts with the "natural" positions of China and Russia, Japan cannot halt at the present frontiers of Manchuria and declare a limit to the historical changes implicit in the creation of Manchoukuo. It is impossible to make the Great Wall the vital frontier between China and Manchoukuo only: if the Great Wall is to become once more a significant frontier, the change must apply to the whole length of the frontier. It cannot be limited simply to the eastern end.

The Business of Crime

Mr. Lyman V. Rutledge, after referring to the trials, recently held in Dedham, Mass, of Murton and Millen and Faber, who were convicted of murder and given death penalty, observes in *The Christian Register*:

John Dillinger held the United States at bay for months, and crime is on the increase. It is estimated that the cost of it is not less than fifteen billion dollars a year. We suffer from the extravagances of

moral imbecility, and will never gain economic freedom until the bloody dictatorship of the underworld has been overthrown

Much has been said about the motion picture and the public press as influences for good or evil We had the privilege of interviewing a noted criminal recently on this point He had stolen more than a million dollars during his amazing career His brief comment was The movies are our most prolific crime breeders The silver screen not only glorifies the criminal but teaches crime, showing how it is done and making escape seem easy As for yellow journalism, it is less guilty only because the printed page is less powerful than the motion picture

Here then are two of the most powerful factors in civilization engaged in the business of promoting crime ! From their point of view they are merely giving the public what it wants The public is willing to pay for crime news The public too is guilty and the public is now paying the cost of its moral imbecility at the rate of fifteen billions a year not to mention the economic chaos which rises like a cloud of dust in the wake of this wild stampede

Still there are those who wonder if there is any thing for the churches to do or if there is any reason to promote religious education !

"Sad Englishmen in India"

Reviewing the book Indian Patchwork by Edward and Mary Charles Mr Frank C Bancroft writes in *The Christian Century*

For me the book solidified an impression which three years in India had only adumbrated that the foreign rulers in that land are pretty miserable It is nothing less than lyrical in its singing of this doleful song

The authors a young English academician and his wife arrive in Central India to take charge of a college Indian Patchwork is a double diary of the events and impressions which ensued And the first recorded entry ends thus We've been here a hundred and fifty years and what has it all been worth ? We've never even established the legality of our tenure to the Hindu mind Kindness has bred lies and cruelty has bred silence Why can't we get out ? Is there no morality greater than expediency ? Poor India Poor poor India And we ? We have meant so well

The reader should remember that an educator is speaking an educator who presumably comes closer to the subject people than an army officer or a civil administrator Hence the amazing quality of repeated passages like It is dirty work touching an Indian college A wog with a university degree is necessarily spiritually perverted To a wog a knowledge of English, a knowledge of the drama a familiarity with the abstractions of Mathematics are all means to the end which is deception.

One by one, frantically Mrs Charles tries to marshal assets to offset the terrific original liability of living in India , and one by one these assets themselves turn into wearisome liabilities But where are the compensations ? she wails Finding none she is forced to the conclusion 'Almost everything we have imported into this country is makeshift because we feel that it will be good enough for today, for tomorrow we shall retire"

Perhaps this is the first work by an Anglo-Indian frankly to admit, again and again, that the British tenure of India is approaching sunset. "India is heading—or ought I say drifting ?—toward self-government. God knows what chaos and bloodshed will precede and follow the day when we shall drop the reins of government, but that day will come and fairly soon, I am convinced"

And the last lines are "Meanwhile our little ship pushes on, bearing us away further and further from that grim tragic, tawdry and pathetic country, India."

Russia Enters the League

Mr H N Brailsford's concluding remarks regarding Soviets Entry into the League are quoted below from *The New Republic*

The issue that turns on Russia's entry into the League is then, one of 'real politics' in the strict Bismarckian sense of that term Russia enters in the hope that the League, which means for practical purposes the French group, will localize in the Far East the war that she expects Japan to levy against her That limited reckoning, and not any conversion to Wilsonian liberalism, draws her to Geneva Her calculation is probably sound, but only if the French are prepared to sink more capital in doubtfully remunerative Polish enterprises The roots of war as Lenin told Mr Wilson, are economic

Negroes in the South

The same paper remarks on the treatment which the Negroes in the South receive from their white neighbours

In the Deep South as everyone knows, Negroes are rarely allowed to vote and certainly not in the Democratic primaries which are usually the real elections Plain extra legal coercion is the device used any Negro rash enough to consider appearing at a polling place knows he would be sure to get into serious trouble and almost always he refrains. In the border states however the solution is not quite so simple When the Texas state legislature passed a law whose effect was to bar Negroes from party primaries the United States Supreme Court rebuked the legislators The Democratic Party in Texas has now declared that it is a private club, in which Negroes are ineligible for membership This view has been sustained in the local courts, although attorneys argued that the Democratic primary is in fact the election, and that the action of the party constituted disfranchisement Now the matter will again have to go to the United States Supreme Court In view of past precedents, it is reasonable to hope for a decision favourable to the Negroes ; but in view of past history, it still seems likely that very few if any, members of that race will be permitted in the visible future to vote in Texas no matter what the Court says



GLEANINGS

The Correggio Centenary and the Exhibition of his works at Parma

The fourth centenary of Correggio's death—his name was Antonio Allegri and Correggio was his native town will be celebrated at Parma the fine town in Emilia where the great painter spent most of his short life and left his best masterpieces An exhibition of his works is being organized for next November which will undoubtedly be appreciated by all lovers of art in Italy and abroad since it will afford them the opportunity of admiring practically all his works

Correggio is closely associated with the town of Parma the scene of his labours which has always been visited by artists from all over the world interested in the work of this master painter who possessed the gifts of realization to such an extent that he is considered an originator and an innovator even when compared with Leonardo and Titian It was, therefore,



Parma - The so-called Madonna of St. Jerome by Correggio

most appropriate that this town should be chosen for the celebration of his fourth centenary.

Correggio's paintings scattered in various Italian and foreign galleries sufficiently attest his celebrity, which, although not achieved during his brief lifetime, is now universal None of his paintings are equal in magnificence and beauty to the famous frescoes covering the domes of the "Cathedral," "San Giovanni Evangelista" and the "Camera di San Paolo" at Parma These frescoes are remarkable for the overpowering impression of movement given to figures, the variety of their attitudes and their bold foreshortening while Correggio's technique reaches in them the highest and most modern development that characterizes Italian Painting and his chiaroscuro, which is proverbially famous, his effects of light and reflections and his perfect colouring fascinate the beholder Correggio's influence is still felt today and evidence of this fact is afforded by the keen interest and appreciation with which his works and style are still studied at present

The monumental paintings of Correggio at Parma include some of his masterpieces and suffice to attest his great powers.

In the "Basilica of San Giovanni" besides the admirably inspired Evangelist in a lunette over the sacristy door, he frescoed the dome between the years 1520 and 1524 and his wonderful composition can now be seen to the best possible advantage thanks to a special installation of light recently set up by the Municipality of Parma, which reveals all its beauties heretofore in part hidden

Correggio was the first painter who introduced bold and admirably foreshortened figures in his imaginary supernatural compositions which have a most convincing realistic character Near the Basilica there is the admirable and not less famous dome of the Cathedral likewise characterized by foreshortened figures and wonderful chiaroscurose as well as by an abundant depth of feeling and charming gracefulness Correggio who in his earlier works had portrayed the charm of infancy and later that of childhood which he immortalized in his famous representations of "putti, here excells in the painting of gay youth in the period of adolescence, and his figures float in a transparent atmosphere of gold seen at dawn a short of golden roseate mist decidedly more superior in effect than the monochrome greys of Leonardo, the purple dusks of Giorgione and the flaming reds of Titian

One is overpowered with the vision of Correggio's earliest frescoes in the room of the Nunnery of San Paolo which are of extreme beauty

Four easel pictures complete the list of Correggio's masterpieces at Parma namely, the Madonna della Scodella (bowl) a divine painting with marvellous figures to use the words of Vasari, the Madonna di San Girolamo perhaps the finest of his works, miraculous in execution and colouring the "Descent from the Cross" an indescribable expression of [illegible] the "Martyrdom of St. Placidus." in which [illegible] are charmingly blended.

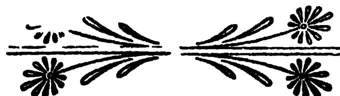
These [his masterpieces] will surely include the "[illegible] from the Cross" and the "Madonna and Child with [illegible] Francis and Quirinus"" two of his early works with [illegible] of Mantegna's influence, from Mantua and [illegible]



Parma Particulars of a fresco by Correggio (Convent of San Paolo)

respectively the famous "Madonna from the Uffizi Gallery whose figures recall those of Leonardo, the "Holy Family" and the "Marriage of St Catherine" from Naples the "Adoration of the Magi" and the "Nativity from the Brera Gallery, the "Danae" from the Borghese Gallery and many others,

Travel in Italy





INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Miss Jethi Kripalani was the first lady to be elected to the Karachi Corporation at the recent elections. She topped the polls in her ward. She is an active Congress worker and was jailed during the last Civil Disobedience movement.



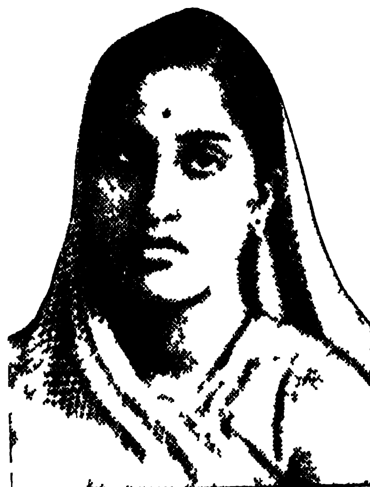
Miss Jethi Kripalani

Srimati Sarala Devi of Utkal is the first lady to be appointed as a director of the Cuttack Central Co-operative Bank. Orissa owes much to her activity, both in the political sphere and social reform activities. She has given a strong impetus to the progress of the women's movement in that province. She has broken through the long standing purdah system prevalent in her community. She is a member of the All India Congress Committee. She presided over the Tamil Nadu Women's Conference held at Erode in the Madras presidency. She is a self-made lady having fought her way in all her struggles with orthodox society and adverse circumstances. She rendered yeoman service during the Orissa floods.



Srimati Sarala Devi

Mrs. Kapila Bhagubai Desai has been nominated member of the Broach District Board. She is the first woman member of a district Local Board in the Northern Division.



Mrs Kapila Bhagubai Desai

Bombay Presidency. She is the Vice-Chairman of the District School Board, Broach.

MISS SUBHADRABAI GOSALIA, youngest daughter of Dewan Bahadur H. N. Gosalia, Dewan and President of the State Council, Barwani, is the first Kathiawar lady to graduate in medicine and surgery in the M. B., B. S., examination of the Bombay University held recently.



Miss Subhadrabai Gosalia

BEGUM FURRUKH SULTAN MUAYYIDZADA, M. A., B. L., has been declared successful at the last Chamber Examination for the admission of advocates of the Calcutta High Court. She is the first lady in Bengal to have qualified as an advocate. Begum Muayyidzada comes of a gifted Persian family, being the daughter of the late Aga Muayyidul Islam, "the father of Persian nationalism" and the editor of the Hablul Matin. Begum Muayyidzada has had a brilliant academic career and takes a keen and active interest in all movements for the social and educational uplift of women.

MISS SHUBH VATI SHARMA, B.A., daughter of Doctor Asa Ram Sharma, Late P. M. S. of Pattoki (Lahore), is the first lady to pass the B. T. examination of the Punjab University this year from the Saraswat Brahmin community. She has been appointed Head Mistress of the Arya Girl's School, Simla.



Miss Shubh Vati Sha

THE THIEF

BY ELIZABETH ROGERS

GANPAT stood at the door of his hut, gazing contentedly at his little field of ripe wheat and further off his larger field of *channa*, a pulse from which forest tribes of Central India make coarse flat cakes to vary their ceasless diet of watery rice. He was contented, because that field of wheat had borne so well this year that, not only would it pay his land and cattle tax, almost due, but might even give him a few rupees for a blanket to wrap himself in when the chilly night fell.

The sky, streaked with white bars of cloud, gave promise of unsettled weather, but Ganpat knew that tomorrow's sun-shine would soon dry the crops even if a heavy shower should fall.

But as he watched his face grew troubled. Far off, spanning the valley from one range of hills to the other, he saw a barrier of cloud, a dark wall advancing towards him like an army on swift horses.

A minute later and the air shivered, then grew chill,and with a mighty roar the wind swept past. On came the monster; tearing, roaring, groaning, hurling all before it in its wrath.

Ganpat, from inside his thatched hut, groaned with the wind. One mighty shuddering blast and he and his young wife found

themselves looking upward at the angry heavens where his poor roof now sailed in a million straws. Against their mud wall in the lee of the wind cowered Ganpat, his wife and her old mother, bent and knotted with poverty and premature old age.

Worse followed. A crackling noise, as of a firing squad practising at the butts, came on the heels of the wind. Great hailstones, large as peanuts, struck their shelter and brought the temperature down another twenty degrees. The wretched trio huddled together for warmth and support, each with the same picture which filled the cup of their desolution.

Ten minutes, and the hurricane had passed leaving a smiling blue sky in which innocent filmy clouds floated, and the benevolent sun smiled gently as a father at the impotent raging of his infant son.

But Ganpat did not smile. Once more he stood at the door of his hut, now a wreck, and gazed at his fields. There lay the yellow wheat, a tumbled mass of straw. There stood the *channa* field, but the gathered heaps of cut *channa* were scattered to the four winds. Home wrecked, food destroyed, no means of paying his taxes! No wonder if Ganpat and his women-folk sat that night rocking dumbly over the fire of dung-cake that did its best to cheer the desolate home . . . .

The spirits of the jungle crept softly from their hiding places in the black shadowy forest. Through the valley trailed the last of the village herd, the sweet jangling of cattle bells dying away with the last rays of light as the animals reached their byres and were safely barricaded against the attack of leopard or panther. The air held all the incense of evening; from starry jasmine that made a garden of every empty water-course; from smoking village fires fresh kindled with fragrant wood; from the dust kicked up by passing cattle till the golden air grew thick with dancing atoms. At this hour "*Go-dhuli*, the hour of cow-dust," as country folk call it, all the jungle that the sun looks upon settles itself, with a quiet sigh for sleep. But the jungle known only to the moon and stars stretches itself, and strange low voices sound from every side, while twin lamps of fire and emerald glow as the darkness deepens.

Far behind the cattle, away on the age of the jungle, two mis-shapen figures appeared, hurrying towards the village. As they emerged from the darkness of the trees, they could be recognized as human, yet with a weight of more than human size balanced precariously on their heads. It was Ganpat and his wife, making their way with all possible stealth and haste after a day's poaching in the forest. Time was when their old folk could go without fear into the jungle their bountiful Deity had provided for them, when they had need of wood for building or fuel. That was a golden age far away. Now other gods reigned. Ganpat made no pretence of ignorance of the forest laws. He knew that the trees and supple bamboo of the jungle were no longer his for the cutting. But what could a man do when his house so urgently needed repair: posts to strengthen the walls, bamboo and grass for thatching, and he without wheat enough to sell for the payment of his taxes? With luck they would get home and no one be the wiser or the poorer.

But as the sparks fly upward, so were Ganpat's troubles. At the entrance to the village they met the one man most feared by all Gond villagers— the forest guard, resplendent in his scarlet-bound turban. In all that wild country it was not easy to catch a thief red-handed and the guards must give an account of their stewardship as protectors of the Empire's timber.

Ganpat and the woman stood with the silence of those who have no heart to resist longer, while the guard, finding no permit nor receipt for their burden, counted the bamboo poles and assessed the value of the wood they had spent all day cutting. At the end, with their aching shoulders drooping, they continued their way between the uneven street of huts, crept into their roofless shelter and began to prepare their dish of rice over a fire that smouldered cheerlessly.

Ganpat languishes in no debtor's prison. His bullock went for rent; his cow paid the tax on her own well-worn hide. He is now a hired hand working on another man's fields to earn the daily dish of rice for himself and his household. Having nothing left but his worthless body—of which there is always a surplus in time of peace—he has escaped the fine which justice should demand of those who poach from the jungles of the Empire.

DEMOCRACY, FASCISM AND COMMUNISM —A COMPARISON OF VALUES

BY THAKUR HAR NARAYAN SINHA, M.A.,
Professor, Morris College, Nagpur

THE twentieth century, so far, has been an age of feverish unrest. Life seems to have been flung into a vortex of forces, which, let loose long before, prove difficult of control. There is a want of calm, that engenders a vitriolic temper ready to explode at the slightest provocation. Once it did, when, on the 28th June, 1914 a nineteen-year-old student in Serajevo shot the Austrian heir-apparent, and the next moment Europe was ablaze. Thus began an episode which has not yet closed. For years Europe has been trying to prevent future war and yet the embers of the last war have hardly died out. Even now Germany cherishes that war-dream in which "under the flags in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, Bismarck's Reich was born."* Her memory still fondly hovers over those battle-fields of Leipzig and Waterloo, of Koniggratz and Sedan, in which "men of German blood found each other again" and "before the guns of Paris and in the palace of Louis XIV, the age-old dream of a German empire was fulfilled."† It is not difficult to note the temper behind this talk of General Goering; but this is only a note in that dreadful gamut the volume of which has been swelling every moment. Other notes arise from other quarters, and all of them breathe a spirit of unrest, defiance or protest against the present order of things. That is reflected day after day in the poetry, fiction and philosophy of the age.

And yet the forces that have created this distemper, are not carefully analysed and rationally controlled. It is hardly realized that the institutions that had their blossoming and fruition in the last century have proved inadequate to the needs of this century. What religion, for example, could offer a century ago is a mockery today. And Science has not been able to unmask the lights of heaven, by which religion afforded comfort to the multitude. Industrial power, either, has not brought relief; for, "despite its enormous profits it is clear that divorced from principle, the merely physical power to shape nature to our purposes is meaningless, unless power is informed by a consciousness of ends."* Science and industrial power, thus bankrupt, have joined hands with the State, of which the ideal form was democracy. Parliamentary democracy, from its nursery of England, once appeared to the world as the "way of life in which national salvation could be discovered." It "contained the secret of combining liberty with order." † It became associated in men's minds with the outstanding material progress, because "its period of consolidation was one of continuous and remarkable economic expansion." ‡ But with the dawn of this century that optimism disappeared, and the world received its rudest shock, when the democracies of the West drifted into the most terrible war ever waged in history. In a way that was inevitable; for, people still remained bewitched by the prospects of nationalism and democracy, and failed to take note of the new forces, which had in the meanwhile emerged and were operating to knit the world into a new type of economic and political unity. There had been glimmering on the horizon the faint, but nevertheless sure, outlines of a new order of things. The international incidence of economic functions—currency, tariffs, migration, foreign investment, the conditions of labour, had postulated an international

* & † *Germany Reborn* by General Goering, p. 13 published, March 1934.

* *Democracy in Crisis* by Laski, p. 19 (Pub. 1932).
† *Ibid*, p. 31.
‡ *Ibid*, p. 33.

consciousness, which was driving men to think in terms of international well-being. But petty men, the autocrats and diplomats all over Europe, refused to look beyond their national frontiers. And the result was a war—a war of disillusionment. It was not merely a conflict between nations, but between ideas, the repurcussions of which have been still reverberating in all the corners of the globe. Read in this light, the perspective of events changes, and Fascism and Communism acquire a new significance in relevance to the needs of this age.

Now whatever be the rationale of Fascism and Communism, in their institutional form they are, like Democracy, a political hinterland won for science and industrial power. Their validity depends upon the degree of success that they can attain in synthesizing the forces of the age. Industrial power, nationalism and internationalism, these are the forces of the age, which by their dynamic energy are transforming the outlook of the world. It is, indeed, their interaction, which has created currents and cross-currents of thought, fear, strife, and doubt which explain the peculiar temper of the age. It may be, therefore, worth our while to examine the competence of Democracy, Fascism and Communism to promise a release from this uncomfortable frame of mind.

But the competence of Democracy, Fascism and Communism is severely conditioned by their heritage. It is the legacy of the past century; and its foundations lie as far back as the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. Democracy born of the first has transformed the character of "mere numbers" into self-asserting and self-conscious masses. Industrial Revolution has given birth to industrialism and capitalism. The combined genius of James Watt and Jean Jacques Rousseau has created such a stupendous force that the world has been conquered and even dazed. The story of this conquest is as grim in its details as it is distressing in its conclusion. It began with Sedan when Prussia cemented the German unity and embarked upon a scheme of industrialization under the guidance of Bismarck. Treading the same path as Great Britain she soon overtook her in all the markets of the world. Other nations followed suit and there arose the need for new markets for their expanding industries. This pointed the way for the land-grabbing operations of European nations.

> "Between 1870 and 1900 Great Britain acquired 1,754,000 square miles of territory adding to her population 88,000,000 people; between 1884 and 1900 France acquired 3,583,583 square miles and 36,553,000 people; and in these same years Germany, a bad last, gained 1,026,220 square miles and 16,687,100 people... Belgium absorbed the vast Congo territory seventy-seven times her size... Small wars abounded, wars of aggression in its most violent form, because the object of each war was conquest and, generally speaking, the total suppression of any form of national or local government in these areas absorbed".*

It was in this wise that democracy, and industrial power born of science, fell into the temptation of world-domination, and degenerated in their moral and spiritual content.

How far with this heritage can Democracy hold out promises of peace and good-will to the mankind?—that is the question. It is not enough to say that Democracy, which has certainly a pedigree at once honourable and great, has been discredited, and that Fascism, whether it be of Mussolini or of Hitler, with its technique of a corporative state, or Communism, with its "proletarian slogan" of "turning the present imperialist war into civil war" and "to unite the workers . . . . . of their respective countries . . . with the workers of all countries"† is the only way out of it. That is indicting democracy and exalting Fascism and Communism without a comparison of their values.

It is true that Jeffersonian democracy in America has reached a point of corruption that shames the very name of democracy. ‡ In England the collapse of the two-party system and the emergence of a third party *viz.*, the Labour, the complexities of modern politics that "make the electoral task far harder than at any previous time, because the discovery of truth is so much harder," § the rise of a "new despotism",** the disparity

* "*War and Western Civilization*" by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. (Pub. 1932).

† "*War and Social Democracy*" by Lenin.

‡ "*The Roosevelt Experiment*" by Sir N. Angell in the *Contemporary Review* of February 1934.

§ "*Democracy in Crisis*" by Laski, p. 70.

** "*The New Despotism*" by Lord Hewart—an illuminating survey of the encroachments of the Executive on Parliaments' rights.

between* universal suffrage and economic serfdom, an electorate with a type of mind, which could be taken in by the Zinoviev letter of 1924—all these are clear signs of a degenerating democracy. Indeed, a parliamentary democracy with its paraphernalia of colonies and dependencies often falls short of its ideal and resigns itself into the hands of an effective executive. It is this inadequacy that supplies the rationale to Sir Oswald Mosely and his followers. To Prof. Laski "crisis of capitalistic democracy is essentially a crisis of authority and discipline. The power to secure obedience to its principles has decreased because men increasingly refuse to accept its ends as obviously just. . . .Disrespect for authority is not due to some sudden burst of enthusiasm for anarchy, it is rooted in a disbelief in the principles for which authority has been organized in a capitalistic society." In other words, so long as we have a Democracy based upon universal suffrage but not upon universal ownership of the means of production, there would be injustice inherent in such a system. This goes to liquidate its moral worth inasmuch as it toments class-conflict at home and militates against international well-being abroad.†

Now to meet the inadequacy of Democracy, so it is said, comes forward Fascism with its offer of the corporative state to secure class co-operation and national solidarity. It professes to quash class-conflict by superimposing a system of state discipline and by "assigning to each class and group its significant functions within the structure of the corporative state."‡ It seeks national solidarity and greatness by a "synthesis of all the material and non-material values of the race."§ Hence it claims to cure democracy of its diseases. But while curing democracy, it practically kills it ; the remedy proves more disastrous than the disease. The Italian elections held on the 25th March, 1934, like others before, point to the same direction. For, the Fascist doctrine that society does not exist for the individual but the individual for the society resolves into a scheme of life in which the individual finds his fulfilment only by being swallowed up by the corporative state. When Parliament is considered as "the pestiferous bubo which poisons the blood of nations" and hence fifty thousand rifles are preferred to five million votes by the Founder of Fascism* it is not difficult to detect the nature of the remedy. Further, the corporative state cannot do without joining hands with capitalism. "Capitalism" says Mussolini "is scarcely at the beginning of its story. Immense tracts of Asia, Africa, even of America and Australia are still undeveloped. Capitalism, spreading from Europe, will cover the whole world The shoulders of the Proletariat are not yet strong enough to bear the terrific burden of civilizing such areas."† This smacks of the German "Weltpolitik" of pre-War days. At any rate this attitude leaves no room for Internationalism. In a comparison of values, therefore, Fascism suffers more than Democracy.

But where Democracy and Fascism suffer, Communism claims, lies its strength. It seeks to eliminate their capitalism, which fosters class-war and anti-Internationalism. Its conception of Society is based upon the collective consciousness of the working class. It repudiates the capitalistic conception of individual liberty and rights of property. To the Communist "more real than the individual is the class—the body of persons who fulfil in the process of production at a given stage of social development a common economic function and occupy by virtue of that function a common economic status."‡ The working class thus becomes the foundation of the new order of things. For individual rights, rights of the class is substituted ; and hence what is wanted is "a political instrument collectively expressing the will of the working class ; and the question of individual voting seems . .quite secondary to this primary desideratum."§ Such a state stresses the complete merging of the individual in the working class ; for, to

* "*Democracy in Crisis*" by Laski, p. 147.

† *Economic Foundations of Peace* by Laski, in the "Intelligent Man's way to Prevent War."

‡ *Intelligent Man's Guide to Europe Today* by Cole, p. 629.

§ *Encylopædia Britannica*, (13th Edition) 2nd volume, p. 17.

Mussolini's own words from *Life of Benito Mussolini* by M. G. Sarfatti, p. 327, (English translation, pub. April 1934.)

† "*Life of Benito Mussolini*," pp. 263-64.

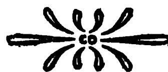
‡ & § "*Intelligent Man's Guide to Europe To-day*" p. 659.

the working class accrues all rights and privileges. It appeals to the class-consciousness of a type which is considered as the finest specimen of social consciousness. This consciousness is fed by a chauvinism that idolizes 'civil war' or class war between the Proletariat and the Bourgeoisie. This war is an antidote, as Lenin said, to the imperialist war which is only another name for capitalist war. On the whole with its ideal of proletarian unity throughout the world, and its technique of class war and the collective expression of the will of the working class it holds out new hopes to mankind, which are as rosy as they are elusive. One distinctive feature of communism is that it makes a powerfnl appeal to the oppressed and the poor, throughout the world, and thus bids fair to seek an international affiliation, in which consists its chief strength.* But even there it is vitiated by a spirit of antagonism. Its appeal for internatiodal unity is to a class only, in order to fight and eradicate another class. Thus its international affiliations retain the narrowness of nationalism common to Fascism and Democracy, while its chauvinism is even more infectious and far-flung than the operations of their capitalism. Instead of promising a synthesis of classes, and interests of national and human welfare, it drives a wedge between them, and strives to evolve a unity, that becomes a fruitful source of jealousy, fear and quarrel.

The deficiency of Democracy, Fascism and Communism leaves the supreme problem of the age unsolved, *viz.*, how to synthesize industrial power, nationalism and internationalism. It is folly to venture a scheme of synthesis ; but yet, if the study of History could be relied on, the key positions of the future seem to be held by Democracy and Science alone, by the genius of Jean Jacques Rousseau and James Watt. Each contains the real secret of uniting the human race in goodwill and peace. For, Democracy is essentially based upon a belief in the unknown excellences of the common man, and Science, upon the rational faculty of man. Each has a universal affiliation, as also a universal utility. Springing from the sacred depths of human nature they know neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free. Clime or colour has hardly any meaning for them. Besides, in an "interdependent world"* the property of each people must be the property of all. So far they have remained the property of European peoples (or offshoots of European peoples outside Europe) chiefly because the credit of having discovered them belongs to the Europeans. They have so far exercised a monopoly-right over their discovery, since by these weapons they have dominated the world. But European domination of the world runs counter to the growing sense of a world-unity. This has produced terrific conflicts in the past and tends to produce more in the future. The recent tendency of the Japanese Foreign Office for a "Monroe Doctrine" regarding China and the Far East is a mild manifestation of that desire. (*Vide* the Report and Comment of *The Times*, London, of the 20th April 1934.) To eliminate, therefore, the fruitful source of conflict we have to replace a dominated world by a really interdependent world. And that could be accomplished only if Science and Democracy become the free property of the whole human race. Not till then, and never in the pretensions of Fascism and Communism, shall we find an effective remedy for the distemper of the age.

* Refer in this connection to the contentions of Stalin regarding the scope of "Leninism."
Leninism by Stalin—Vol. I, pp. 13 and 14. (Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1928)

* "*The Interdependent World*" by Professor Ramsay Muir is an admirable work



SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WHITE PAPER:

II. COMMERCIAL DISCRIMINATION--LEGISLATIVE

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Economics and Politics, Dacca University

THE general principles upon which the proposals of His Majesty's Government for the prevention of commercial discrimination by legislation, have been based, are the same as I have stated in my previous article in connexion with the question of administrative discrimination.

The proposals occur in clauses 122 and 123 of the White Paper They 'were intended, broadly speaking,– (*a*) to invalidate certain classes of legislation with the object of giving a general protection to all British subjects in India, whatever their domicile, against discriminatory legislation (para 122), and (*b*) by the same means to *give a more specific protection* (para 123) on a reciprocal basis to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom.'

The confidential Memorandum to which I have referred before, has elaborated what was intended under these clauses, and made the object of the Government more precise. I propose to examine the clauses together with the Memorandum in this article

General Declaration as to British Subjects

It has been proposed in sub-clause (*i*) of clause 3 of the Memorandum that the Constitution Act should contain a general declaration that no British subject (Indian or otherwise) shall be disabled in British India from holding any public office by reason only of his religion, descent, caste, colour, or place of birth, nor, on the same grounds, from practising any profession, trade or calling. When the attention of the Secretary of State was drawn by Mr. Zafarulla Khan to the sweeping nature of the proposed general declaration, and, in particular, to the fact that Indians admittedly did not enjoy in British Colonies and Dominions the rights which it was proposed to confer upon their nationals in India, the Secretary of State first referred to the Charter Act of 1833, Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and the Government of India Act, and then said, among many other things, that it had been a part of British and Indian policy in India over a century not to draw any distinction in India itself between one national of the British Empire and another and that it was on that ground that he stood in making the proposal he did. He added, however, that if any Dominion passed restrictive laws or regulations against the people of India, then it would be open to India to use the powerful instrument of negotiation, namely, the refusal of the right of entry to the nationals of the Dominion. But it may be remarked here by way of comment that this power of refusing the right of entry cannot be applied to those British subjects from Dominions who have already entered India. Presumably, they are to enjoy equal rights in India with its people.

Special provision for persons who are British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom

Sub-clause (ii) of clause 3 of the confidential Memorandum deals with the cases of British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom in so far as they are not covered by sub-clause (i) above. It has been proposed in regard to these British subjects that (1) no laws restricting the right of entry into British India shall apply to them, except in the case of "undesirable persons"; and that there shall be no statutory disabilities against them in respect of the following matters in British India, on the ground of domicile, residence, duration of residence, race, language, religion or place of birth, namely,

(a) taxation,
(b) travel and residence,
(c) the holding of property,
(d) the holding of public office, and
(e) the carrying on of any trade, business, occupation, or profession.

Special provision for companies incorporated in the United Kingdom but trading in India

As regards companies which are or may hereafter be incorporated in the United Kingdom and trading in India, it is proposed in the Memorandum [sub-clause (iii) of Clause 3], to prevent the imposition in British India of any discrimi-

tory taxation or any statutory disability upon any such company, if the incidence of that taxation or disability is based upon

(a) the place of incorporation of the Company, or

(b) the domicile, residence, duration of residence, language, race, religion, descent or place of birth of its Directors, Shareholders, or Agents, or Servants.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar raised an interesting point before the Joint Select Committee in connexion with this proposal. He asked Sir Malcolm Hailey who had been giving evidence before the Committee along with Sir Samuel Hoare, what would happen to a Company which had been incorporated in England, but which was composed mainly or entirely of Colonials coming from a country which did not give an equal treatment to Indians with its own nationals? Both Sir Malcolm Hailey and Sir Samuel Hoare admitted that there was point in what Mr. Jayakar had asked, and agreed to look into it, although they did not disguise the fact that the question raised by Mr. Jayakar was a very difficult one. There the matter stands now.

SPECIAL PROVISION FOR COMPANIES INCORPORATED IN INDIA.

In the case of a Company which is or may hereafter be incorporated in India, British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom will, it is proposed in Sub-clause (iv) of Clause 3 of the Memorandum, be deemed *ipso facto* to comply with any conditions which may be imposed by law on the Company in respect to the domicile, residence, duration of residence, language, race, religion, descent or place of birth of its Directors, Shareholders, Agents, or Servants. This proposal is subject, however, to special provisions in regard to bounties and subsidies to be stated later on.

The proposal itself is very complicated and perplexed even some of the members of the Joint Select Committee. The basis of this as well as of the previous proposal is the principle of reciprocity of treatment between Britain and India. "We undertake," said Sir Samuel Hoare, "that India will not take any action against a British Company that we here do not take against an Indian Company." The point of Sub-clause (iv) is, he continued, "to safeguard new Companies and to prevent the disabilities being inflicted upon new Companies that would not be legitimate in the case of old Companies."

Further explaining the meaning of Sub-clause (iv) to Sir Hari Singh Gour, the Secretary of State said, "This (Sub-) clause deals with the setting up of Companies in India. The Indian Legislature can make conditions, but if those conditions affect domicile, residence, duration of residence, and so on, *a United Kingdom Company incorporated in India would for that purpose count as an Indian Company*." Thus 'a person domiciled in the United Kingdom shall, notwithstanding an Indian law to the effect that he shall be domiciled in India, be deemed to be domiciled in India for the purpose of this (Sub-) clause.' And 'people who have never been out to India, even for a month, under this extended provision will get all the benefits in reference to the conditions imposed on Companies, as if they had resided, been domiciled, etc., as in this Sub-clause provided.' Thus the Sub-clause would 'prevent legislation making *requirements* in the case of Companies which would act to the prejudice of the United Kingdom residents,' and the Companies will not suffer in any way as Companies if their directors, shareholders and so forth, are United Kingdom residents instead of being residents of India. The argument was that there was no discrimination in Britain against any English Company if there was any Indian associated in it or with it. The question, however, is how many Indians are so associated! Unfortunately, there are no statistics available on this point. Even if however there is no discrimination now against any Indian as such in the United Kingdom, I should be prepared to forgo that privilege as an Indian if British Companies agree not to insist upon an equality of treatment with Indians in India in respect of commercial matters.

Moreover, Sub-clause (iv) will, as the Secretary of State admitted in his reply to a question of Sir Hari Singh Gour, prevent 'the Indian Government from reserving the coastal shipping to Indian Companies domiciled in India.' And lest there should arise any misunderstanding on this point, Sub-clause (viii) of Clause 3 of the confidential Memorandum has suggested that a provision on the following lines should be inserted in the Constitution Act:

> "Without derogation from the generality of the provisions as to discrimination, ships registered in the United Kingdom shall not be subjected by law in British India to any discrimination whatsoever, either as regards the ship or her officers or crew or her passengers or cargo, to which ships registered in British India would not be subjected in the United Kingdom."

This provision is simply an elaboration of the relevant portion of Clause 123 in the White Paper, which runs as follows:

> "Provision will be made for equal treatment on a reciprocal basis of ships registered respectively in British India and the United Kingdom."

Thus under Sub-clause (iv) and (viii) ships registered in India will have, as the Secretary of State himself admitted before the Joint Select Committee, no kind of preference over ships registered in the United Kingdom on the principle of reciprocity. But this principle of reciprocity is absolutely meaningless here as we shall see in other matters, since it is not possible for Indians to go to the United Kingdom in large numbers and compete with 'the very strong and powerful British shipping interests' there in the coastal traffic of the country. On the other hand it will mean in practice that Indian shipping, unable to compete successfully with "the all-powerful British shipping" in the coastal traffic of India, would never develop beyond what it is today and would probably be crushed in some places by competitive tactics pursued by the latter. Indeed, the competition between British shipping and Indian shipping in the coastal trade of this country will be as that between, to quote the words of Sir Phiroze Sethna, a giant and a dwarf. Special privileges will have to be granted to the latter if India is to develop its mercantile marine. It may be borne in mind in this connexion that if today, in spite of various adverse conditions like subsidised foreign competition, etc., the British Merchant Marine remains 'the largest and the most efficient instrument of sea transport in the world,'[1] the Navigation Acts of the English Parliament are not a little responsible for this. But under the proposals of the Government now under consideration, any kind of discrimination against British shipping in the coastal traffic of this Country will be automatically *ultra vires*. Even under the existing Constitution of India it has been possible for Mr. S. N. Haji to introduce into the Legislative Assembly his Bill[2] to reserve the coastal traffic of India to Indian vessels. But it will be quite *ultra vires* for the Federal Legislature of India under its proposed new constitution to entertain any such Bill. Thus the position in this respect will be much worse under the new Constitution of India than what it is today, if the proposals of the Government are given statutory form.

1. Vide Sir Archibald Hurd's (Managing Editor of "The Shipping World") article in *Daily Mail Year Book*, 1934, pp. 39-40.

2. The Bill was introduced into the Legislative Assembly on the 9th of February, 1928. Its object was 'to provide for the employment of Indian tonnage in the coastal traffic of British India and of the Continent of India,' with a view to the rapid development of an Indian Merchant Marine. Vide the *Gazette of India*, Part V, February 11, 1928.

Provisions for Reciprocity

Sub-clause (v) of clause 3 of the confidential Memorandum has suggested that if any restriction, disability or condition of the kind, and based upon any of the grounds, indicated in Sub-clauses (ii), (iii) or (iv) as stated above, is imposed by any British law affecting in the United Kingdom Indian subjects of His Majesty or Companies incorporated in India, the provisions of those Sub-clauses will not apply to any Indian law imposing in British India the like restrictions, etc., based upon the same ground.

This provision for reciprocity may be of some theoretical value but not of much practical importance. The number of industrial or trading concerns *on a large scale*, owned and managed by Indians in Britain cannot be statistically known. Assuming, however, that there are a few such firms there, their number is negligible compared with that of British trading or industrial concerns in India.

In this connexion I should like to quote the following extract from the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare given before the Joint Select Committee on November 6th, 1933:

> Sir Abdur Rahim: Secretary of State, I simply want information upon one point if you can give it to me. Are there any Indian Companies with Indian capital and directors trading in Britain?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare: I could not say off-hand. I could find out and let Sir Abdur know.
>
> Sir Abdur Rahim: Do many Indian Companies like that have offices of their own here?
>
> Sir Samuel Hoare: There must be several; how many, I cannot say.
>
> Sir Abdur: Will you kindly let me know?
>
> Sir Samuel: If the statistics are available we will get them.

There is no further reference to this question in the concluding part of the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare, and no statistics have presumably been supplied to Sir Abdur Rahim. On the 19th of August last, I myself wrote to the Secretary, Department of Commerce, Government of India, and also to the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India, inquiring about the present number of Indian Trading and Industrial concerns, etc., in the United Kingdom. The latter has kindly written to me in reply that he regrets that he has on record no information on the points raised. There are no official statistics of such Indian concerns available, because I believe that their number and size are so negligible that the matter is not perhaps worth statistical investigation by any official agency.[2a]

2a. The Secretary to the Indian Chamber of Commerce in Great Britain has kindly informed me in a letter dated the 28th September, 1934, that there are at present,

Moreover, it would be really difficult for Indians to compete with British merchants and industrialists in the United Kingdom. There are so many obstacles in their way.

The principle of reciprocity will, therefore, for all practical purposes, work to the advantage of only one party, namely, British subjects of His Majesty and British Companies trading in India. Mr. G. L. Mehta is not perhaps wrong when he says[3] that the provision for reciprocity is a joke for which its perpetrators deserve some recognition, but certainly not to the extent of securing an unhampered right to exploit Indian resources for an unlimited period of time.

These are the reasons why I have said in my previous article that the appearance of reciprocity is delusive.

RESERVATION OF BILLS WHICH, THOUGH NOT IN FORM, ARE, IN FACT, DISCRIMINATORY

Sixthly,[4] it is proposed that the Constitution Act *shall* require the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, to reserve a Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure if he considers the Bill *to be discriminatory in fact, although not so in form*, against any British subjects or British Companies in India. Under this proposal, the reservation of the Bill for the signification of the royal pleasure will be obligatory. Thus this provision will act as an additional safeguard for the protection of British commercial or industrial interests in India.

The provisions against discriminatory legislation as described above will be subject however to a few exceptions. I may mention below the really important ones:

(a) The Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, will be permitted to discriminate in the exercise of his special responsibility for the prevention of any grave menace to the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in his sphere of action.

(b) A Federal or Provincial law, which might otherwise be void on the ground of its discriminatory character, will be valid if previously declared by the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, in his discretion, to be necessary in the interests of the peace and tranquillity of India or any part thereof.

(c) *Exceptions in regard to bounties and subsidies.*

Thirdly, it is proposed that an Act, which, with a view to the encouragement of trade or industry in British India, authorizes the payment of grants, bounties, or subsidies out of public funds, *may lawfully require*, in the case of any Company not engaged in India at the time the Bounty Act was passed in the branch of trade or industry which it is proposed to encourage, as a condition of eligibility for any such grant, bounty or subsidy,--

(i) that a Company shall be incorporated by or under the laws of British India, or

(ii) *compliance with such conditions* as to the composition of the Board of Directors or as to the facilities to be given for the training of Indians, as may be prescribed by the Act.

This particular proposal is intended to give effect to the recommendations contained in paras 27 and 28 of the Report of the External Capital Committee, 1925. The authors of this Report, agreeing with the views of the Indian Fiscal Commission and the Indian Legislature that definite restrictions might be imposed in the case of Companies receiving bounties or similar definite pecuniary assistance, recommended as follows:

In the case of bounties or similar definite pecuniary assistance, we consider that restrictions might be imposed of the nature described in Section 5 of the Steel Industry Protection Act of 1924, namely,--

(1) in all cases facilities for the technical training of apprentices, and

(2) in the case of incorporated Companies—

(i) that the Companies should be registered under the Indian Companies Act of 1913 with rupee Capital, and

(ii) that a reasonable proportion[5] of the directorate should be Indian.

The proposal therefore provides for a kind of permissive discrimination against a new Company which is incorporated after there has been enacted some law granting a bounty or a subsidy. Its object is, to quote the words of Lord Reading, 'to prevent Companies coming and incorporating themselves in India for the purpose of getting a bounty or subsidy.' But this provision for permissive discrimination will not apply to Companies engaged in India in the trade or industry in question at the time the Subsidy Act was passed, and they will be eligible for such grants, bounties or subsidies equally with Indian Companies. Thus in the case of bounties, etc., 'there is a distinction drawn between existing businesses in India and future businesses in India.' The dividing line between them will be the date of the Subsidy Act and until that Act is passed there can be no insistence upon the kind of conditions set out in the Memorandum. The conditions may

as far as he knows, only 42 Indian Firms trading in the United Kingdom, including 10 Importing and Exporting Firms, 5 Exporting Firms, 5 Oriental Artware Firms, 3 Restaurants, 2 Condiment Firms, 4 Pearl Brokers' Firms, 1 Carpet Firm, and 1 Tobacco Importer's Firm, etc.

3. *Equality of Trading Rights* (p. 7), a pamphlet published in 1931.

4. Sub-clause (vi) of clause 3 of the Memorandum.

5. To be determined by the Governor-General in Council.

be imposed only upon the 'post-Subsidy Act Companies.' Explaining the ground of distinction between existing Companies and future Companies the Secretary of State stated to Sir Austen Chamberlain:

> We have felt that a distinction ought to be made, for this reason, that existing Companies have been working along existing lines for many generations, and that therefore you have got to be extremely careful in altering the conditions under which they are operating...................

In this connexion the following extract from the evidence of Sir Samuel Hoare may be of some interest to the reader:

> Marquess of Salisbury: In the future, compliance with future conditions may be imposed, may it not?
>
> Sir Samuel: Yes, after the Subsidy Act is passed.
>
> Marquess of Salisbury: So that as far as bounties on future businesses are concerned, there shall be, or may be, discrimination?
>
> Sir Samuel: To the extent of the permissive conditions that we have laid down. *Nothing would, of course, derogate from the Governor-General's special responsibility for safeguarding the position against discrimination.*
>
> Marquess of Salisbury. We are speaking of legislation all the time, of course?
>
> Sir Samuel: We are speaking of legislation all the time, certainly.
>
> Marquess of Salisbury: *And under the Legislative provisions, he can always veto, if he likes?*
>
> Sir Samuel. Yes, *the power of veto remains* Constitutionally also, under his special responsibilities under paragraph 18 (of the White Paper Proposals), he could intervene either in the field of legislation or the field of administration. *There is no distinction drawn between his action in the one or the other.*

Thus it is clear from the above that in case of necessity, the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, will exercise the power of veto for safeguarding the interests of British commerce in India.

DOMINIONS

Although under Sub-clause (i) of clause 3 of the Memorandum British subjects as such are to enjoy the general protection in India that 'there can be no disability imposed upon any subject of the Crown,' yet the object of the special provisions as stated before, is 'first and foremost and indeed, simply, to protect the citizens of the United Kingdom.' And it has been specially noted in clause 5 of the confidential Memorandum that Sub-clause (ii) of clause 3 thereof will not apply to British subjects domiciled elsewhere in the Empire than the United Kingdom, and, in particular, will not debar the Indian Legislatures from imposing conditions upon, or restricting, the entry of such persons into India. Thus a distinction has been drawn between the British Nationals of the United Kingdom and the Nationals of Dominions and of the other parts of the Empire. The Secretary of State made this definitely clear in his reply to a question of Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, a member of the Joint Select Committee. He said:

> The Dominions, of course, are equally entitled with any British Nationals to the general protection against discrimination and disability. In the case, however, in which Great Britain, from the fact of its long association with India, is receiving for itself *reciprocal* treatment with India there we felt that it was a matter of negotiation between the Dominions and the Government of India as to whether they should receive the additional advantages of reciprocity or not. It is therefore for the Dominions to negotiate agreements with India either upon the lines upon which we are making this agreement or upon other lines.

Further, he said that in each case there must be a separate agreement.

This principle, which will also apply to other parts of the Empire, is in complete accord with the following recommendation of the Indian Round Table Conference made at its second session:

> It will be for the future Indian Legislature to decide whether and to what extent such rights (*i.e.*, the right to enter and trade with India) should be accorded to others than individuals resident in the United Kingdom or Companies registered there, subject of course to similar rights being accorded to residents in India and to Indian Companies.

It is not clear, however, from this recommendation how the Indian Legislature is to deal with those nationals of Dominions who have already entered India and started their businesses here. Presumably, they are, as I have already hinted, to enjoy equal rights in India with its people.

In conclusion, I should like to state that, although any kind of discrimination, either in legislation or in administration, on purely racial grounds should be avoided, the proposals of His Majesty's Government as explained above have gone too far. The specific commercial safeguards embodied in them are intended to act 'as an insurance against anything going wrong,' lest goodwill should not be forthcoming one side or the other. But if they are incorporated in the Constitution Act, they will undoubtedly retard the growth of Indian industries and Indian Commerce in this country. I mean by "Indian industries" and "Indian Commerce" industries and commerce owned and managed by Indians. As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar have rightly said in their Memorandum regarding the proposed new Constitution of India, dated the 27th

December, 1932, 'for the future development of Indian Industries, many of which are struggling in an impoverished condition, it is absolutely necessary to leave in the hands of the Central and Provincial Governments enough power to initiate, subsidise, and protect industries which can be briefly described as key or infant industries, even if such initiation, subsidy, or protection should occasionally look like discrimination.' But this will not be possible under the proposals of the Government. Besides, there is the danger of non-Indian industrial enterprises being established in India behind the tariff wall which its Legislature has gradually been raising for the protection and development of its indigenous industries. After all, if we Indians have asked for protection we have done so, as Pandit Malaviya has stated in his Note of Dissent appended to the Report of the External Capital Committee, 1925, in order to promote Indian enterprises with Indian Capital and under Indian control. Further, I must say that self-government for India will be a myth if it is not to have the "power to devise and follow a national economic policy, including the right, if its interests so required it, of making economic discrimination against non-national interests." Moreover, as Mr. G. L. Mehta has aptly observed, what is fundamentally objectionable is the constitutional restriction on the inherent right of an Indian Legislature to pursue whatever economic policy it considers desirable and essential in the interest of the people of this country. Such restriction upon the legislative competence of the Parliament of a Dominion is unthinkable today.

Lastly, what is *intra vires* for the Indian Legislature now will be *ultra vires* hereafter for the Federal Legislature of India, if the proposed commercial safeguards are incorporated—as they are likely to be in its Constitution Act.

INDIANS ABROAD

Indian Repatriates of Akra

Harrowing tales about the plight of the repatriated Indians who are at Akra, have been published in the Press from time to time. About 500 repatriated, of whom nearly 40 per cent are children,—most of whom are colonial born, are on the verge of starvation if they are not already starving. They have no ostensible means of livelihood and public charity has unfortunately expended itself five or six months ago.

Even at Akra there is ample evidence of loss of morale on the part of these countrymen of ours. The pity of it is that nearly 100 persons in this camp are on the wrong side of 60. I have myself seen an old man of about 65 actually dying attended by his aged spouse without any medical assistance or other comfort. I have examined their cooking establishments and it is terribly distressing to confess that they are subsisting on a few handfuls of rice, which they succeeded in collecting from neighbourly people.

No words can adequately describe the plight of 500 colonial Indians who are now huddled together without any ostensible means of support at Akra.

Mr. G. S. Bajpai has told the Legislative Assembly on numerous occasions that the Government are watchful of the miseries of these people and that relief measures are undertaken from time to time. I am not denying the utility of the Bajagarah scheme which supplies temporary employment to a few of these people and which to a certain extent relieves the confession at Akra, but I want emphatically to declare that these 500 'left outs' are now in the worst condition and they may be graded into defiant action if immediate measures of relief are not undertaken

RELIEVING DISTRESS

I have before me several cuttings from the *New Daily Chronicle* of George Town, British Guiana, where this matter was taken up with considerable avidity. It is unfortunate to realize from one of the interviews given by the Hon. A. E. Sreeram, the Indian representative in the British Guiana Legislative Council, that he does not believe that these people are actually starving nor can I lend myself to believing 'that the Indian Government would be so unkindly disposed as not to exercise the same paternal care for these people.'

No doubt Sir Edward Berham, the Governor of British Guiana, has promised to consider measures for the retransplantation of these Indians at Akra back to the soil of the colony, and I have much reason to believe that, provided the Government of India readily agrees, some sort

of speedy arrangements can be made towards relieving the distress of these people.

It was more than seven years ago that the Nuhan-Lukhoo deputation came to this country from British Guiana seeking for the support of the Government of India for Indian immigrants in their country. Why does not the Government view the present situation at Akra with the gravest concern and allow these people to go back to British Guiana?

I myself had been in Malaya last year and can claim to know the conditions existing in that country. I have also inquired of the Akra repatriates about their willingness to go back to Malaya as labourers, and they with one voice assured me that they would go anywhere on any wage provided they are saved from actual starvation and slow-sinking death.

Tapping Work

I have been able to ascertain from these people as to their ability in doing tapping work on Malayan rubber estates. Quite a good few of them indicated their previous experiences in British Guiana and elsewhere of work of this kind. Everyone of them confessed eagerness to pick up this new kind of work in Malaya and to settle down there. Immigration to Malaya has been permitted since the past few weeks and the Malayan Government will pay the passage of these people provided the Government of India move forthwith and come to an agreement with the Government of Malaya on this question. The British Guiana scheme and Malaya scheme are to my mind the most important avenues for useful work being turned out today.

Less than a couple of weeks ago Babu Suklal Karnani informed the Akra inmates that they would have to break up the camp and hand over his properties to him. The matter is now in the hands of the police outpost at Matiabruz.

The repatriates sent in petitions to the effect that if they are driven out of Akra they will have to face innumerable difficulties since, being colonial-born, they are subject to social ostracism by the people in the villages. The pity of it is that nearly 96 per cent of these 500 people are Indians.

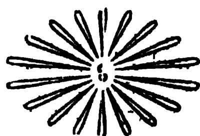
I have already seen evidence of the accommodating spirit which the police have shown towards these unfortunate individuals. The greatest calamity would be witnessed in Akra if these repatriates are evicted. I appeal to the Government of India and to the nation to take immediate steps towards a peaceful and honourable liquidating of the Akra Problem. I refuse to believe that India cannot support or find means of supply for 500 mouths.

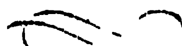
During the past few months several developments have taken place at Akra. The following extract from a letter dated 14th September sent to me by one of these repatriates indicates the fearful position obtaining there:

> "Most respectfully I beg to write your honour the following few lines expressing, that the condition of our people is as miserable as possible. On the one hand, as is the case with the Behar earthquake sufferers, the people here in the Akra Camp are suffering from direct scarcity of food. On the other, a terrible visitation of Malaria fever has overtaken them, for the last two months. So this fatal disease has been raging here with appalling fury committing fearful devastation. At first it broke out in the west and south corners of the Akra Camp and then spread with astonishing rapidity, entering almost every house and carrying off a part of every family in the affected quarters. The same house has, in many instances, contained the dying and the dead. Short indeed is the interval between health and sickness. Only few people take the funeral to the burial ground. This is because others' health is out of condition. Words are quite inadequate to describe the shock-scenes to be witnessed In short, the place presents an aspect of woe and desolation, truly appalling. To add to the misery of the distressed, they are now forsaken by their friends and relatives. Many applications had been sent to the Government authorities to this effect, but up to this moment, nothing has been taken into effect"

There is only one practical suggestion I can make. Provided generous-hearted patriots of Calcutta raise a subscription and pay for the transport of the Akra Indians from Calcutta to Madras, they might be assisted to emigrate to Malaya where there is ample scope for employment. I hope that this last appeal will not be fruitless.

LANKA SUNDARAM





COMMENTS & CRITICISM

To

The Editor, *The Modern Review*

Sir,

In the September issue of your journal while discussing Muslim representation in the services you made the following observation:

"As the British Government is desperately in need of supporters for its imperialistic policy, Muslim Indians have seized the opportunity. But why do the All-India Muslim Conference and All-India Muslim League use the words "justice and fair-play" in the resolution in which unwarranted, unjust and selfish demands relating to the service are made?"

I can't understand what else can justify an observation like this other than anti-Muslim propaganda. Justice and fair-play certainly demand the adequate representation of the Mussalmans in the services who were till recently almost shut up from employment in Government Services. The policy pursued by the British Government after the down-fall of Muslim Rule in India helped to a great extent the dumping of qualified Hindus in the service-market. "The truth is," writes Sir W. W. Hunter, "that when the country passed under our rule, the Mussalmans were the superior race, and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organization, and in the science of practical Government. Yet the Muhammadans are now shut out equally from Government employ and from the higher occupations of non-official life." "The neglect and contempt with which, for half a century, the Muhammadan population of Lower Bengal has thus been treated, have left their marks deep in recent Indian literature. The former Conquerors of the East are excluded from our Oriental journals and libraries as well as from the more active careers in life. The old Courts of Directors wisely shared its favours between Mussalmans and Hindus, and the admirable Arabic and Persian scholarship displayed in the earlier series of the Bibliotheca Indica was merely the literary representative of this political impartiality. But during the last fifty years the Hindus have extruded the Muhammadans alike from State literature and State employ . . . ." *(Our Indian Mussalman* by W. W. Hunter).

The British people have gradually realized the wrongs done to the Indian Mussalmans and the Government has by reserving 25 per cent of the services for the Mussalmans shown the gesture of "justice and fair-play".

You may dub the Indian Muslim as pawns in the game of Imperialism because they refuse to be camp-followers of the Hindus. We want democracy and not Caste rule.

Yours faithfully,
Syed Jalauddin Hussain Sekandar

Calcutta, 25h September, 1934

Editorial Note.—The writer has ascribed to us a wrong motive. Our desire is that in India, as in all other civilized countries, appointments in the public service should go to the best qualified men. That is a principle which is good for the nation and all its component communities and classes.

As for the extracts from Hunter's book, we have not cared to consider them in their context. It is maybe a fact that there was a time when Muslims could not get as many jobs in Government offices as they desired. But for that state of things, their inability to adapt themselves to the new educational requirements was responsible. Because in some previous decades they could secure only a small number of posts in the public services, for that reason there can be no justification now for reserving for them, irrespective of their comparative merit, a larger proportion of appointments in the public services than their proportion in the population, *in addition to* what they can get in open competition. A stronger case for reserving for the Hindus and other non-Muslims a much larger proportion of appointments in the public services can be made out by following our correspondent's line of argument.

Mr. S. M. Hussain, M.A., D. Phil, (Oxon), writing on 'Islamic Education in Bengal' in the *Islamic Culture* for July, 1934, says:

"With the object of turning out recruits for public service and for the legal profession, the Calcutta Madrassah was established by Warren Hastings in 1781. Muslim Law and Persian naturally formed the main course of study in it. The Madrassah splendidly fulfilled the object for which it was established and its alumni *monopolized* posts of trust and responsibility under the Government. The Mussalmans thus continued to retain their *due share* in the administration of the country and its public life." (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

If, as Dr. S. M. Hussian asserts, Mussalmans for a time "monopolized posts of trust and responsibility under the Government," non-Mussalmans may claim to be compensated for their exclusion at that time by being given the monopoly of such posts at least for a similar period!

Further the figures given in Hunter's book show that the Hindus did *not* monopolize the higher ranks of services; the Muhammadans did get a share not far removed from their population ratio, if only the Hindus and the Muhammadans are considered



INDIA

By The Rt. Hon. GEORGE LANSBURY, P. C., M. P.

A Socialist Government will have very many difficult national questions to deal with. None of these will be more urgent or less difficult than the problem of India.

The Labour Movement is pledged to grant not self-government only, but self-determination to that great nation. One of the best pieces of work carried through by the Labour Government was setting Mahatma Gandhi free and bringing him as an honoured welcome member to the Round Table Conference. I do not object to the criti ism of those who say we have no right to claim to have kept our promises to the Indian people when (as they say) we put 50,000 Indians into prison, most of them without a trial. There is truth in that; even so, Lord Irwin and Wedgwood Benn never forgot that their main task was not coercion but conciliation. Though they did what all Governments do to maintain order, at the same time they made it clear that they considered the use of force a grim necessity, but understood that force was no remedy. Even while Gandhi and his friends were in prison they carried on negotiations under the most difficult conditions, and finally succeeded in gathering together the most representative conference of Indians ever held.

The Labour Government was driven out of office. The India Conference closed down never to be re-opened on the same representative basis. A Committee representing both Houses of Parliament, while I write this, is considering a White Paper submitted by the Government. This White Paper represents the proposals which the present Government will embody in legislation for the future government of India. I do not propose to discuss these proposals. As far as I can gather, all that is vocal and representative in India rejects the scheme as quite unsatisfactory. What sense, then, is there in discussing it?

Meantime, I am informed by all my Indian friends and by my English friends who have lately visited India that the economic condition of the masses goes from bad to worse; that millions are living lives of malnutrition and semi-starvation. The British Trades Union Movement has done splendid service, through its members on the Whitley Commission and the deputation it sent to India, in proving that apart from all questions of political change, the social conditions of the workers cry aloud for redress. George Hicks, David Grenfell, and other Labour M. P.s have impressed this side of Indian life on the Commons. No one denies the truth of this indictment. The official defence comes to no more than saying, "It might be worse."

I shall not attempt to prove that no Englishman has done any good in India. I gladly pay my tribute of homage and respect to the thousands of men and women who as civil servants, medical missionaries, and in many other ways have done their best to mitigate the ravages wrought by disease, evil customs, and starvation. Even so, in India, as in England, the charity which loving hearts bestow can never take the place of justice. The Salvation Army and other organizations spend huge sums of money here and give untiring devotion and work, striving to make life more bearable for slum dwellers. But none of us think this is any reason why slums should exist or should prevent us from doing all in our power to sweep the conditions which create slums and destitution off the face of the earth.

When we admire the hard work of those British who have tried to help the Indians, we must remember the true picture of Indian conditions. We must bear in mind the fact that every penny of wealth drawn from India to pay salaries, pensions and allowances to the multitude of British officials, soldiers, civil servants, viceroys, governors of provinces, etc., comes from a nation of 300,000,000 people, most of whom live at a standard of life which reduces vitality almost to vanishing point. Also, let us never forget that in making great reservoirs, building railway tracks and creating the New Delhi, the British

take a very considerable toll from India in the shape of interest on loans and dividends for companies. These "benefits of British rule" are benefits paid for in hard cash, and well paid, too. This tribute is almost entirely spent outside India. I have tried to get figures to show what this total drain is, but no reliable figures are as yet available. But that a nation so rich and bountiful in the possession of natural resources should be so poverty-stricken, is a fact that should make every Englishman have the deepest suspicions.

Roman conquerors settled in their territories. They treated backward nations like ourselves very harshly, and often inflicted forced labour. But in those days the wealth wrung from the natives was largely spent in the country. Irish landlordism was one degree worse because rents were spent abroad, by landlords who never saw their estates. British and French loans to Ismail Pasha, the sometime Khedive of Egypt, were spent likewise in the haunts of gambling and vice outside that country. Britain as an Imperial power draws huge sums from India, and this is spent just as absentee landlords would spend it away from where it is earned. Much of the wealth of all of us comes to us in this way and is strictly parasitical. We shall have to be prepared to give this up, and we shall also have to leave the Indians to provide their own civil service, army and other services.

None of our fathers who conquered India went there to make her prosperous. They went for purposes of robbery with violence or—with the more civilized—as traders out to make a very large profit. Clive and Warren Hastings and all the long list of viceroys have been expected from the moment they took office to foster British prosperity. From time to time they would stop to assure the Indians that the interests of both nations are identical just as other people repeat the equally foolish phrase about the interests of capital and labour being the same. Of course, intelligent people who are intellectually honest know this is quite untrue. Not even Indian Capitalists believe it. Now that India has entered the field of Capitalism, and coal mining is in full swing, Indian Capitalists say their first need is protection by means of tariffs against British competition.

The over-riding fact which I desire to emphasize is that side by side with the political problem, there is the basic economic problem of the condition of the people, which means that a Socialist Government in power will have to face the terrific problem of how to keep millions of people alive while the future government and administration of India is being settled. We will be obliged to take on many of the financial burdens now being borne by these starving multitudes, and we shall be called upon to spend our own substance in efforts to create a new social order in villages and townships.

None of this work can be efficiently done by aliens—that is, by us. Indians may ask our help, but in the main if village life is to be restored and made of service, then the people who alone can do the job will be Indians. The terrible pity is that young India, like young Ireland during my generation, devotes so much time to politics that these conditions do not receive the attention they deserve. Indians will find, as Jawaharlal Nehru has told them, that they must turn their attention to the economic demands of the Indian masses as well as to their political needs.

What then is to be Labour's policy over here? Nothing new. We must stick to our oft-repeated statement that it is for India to decide whether she will join us as a partner, or break the connection and become a foreign power. The British governing class has received great benefits from India. The Indian Civil Service, the Native States, the Army, have all found for its sons innumerable well-paid posts and pensions. We ought to be willing to pay back some of the debt we owe. I am sure that the Socialist movement will only ask for partnership on terms of mutual aid and service to each other. We shall ask that the tie which binds us together will be one not of domination, but of brotherhood.

As to what form the Government of India should take: this must be settled by Indians themselves. There is not the least likelihood that any scheme formulated in London will ever be voluntarily accepted, and in this matter it is imperative that any scheme should be freely worked by Indians. All we have to consider is how we can best secure the drafting of such a scheme. We Socialists have

declared that Indians must themselves choose whether to remain with us or no. How shall we settle this and the question of future government? I have come definitely to the conclusion that Annie Besant's scheme is the only way. She advocated the plan adopted in relation to Australia. Then Britain gave the Australian States the task of drawing up their Federal Constitution and merely endorsed it afterwards. Some years ago, Dr Besant and a group of representative Indians with the valuable assistance of our good friend and life-long champion of India, David Graham Pole, drew up a Commonwealth of India Bill which Harry Snell, John Scurr and myself and others introduced in the House of Commons. Our contention was that this scheme, with such minor modifications as Parliament should impose, would make a definite advance along the road to Dominion status. But the Bill never got a second reading. Now, years after, Englishmen are drafting schemes, which, as I say, and as they know, are certain of rejection. There is only one way out for a Socialist Government. We should summon or ask Indians themselves to summon a Constituent Assembly and hand over to that assembly the task of deciding the future government of India.

This is both logical and common sense. By this means we do give self-determination and self-government. There will certainly be an out-cry that "the Assembly will be captured by the extremists." Certainly Conservatives will raise that cry. But they will have far worse things to cry out about, for our own House of Commons will have been captured by "extremists" themselves. Do not let us be frightened by noise.

More serious criticism will come from people who assure us that the racial and religious sects will never agree. This is not true. The one thing that is clear from recent history is that an outside power like ourselves never can secure harmony here. Only an Indian state stands any chance of doing so.

The main point for us is to make up our minds that we shall be prepared to leave to Indians the task of deciding with whom she will or will not federate, and the sort of federal government she will set up within her own dominions.

She might follow America and set up autonomous states, federated with the Centre; or she might choose government from the Centre. This is for them, not for us, to decide. I am certain that if those who speak for the Indian states and India under British rule are once convinced that they have free choice to remain with us or leave us, they will, on terms, desire to remain. That is of course, if we have been able to convince them that self-government means that Indians do manage Indian affairs just as Australia and Canada manage theirs.

We of the Labour Party have agreed with this, and have added the further stipulation that such membership must be the free will act of India.

Given equal status with all other Dominions, the people of India under the Statute of Westminster have the unequivocal right either to remain with us or go out. The Labour Movement in supporting the right of choice for India is only asking for her the same rights as those enjoyed by other Dominions.

The issues are already decided, and written down in official documents. All we have to do is to make up our minds to do what has been promised. The sands of time are running out. This nation of 300,000,000 people, occupying territory as large as Europe without Russia, awaits the coming to power of the Labour Party with its Socialist policy of democracy and freedom. I hope we shall be worthy of their faith and confidence. We have learned for ourselves that the true test of success in government is not the pomp and majesty of courts, armies and autocrats. The well-being of nations will be found in love and comradeship. The people of the East are awakening. We are alien in religion and race, yet we eat and drink, wake and sleep, suffer pain and sickness, poverty and crime together. We are part of each other, children of one Father.

It is our God-given opportunity to wipe away the legal and other measures which prevent India entering of her own free will, into the family of nations. Let us all see that we do all that in us lies to ensure that opportunity shall not be lost because of ignorance or fear.*

* *My England* (Chapter XIII "India", pp 168-175). By the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, P. C., M. P. (Published by Selwyn & Blount Ltd. London. October 1934.)

LONDON LETTER :

The Political Party Conferences, The Shadow of the General Election, Conservative Conference Resolutions, The Vote on India, No fighting Lead. Mining Accidents, Miners' Hours, Miners' Wages, Slum Landlords, The Labour Conference, Peace and Disarmament, Mussolini on Disarmament

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

THE POLITICAL PARTY CONFERENCES

SUMMER is over, holidays are ended, and the two chief political parties in England, the Conservative Party and the Labour Party, have just been holding their annual Conferences. It is a time of general stock-taking, of affairs at home and abroad, and everyone has an ear to the ground. For we seem to be living in more than usually anxious and challenging times.

No summer, surely, has seen so many disasters. Railway and flying accidents have followed one upon the other. A terrible typhoon has devastated part of Japan. The burning of the American ship, the Morro Castle, while on a pleasure cruise, was the worst shock since the Titanic. Most tragic of all was the fire at Gresford Colliery which trapped more than two hundred miners and even killed some of their would-be rescuers.

In the world at large there seems to be very little to smile about. The Depression may be over but Unemployment remains where it was before. The Disarmament Conference is neither dead nor alive and meantime all the nations are re-arming. In Europe Fascism, that irresponsible beggar on horseback, is doing its best to ride to the devil In the Far East, Japan's imperialism has embroiled her with Russia on the Asiatic mainland and is embroiling her with America in the Pacific.

As if all this were not enough, we are on the verge of great international decisions that must be made The future of Austria has somehow to be safe-guarded. In January 1935 the fate of the Saar district will be decided by plebiscite. Sometime in 1935 there will be held a Naval Conference, and all the signs are that it will break down over the 5-5-3 ratio (which at present rules for Britain, America, and Japan) because Japan is demanding parity.

Still, the world is not quite comfortless. The cause of Peace has been strengthened in a few directions. Russia has joined the League of Nations. The King of Jugo-Slavia is trying to reconcile the Balkan States with one another. The enquiry in America into the Private Manufacture of Armaments has shed a lot of daylight on armament races between nations, and the ways in which they are promoted by private manufacturers.

THE SHADOW OF THE GENERAL ELECTION

At the moment of writing the Party Conferences, having just concluded, are occupying most of the news. The Labour Party opened first at Southport and the Conservatives followed later at Bristol. For some reason the Labour Party always takes the inside of a week for its discussions, while the Conservatives seem to be able to do on two days !

These Conferences have been eagerly awaited for all sorts of reasons. For one thing it seems to be the universal opinion that the General Election will come next year—perhaps in the autumn, but it can hardly be postponed beyond the Spring of 1936. In such circumstances statements of policy by political leaders are no longer of utopian but of urgent interest. Indeed one unkind Liberal newspaper has just remarked of the present Government: "All the plans for the coming Parliamentary Session are to be made by the Government with an eye on the general election. It will be twelve months of window-dressing with an elaborate display of attractive 'dummies' in the front to dazzle the public."

But if the Government has some nice dummies in reserve, none of them travelled in the train with them to Bristol. This year's Conservative Conference must be amongst the dullest and most reactionary on record. We were told to wait for Mr. Baldwin's speech, were told that it would give a real fighting lead. But it didn't make any impression at all. It was about as comfortable and lacking in definition as an eiderdown. "Writing with deliberation," says Mr. A. J. Cummings who, since he reported the trial of the Vickers engineers in Moscow, has been recognized as one of the astutest of political observers, "I would

describe his speech as the emptiest and most jejune I have ever heard from a prominent political leader, not omitting the present Prime Minister at his worst."

Conservative Conference Resolutions

The speech by the leader of the Conservative Party should have been of exceptional importance. For, apart from all the heraldings it had been given in advance there were last moment reasons to give it extra point. The delegates to this year's Conference had turned out to be more than usually die-hard and unsympathetic. Their only human proposal was for a national lottery! Otherwise, they voted for increasing the power of the House of Lords; for increasing armaments; for compensating the slum landlord (of which more later). And, having handed all these bouquets (or boomerangs) to their own class, they at the same time threw obstacles in the way of India's advance to freedom.

The Vote on India

It is for their vote on the Indian question that the 1934 Bristol Conference of the Conservative Party will go down to history. As all the world now knows, the Conference very nearly gave an adverse vote on the Government's India policy. Sir Henry Page Croft, in a very bitter speech, had moved a resolution urging the Government "to assent to no proposals which would imperil the future of India." His speech obviously expressed the fancy of the Conservative delegates; and when the Executive moved an amendment "to refrain from making a pronouncement until the report of the Joint Select Committee had been received," it scraped through by the merest chance and only really by a fluke. In all, the amendment was put to the Conference three times. With a first show of hands, it seemed to be lost. With a second show of hands, the *Chairman* said it was carried. This led to a ballot being demanded, and only then did the amendment come out on top—with the tiny majority of 23! There voted for the amendment 543 and against it 520. But, and this is the heart of the matter, about 700 delegates did not vote at all. This 700, of course, will be disputed. But the official apologists cannot have it both ways. On the day before the India debate the Press had been informed that nearly 2,000 delegates were attending the Conference As they say, if the 700 is disputed the sum does not work out.

No Fighting Lead

The Conservative Party then has once more shown that it will never know in time the things which belong unto peace. But Mr. Baldwin has often spoken as if he did know ("Give peace in our time, oh Lord!" he once said in the House of Commons). Surely in his speech at Bristol therefore, on the day following that blind-hearted vote, he should have stood up to that vote and made a confession of his faith with regard to the future of India—have given those delegates something to chew upon, and India some guidance as to what that vote really amounts to. But instead of recalling the Conference to considerations of policy, he enlarged on the question of leaders and loyalties and the democratic approach thereto. It is the curse of the age that men follow leaders instead of principles.

As for the rest of his speech, it flitted over various urgent matters—unemployment, hours of labour, slum clearance. Nowhere was the fighting lead apparent. Action was promised "at the first opportunity" in the matter of the distressed areas. In this connection, perhaps, the Government has up its sleeve one of those afore-mentioned dummies. The four commissioners who investigated the distressed areas reported long ago. Their reports have been held up from publication for such ages that everyone has been asking how in the circumstances any useful action could be taken on them this winter. But perhaps they are to come into the shop window to grace the opening of the last session before the General Election.

Mining Accidents

On the subject of the shorter working week, the Conservative leader had nothing new to say. Once more we were told that the time has not yet come to adopt the Geneva Convention. Not yet come in these days of ever-increasing mechanization! But he "would like to see it in operation in the Mining Industry."

This really does call for comment—especially when the fire at Gresford Colliery is such a recent reminder of what a miner's life can be like In the first place it was Mr. Baldwin's own Conservative Government which, in 1926, put an extra hour on to the miner's working day.

The Mining Industry is in its nature an exceptional one and calls for exceptional consideration. On July 4th this year, long before the Gresford disaster, Official Reports were issued by the Mining Inspectors for Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, the North Riding of Yorkshire, parts of Lancashire, North and South Derbyshire, Leicestershire and the ironstone mines of Northants and Lincolnshire. These Reports pointed out "a disturbing increase" in the number of fatal and non-fatal accidents. In September, commenting on the Gresford fire, one authority wrote: "The price of coal in human life is nearly 1,000 killed every year and 150,000 injured. The latter number is the size of our first British Expeditionary Force." (But for the miners, their war is still going on.)

It is unfortunately the case that the provision of safety devices in the mines is largely haphazard and left to the choice of the mineowners. Much more is going to be heard on

this subject and it is to be hoped that Parliament has at last been shocked into doing its utmost to regularize the position. But perhaps, in passing, one suggestion which has been made is worth putting on record. This suggestion is that preferential rates of insurance should be given to a mine in accordance with the provision of safety devices made in that mine. Preferential rates should not as now depend on the accident rate: accidents may be rare in a given mine for one reason or another, but a combination of circumstances might bring about an exceptional disaster—and all circumstances should be provided against. Merit insurance, as it is called, should be the only form of Insurance in operation in the Mines.

Miners' Hours

But all the experts who have made themselves familiar with the problems of the mining industry are agreed that, in the last resort, it is the human factor that is the most important. Indeed in the anxious life underground, so important is it that everyone should be sensitive and alert to what is happening to the mine at every passing moment, that even the pit ponies have played an essential part in sensing danger.

All are agreed that safety in the mine depends on the efficiency and awareness of the miner. Yet we know that accidents are more frequent during the last hour of the shift—and how can we dare to say that the time has not yet come to shorten the miner's hours?

Miners' Wages

While he was glancing at the Mining Industry, Mr Baldwin might have given a thought to the miners' wages and the strike which has only just been averted in South Wales. The men were asking for a restoration of the cut made in their pay in 1931. Their claim was backed up by that National Industrial Coal Board. And even if the cut were to be restored in full, the real wages of the lowest paid miner would still be lower than in 1914. The public are always fogged about the miners' wages because they hear that the miner gets say 7-6d a day and they multiply it by seven. But the truth is of course that very many miners are only working two or three days a week. Some of them are only bringing home £1 a week! In such cases, perhaps, they seek assistance from public sources. What gratitude on the part of the public to see their miners in such a pass! But supposing that even with such assistance their money adds up to the amount of the dole. Is that a suitable reward for men engaging in the most dangerous and arduous of industries? How can it be enough to fit them for the toil and anxieties laid on them? Even if they worked a full week the miners, at the present rates per shift, would be receiving a miserably inadequate wage.

But coal-getting and money-getting cannot go together. And the story of how men have tried to make profits out of coal is probably one of the most discreditable and sickening in the world. It begins badly with the royalties paid to owners of the land in which coal has been found a tribute exacted by the landowners in return for no service on their part whatever.

Then consider the scandal of the position of the Fireman in the mine. Explosions in the mine arise from an increase in the percentage of gas in the mine. It is the duty of the Fireman to see that this percentage does not rise above 2½ per cent, and if it does he must withdraw the men. Yet this same Fireman is also given the duty of keeping up the output of coal! In other words, it is in his interest to keep the men at work in the mine as long as possible. How this works out in practice is indicated by a letter which appeared in the Press this week from one such ex-fireman. During the third week on the job, he writes, he discovered a quantity of gas in a certain working area. When making his daily report, however, he was "told by a superior to put down only a small quantity of gas, instead of giving the full figures." And he adds: "Owing to my refusal to do this, I lost my situation."

But the Conservative Conference worries very little about these things. At both the Conservative Conference at Bristol and the Labour Conference at Southport a collection was taken up in aid of the dependents of the dead Gresford miners. It is surely expressive of the approach of the two Parties to these questions that the 2000 Conservative delegates only contributed between them £50 while the 800 Labour delegates managed to raise £131.

Slum Landlords

The Conservatives were only roused to enthusiasm when they heard Sir Henry Page Croft downing freedom in India; Viscount Wolmer advocating increasing the power of the House of Lords; Mr. Neville Chamberlain hinting darkly at secret plans for strengthening our armaments; and when, amid cries of "Hilton Young resign!", they passed a resolution calling on the Government to be sure and compensate the slum landlords.

Sir Hilton Young once delivered himself of the sentiment that slum landlords had no more right to be compensated for their bad houses than butchers had to be compensated for the sale of bad meat. This the Conservatives, or the delegates they sent to the Conference, have never forgotten. Have they ever, one wonders, heard of the Potteries? In the Potteries the death-rate from consumption is 34 per cent higher than for England and Wales as a whole. It is 60 per cent higher than for the surrounding county of Staffordshire. And here is the reason. According to a Report published by the

Burslem and District Co-operative Party, "One out of every six houses in the Potteries is unfit for human habitation, and one out of every five persons is living in houses which have been condemned for many years."

In Liverpool this last week a mother of nine children, who lived with her family in *two rooms*, died in child-birth. Ever since 1915 this woman had been applying to the Council for a house. On the day that she died a notice was received that she would be given the first four-roomed house available. Available! This scandal was revealed by a Liverpool Labour woman Councillor, Mrs. Braddock, who also stated that she was informed by the Medical Officer who attended the dead woman that "It was possible that the woman would not have died had proper housing conditions been provided for her."

Sir Hilton Young, in conference with the Plymouth City Council a week ago, foreshadowed a new housing drive, more especially in the matter of overcrowding. It is also prophesied that a young and lusty Housing Minister may be one of the other dummies in the shop window. A dummy it must remain so long as we are confronted by apathy such as seems to prevail amongst local councillors in Liverpool and the Potteries and not only there. Apathy encouraged now by an instruction from the Conservative Conference to see that slum landlords are compensated. And be it noted that in his speech at the close of the Conservative Conference Mr. Baldwin said that he would see what could be done to remove their anxiety.

THE LABOUR CONFERENCE

If the Conservative Conference at Bristol showed the Party, within a year of the General Election, more reactionary than ever, the Labour Party Conference at Southport talked as if they were within sight of office already! This in spite of the fact that, according to one observer, the tacit opinion is that "before a Labour Administration returns to Downing Street, the Party in Parliament will have to trudge stoutly over at least six years of Opposition sand."

From the point of view of taking office, the Executive must be very pleased with the expeditious manner in which the Conference annihilated Sir Stafford Cripps and his Socialist Leaguers. The trouble with the Socialist Leaguers is that they have learned too much from their Conservative opponents and the use they make of Emergency Powers Acts and Orders in Council. They would like to proceed in a similarly undemocratic manner. Believing quite sincerely that Labour can never create a socialist system within the Capitalist State they would like, so soon as Labour is returned to office, to put their schemes into force by a series of emergency decrees. In this way they would proceed to take over the banks and the basic industries and to smight the House of Lords. In his speech to the Conference Sir Stafford Cripps even suggested that this would have to be done in a week or two if a Labour Government were to survive!

The answer to this quixotic proposal is, of course, the answer to all legislation or reforms imposed from the top. They never last. Because they have no roots, they wither away. And, however much you may disguise it, the sanction for such legislation will only be *force*. The evolutionary, democratic path may be terribly slow, but it is the only abiding and successful way.

Be this as it may, the Labour Party Conference voted down the Socialist League by 2,146,000 votes to 206,000. And the next day they completed the disarming of the Leaguers by admitting Sir Stafford Cripps to the Party Executive. As one critic wittily observed, they smacked him one day and gave him a bun the next!

PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

But the event which will make the Southport Conference memorable was the adoption of Labour's peace and disarmament policy. This was carried by 1,953,000 votes against 269,000. This policy, in the words of Major Attlee, M.P., who spoke for the Executive, deliberately places world order before loyalty towards country. This means that the Labour Party places the League of Nations and collective peace above national armaments. Lord Hailsham, the Minister for War in the National Government, has seen fit to attack the Labour Party and to pretend that their policy is a threat to patriotism and loyalty to King and country. But the truth is that in putting world order before private loyalties the Labour Party is only re-affirming the ideals to which we are pledged in the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact. As even the *Times* admits, they are but following "the professed aim, not of one particular party, or of one particular Government, but of every country which belongs to the League of Nations." To quote Nurse Cavell's last words that have an abiding place on her monument in London: "Patriotism is not enough."

The debate on peace and disarmament touched a very high level and this was due to the presence of Mr. Arthur Henderson, the President of the Disarmament Conference. He made the speech of his lifetime and its influence hung about all the discussion. "Labour's policy," he said, "is directed towards the abolition of war through the League of Nations and the strengthening of the collective peace system." And he went on to emphasize that a collective peace system implies "pledges to refrain from war, *to accept community judgment* on what constitutes aggression, or resort to war sanctions, peaceful settlement of disputes and disarmament."

It should be plain, of course, that the heart of the matter lies in the pledge to accept community judgment. This is a surrender of national sovereignty: a surrender in the interest of the whole comity of nations. There were those in

the Conference who disputed this essential point. As out and out pacifists they were anxious rather to pledge the Party to a policy of war resistance, and to the use of the general strike as a means of stopping war. But, though we cannot doubt the sincerity of these pacifists, their position cannot really be maintained in logic. So long as any section of the world community reserves to itself the right to make or refrain from war, wars will continue. Those who seek to arm the League of Nations are not in any way condoning armaments and wars. They are only giving the League the means of compelling the nations to keep the peace. There is no question that, by following such a policy, a Labour Government in England might find itself committed to joining in a capitalists' war. The armed forces of the League would not wage any war. They would merely knock the heads of the belligerents together and compel them to go to law to settle their differences.

"The Soviet Union," said Mr. Henderson, "when it entered the League, promised to fulfil all the obligations of the Covenant." And surely Russia has traversed all this ground. Indeed even in its present unarmed impotent state the League of Nations, the pale shadow of what it will one day become, is the best security there exists for peace. War between Russia and Japan has for some time seemed a probability. It still may be. But the fact remains that the moment it was known that Russia would enter the League Japanese bonds began to appreciate in the money market. Why? It was, in the words of the *Financial News*, because "the almost certain entry of the Soviet Union into the League increases the chances of war being avoided altogether."

Mussolini on Disarmament

Fascism, at all events, has not taken long to reply to Mr. Henderson. Yesterday Signor Mussolini, speaking at Milan to a meeting of 250,000 Fascists, opined "All attempts at disarmament have failed. Mr. Henderson is tenacious, but he cannot succeed in reviving the Lazarus of disarmament, which lies buried under navies and cannon."

It is strange that the Duce should have spoken of the Lazarus of disarmament. He might have spoken of its 'putrid corpse", which was the elegant manner in which he once described the state of liberty in Italy. For, after all, Lazarus did come back from the dead—even though the unbelievers laughed the idea to scorn

8th October, 1934



An Autumn View — Artist— Mr. Jajneswar Saha

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

AT THE ALL INDIA ANTI-COMMUNAL "AWARD" CONFERENCE, BOMBAY, 25TH OCTOBER, 1934

THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER'S INDIAN COMMUNAL DECISION

Sir Govindrao Balwant Pradhan, Fellow Delegates and Friends,

I thank you most sincerely and cordially for your kindness in electing me to preside over the deliberations of this very important conference, though I wish your choice had fallen on some active and leading political worker, instead of on a journalist.

Main Political Problem - To Win Freedom

The main political problem before us is how to win freedom for India. It is the bounden duty of all of us to strive to win it. Our opinions and methods may differ, but our object should be identical. It is my considered opinion that the Communal Decision is an obstacle in the way of our endeavours to win freedom. Whether this Decision remains or is rejected, we must persist in the struggle for freedom. But as in a well-thought-out campaign the general does not march forward towards the goal leaving a stronghold behind in the possession of his antagonists, so it would not be wise for us to advance without a simultaneous and strenuous endeavour at least to weaken, if not to eradicate, communalism. It is for this reason that, as a humble camp-follower of all soldiers of freedom, I shall try to expose the mischievous and dangerous character of the Communal Decision.

Not an Award but a Decision

I do not know who first called it the Communal Award. Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, calls it a decision. And a decision it is. The nominees of the Government who attended the so called Round Table Conference did not all agree to accept the arbitration of the Premier. Hence, the decision which he has given is not binding on them as an award given by an arbitrator of their choice would have been. Moreover, even if they had unanimously chosen him their arbitrator, and if he had given an award as such, his award would not have been binding on the people of India, because the nominees of the Government who attended the so-called Round Table Conference were not elected by the people of India as their representatives.

Joint Action Made Impossible

No one can accuse our Government of being over-respectful or over-responsive to public opinion. It would not be difficult to mention occasions when Government have ridden roughshod over public opinion. One may, therefore, be curious to know why Government want us to be unanimous as regards the reforms we want, knowing all the while that every care has been and is being taken to prevent unanimity. When Britain gave Canada a self-ruling constitution, did she require all parties in Canada to arrive at an greed settlement among themselves?

One may also be curious to know why, before Government gave us any idea of the kind of constitution that was going to be given to us, there should have been such a hurry to give a communal decision. If Government had given us a definite promise of at least Dominion Status, it would have been comparatively easy for us to arrive at an agreed settlement. But to us was given first a Communal Decision! And it was of such a character that it could have no other result than to set different classes and religious communities and even the two sexes—by the ear, thus making a joint struggle for freedom impracticable, if not impossible. One is considered to intend the usual and natural result of one's action. If so, it would not be unfair to hold that Mr. James Ramsay MacDonald intended that his Communal Decision should have the result which it has had. It has side-tracked the main issue. At the same time, it is not possible to tackle the main issue without attacking the side issue of the Communal Decision, because the latter lays the axe at the root of national unity. So long as the Communal Decision continues to be enforced, it will so vivisect and divide the nation as to make all mass action, all joint action, all national action, impossible.

Premier's Statement

On the publication of the text of the Decision of His Majesty's Government on communal problems, the British Prime Minister issued a statement, in the course of which he said:

"We never wished to intervene in the communal controversies of India. .... We have realised from the very first that any decision that we may make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticized by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands, but we believe that in the end, considerations of Indian needs will prevail and all communities will see that their duty is to co-operate in working the new constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald added that the British Government had to undertake the duty of giving their decision on India's constitutional communal problems, because of "the failure of the communities to agree amongst themselves" and "in response to repeated appeals from representative Indians."

Communal Controversy Has British Parentage

In order to apportion blame fairly it is necessary to refer briefly to the origin of the communal controversies and their subsequent history.

It may be true, though one cannot be sure, that the present Prime Minister and his former and present colleagues, who had to do with the first and second sessions of the so-called Round Table Conference, never wished to intervene in the communal controversies of India. But who were responsible for the origin and growth of communal controversies in the field of Indian politics? It is a matter of common knowledge that our communal problems in their political aspects were virtually created by Governor-General Lord Minto in the first decade of this century. To prove this it is not necessary to state that the late Maulana Mohammad Ali said in his Congress presidential address that the Muhammadan deputation which waited upon Lord Minto, asking for separate favourable treatment for the Muslims

as regards seats in the legislative bodies and appointments in the public services, was a "command performance," which means that the deputation was got up at the suggestion of some high-placed officer or officers of the Government; nor is it necessary to refer to a similar statement made by Maulvi Abdus Samad, M. L. C., as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Murshidabad Session of the Bengal Provincial Conference. For, Lord Morley, as Secretary of State for India, wrote on the 6th December, 1909, to Lord Minto:

"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. (Mahometan) hare." "Recollections" by John Viscount Morley, Vol. ii, p. 325.

Other corroborative evidence, and that too from official publications, is also available. For example, the following passages are to be found in the Report of the Indian Central Committee, published by the Government of India—

"58. It was at the time of the Morley-Minto Reforms that the claim for communal electorates was advanced by the Muhammadans inspired by certain officials." P. 113.

Again:

"66. It is often said that we must adhere to the promise made by Lord Minto's Government to the Muhammadan Deputation that waited on him in 1907-8. We will not bring forward the fact, which is now established beyond doubt, that there was no spontaneous demand by the Muslims at that time for separate electorates, but it was only put forward by them at the instigation of an official whose name is now well known." P. 117.

These two passages are taken from the Memorandum by the Hon. Sir Sankaran Nair, Chairman of the Indian Central Committee, a Hindu, the Hon. Raja Nawab Ali Khan, member of the Committee, a Musalman, and the Hon. Sardar Bahadur Shivdev Singh Uberoi, member of the Committee—a Sikh. There is no criticism or contradiction of the statements made in these passages either in the body of the Report of the Indian Central Committee or the Minutes of Dissent submitted by different members, Muslim and non-Muslim.

Therefore, there appears to be no doubt that the device of the separate communal electorate can rightly claim British parentage.

Condemned even by British Historians

Separate communal electorates have been condemned in the latest British history of India, *viz.*, "Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India" by Edward Thompson and C. F. Garratt, as follows:

"Their effect was wholly bad. It is not only that they have led Indians to organize along sectarian lines, for this was probably inevitable, and caste grouping occurs even within the Hindu constituencies, but the system throws up the worst type of pugnacious fanatic, who loves 'to prove his doctrines orthodox by apostolic blows and knocks.' The feeling that great changes were going to take place and the prospect of some actual transfer of responsibility and control over appointments, have combined to rouse all the meaner political passions, especially in those provinces, like Bengal and the Punjab, where the two communities are nearly equal in number. Middle class unemployment and a family system which elevates nepotism into something like a virtue, have also helped to embitter the politico-religious struggle. A further and very grave disadvantage of the communal electorate is that an alteration in the parties can only occur through differences in the birth-rate. And both sides are stirred to new missionary enterprise, when the reward is not only a soul but also a permanent addition to one's voting strength. The activities of the Arya Samaj amongst the poor Muslim and the various Mohammadan bodies amongst the lower caste Hindu, have aroused the greatest bitterness. The politicians get all the support they need from an irresponsible press, while ill-feeling amongst the educated classes is kept alive by scurrilities like the 'Rangila Rasul.'"

I do not know whether the authors intend to suggest that nepotism is a failing peculiar to Indians, or that the community to which the writer of 'Rangila Rasul' belonged was alone responsible for scurrilities, or that the Indian Press has a monopoly of irresponsibility. But otherwise on the whole Messrs. Thompson and Garratt are quite fair and just in their criticism of separate communal electorates.

Partiality Shown to Muhammadans

Sir Bampfylde Fuller's "favourite wife" theory and Lord Olivier's observations on the British attitude towards Moslems are well known. For decades, there has been discrimination in favour of Mussalmans in the provision of special educational facilities. The reservation of large proportions of posts in the public services for Muslims, Anglo Indians and the like, recently made, is another case in point. Both in the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford Constitutions separate electorates were provided for the Mussalmans, thus whetting their appetite for such things. Lastly, during both the sessions of the Round Table Conference the Imperialist die-hards and the members of the European Association then in England had been constantly strengthening and stimulating the separatist communal zeal of the Muslim "delegates" to the R. T. C. The Prime Minister need not be reminded that all the Muslim "delegates" were separatists, except latterly Sir Ali Imam, who was not allowed to or did not take part in the Round Table Conference. Is it any wonder then that there was no communal agreement? More recently, the Hindu Leaders at the Unity Conference at Allahabad agreed to the Muslim Communalist demands, as far as they could, in order to secure Muslim support to the Indian Nationalist programme. It was agreed that Sind should be separated, some safe-guards being provided for the Hindu minority and a Muslim Hindu committee being appointed to find out ways and means for financing the new Sind province. This was, of course, a mere paper agreement, as the leaders of the Unity Conference had no power to separate Sind from Bombay and do the other things necessary to implement the agreement. Government is in a far better position—it can do things by its fiat. When the Hindus had agreed definitely to the separation of Sind, of course, on some conditions, Government came into the scene with a higher bid for Moslem support—Sir Samuel Hoare declared that Sind would be separated—unconditionally, of course!

The Unity conference at Allahabad had agreed also to give the Moslems 32 per cent of the seats at the Central Legislature. It was a paper promise made by persons who had no power to deliver the goods. Sir Samuel Hoare made a higher bid for Moslem Support. He promised to give them 33|1-3 per cent of the seats and he has the power to deliver the goods. So Moslem support went to him, the highest bidder, who can deliver the goods.

Government's Failure

The British rulers being thus, in part at least, responsible for political disaggreements among the com-

munities, it was their bounden duty to devise a scheme which would tend to produce agreement among them. This they have not done.

The failure of Government's own nominated men to come to an agreement cannot be rightly spoken of as the failure of the communities themselves. Nor were most of them "representative Indians." It may be that, even if the communities had chosen their own representatives, they too would perhaps have failed to reach an agreement. That would, however, have been due in no small measure to the communalist mentality created and fostered by the Government's own policy and measures. But the British Government neither asked nor allowed the communities to choose their own representatives for the purpose of arriving at an agreement.

Perfect Unanimity Impossible

It has never also been definitely stated by the British Government in Britain or in India what degree of agreement would be acceptable to them, assuming of course, without admitting, that they would really welcome a communal agreement. If perfect unanimity were required, that would perhaps be unattainable. Even in Britain and other Western countries there is no unanimity, there is great divergence of opinion, among different parties, in relation to many matters of the greatest importance. So, it ought to suffice, if in India important and influential sections of different communities come to an agreement on essential constitutional points.

Now, Nationalist Muslims, assembled at the Lucknow Conference, voted in favour of joint electorates. At the Faridpur Conference they did the same. These decisions were approved and welcomed by the Hindus. The Bengal Presidency Muslim League's resolution in favour of joint electorates was fully endorsed by Hindu leaders of all shades of political opinion, and this endorsement was published in the papers. Similar resolutions have been passed at meetings of other Muslim associations. At a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, attended by Muslim, Hindu, European and other members, a resolution in favour of joint electorates was carried. At the same Council, in the course of the debate on the Municipal Bill a similar voting in favour of joint electorates took place.

Government's Anxiety to Safe-guard Muslim Interests!

But in spite of these clear indications that all Hindus and an important section of the Muslims are in favour of joint electorates—at least in Bengal, the communal decision was given in favour of separate electorates in all provinces. And why? Apparently because a section of Muslims want separate electorates. On the one side, there were an important section of Musalmans and all Hindus and many Christians, etc., in favour of joint electorates: on the other, there was a section of Musalmans in favour of separate electorates, to which all Hindus were opposed. Hence, to all fair-minded men, it should have been clear that the preponderating opinion was in favour of joint electorates. Under the circumstances, it would not be unfair to conclude that the Decision has gone in favour of separate electorates, because British Imperialists do not want a united India, they want a divided India, and also because Britishers in India want a decisive voice in the government of the country by means of separate electorates. What they really care for above all, is a separate electorate and secure effective voice for themselves in Indian legislatures. Instead of saying so plainly, they profess great anxiety for safe-guarding the interests of Muslims and some others by separate electorates. But sometimes in unguarded moments the real truth comes out. For example, in an issue of "The Statesman" of Calcutta it was observed:

"It is from the hands of Britishers that the new constitution must come, and in no circumstances is it conceivable that the British community here with its enormous stake in the country would accept annihilation."

It is understood, of course, that "annihilation," means "not having for themselves the casting vote," as it were, in the legislative bodies by means of over-representation by separate electorates for themselves—and by securing a permanent overwhelming statutory majority in the Councils for themselves and the subservient section of Muslims combined. This Calcutta British Organ advocated the system of separate electorates for selfish reasons, knowing quite well all the while that it is an evil thing. For, it wrote:

"Nobody will argue that separate electorates are beneficial, that they promote the feeling of nationhood, or that they do not tend to keep open sores and prevent the healing of differences."

Fate of Agreed Settlements

I have shown that there has been substantial agreement between the Hindus and an important section of the Muslims—the Nationalist Muslims, particularly in Bengal, in favour of joint electorates. Hence the British Cabinet should and could have given their decision in its favour at least in Bengal. The Premier has stated that the Government will "be ready and willing to substitute for their scheme any scheme either in respect of any one or more of the Governor's provinces or in respect of the whole of British India that is generally agreed to and accepted by all the parties affected." This assurance has been repeated in the Government's decision. Therefore, Government could have given joint electorates at least to some of the provinces, e.g., Bengal. That they have not done so, shows that they do not desire even a partial mitigation of the harmful features of their scheme, they appear to want from the vast population of India a complete scheme of which all points are agreed to and accepted by all the present and any possible future mushroom parties affected. It is and would be impossible to satisfy such a condition. For at any moment at the dictate of the British Imperialists, who are in a position to offer inducements, dissident parties may make their appearance. Hence, it would be foolish to build any hopes on the words in the Decision which say that Government "are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement," as "agreed" appears to imply perfect unanimity on all points on the part of all possible existing and future parties.

Another "agreed settlement" which the British Cabinet did not accept is the Rajah-Moonje pact between Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, the leader of the vast majority of the Depressed Classes and Dr. B. S. Moonje, the then working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, according to which the Depressed Class Hindus were to have a number of seats reserved for them in proportion to their numbers to be filled by election by joint electorates. Mr. Rajah has pointed out that the Depressed Classes have got less seats by the award than they would have got by this pact. The White Paper proposals are partly based on the Communal Decision, and they also supplement it as regards the distribution of seats in the Federal Legislature. In that legislature, too, the Depressed Classes have got less seats. The professed leaders of the Depressed Classes in the R. T. C. entered into the Minority Pact with the Muslim delegates in that body. That the Depressed Classes were made cat's-paws will appear from the following figures:

In British India, minus Burma, according to the Government Census Report, Moslems number 6,64,78,669 and the Depressed Classes number 4,02,54,576. In the Lower Chamber of the Federal Legislature Moslems are to get 82 seats, and the Depressed Classes only 19. In proportion to the Moslem seats they ought to have got 49 seats. The number of seats to be given to the Depressed Classes in the Upper Chamber is not even mentioned. Perhaps no seat is to be reserved for them.

Mr. MacDonald's Wrong Contention

Mr. MacDonald defends the continuance of separate electorates on the ground that they have been regarded by minority communities as an essential protection for their rights. But this is *not* true of all minority communities. For example: except in Madras, there have not been separate electorates for Indian Christians, and generally speaking, they have not asked for, but are rather opposed to, separate electorates; the most important organizations of the depressed classes who by the by are not a religious community by themselves, have insisted on joint electorates; and the foremost leaders of the women of India, who also are not at all a community by themselves, have been opposed to separate communal electorates. Yet all these groups have been cursed with that evil thing.

Even if Mr. MacDonald's defence of separate electoraes for minority communities were assumed to be valid, why has he given separate electorates to the Muslim majority communities in Bengal and the Punjab, where the Hindu and Sikh minority communities did not initiate the claim to protection by such electorates?

It is not true and it has not been proved that separate electorates give protection to minorities, or that their interests are promoted safe-guarded when those of India as a whole suffer.

Premier's Illogical Reasoning

The Premier says in his statement: "I want to see greater and smaller communities working together in peace and amity." If he be really sincere, he must be blessed, or rather cursed, with a perfectly illogical and obtuse mind. For, with his colleagues, he has divided the people of India into political groups in such a way that, if they were not hitherto mutually suspicious and distrustful, they would henceforth suspect and be envious and jealous of one another, and, if already mutually distrustful, would have that distrust greatly increased. And having done this, he asks the world to believe that he sincerely desires the people of India to work together in peace and amity.

He says, "Government have to face facts as they are and must maintain this exceptional form of representation." But when will British politicians have the honesty and courage to face the other and prior fact that facts are as they are, at least partly, because it was Lord Minto's early speech about the Moslem's extra claims "that first started the Moslem hare," as Lord Morley put it, and that the Morley-Minto "reforms" and the Montagu-Chelmsford "reforms" have been such as to lead that hare to keep itself in evidence ever since?

Government and the Depressed Classes

In the Premier's opinion,

"The anomaly of giving certain members of Depressed Classes two votes is abundantly justified by the urgent need of securing that their claims should be effectively expressed and the prospects of improving their actual condition promoted."

We do not object to the Depressed Classes having any real advantage. What is strongly objected to is their complete or partial separation from the main body of the Hindus. It cannot be admitted that Government have been in practice particular well-wishers of the Depressed Classes. Dr. Ambedkar's arraignment of Government in his Nagpur presidential address is well-known. Recently, the defeat in the Bombay Council of Mr. Bakhale's Bill for the removal of the disabilities of the Depressed Classes, has shown the real attitude of Government.

The enlightened and progressive sections of the Hindu community have been making considerable efforts to improve the condition of the Depressed Classes, so that they may not long remain depressed. But Government now in effect declare that all "caste" Hindus, as Britishers call them, are hostile to the Depressed Classes, or at least indifferent to their lot, and that therefore separate electorates are required for them to protect their interests against the imaginary attacks of the 'caste' Hindus. And Government have also offered inducements to these classes to continue to admit their "untouchability" and to deserve the title "depressed" so as to remain entitled to separate seats. Under the circumstances, "the prospects of improving their actual condition," social, educational and economic, must be poor indeed.

Representation of Women

Regarding the representation of women, Mr. MacDonald observes:

"As regards women voters, it has been widely recognized in recent years that the women's movement in India holds one of the keys of progress. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated and influential citizens. There are undoubtedly serious objections to extending to representation of women the communal method, but if seats are to be reserved for women as such and women members are to be fairly distributed among the communities, there is in the existing circumstances no alternative."

I have already pointed out that the leading exponents of women's rights never wanted a communal distribution of seats for themselves. Hence separate communal electorates ought not to have been thrust upon them. The Premier talks of women playing their due part as "educated and influential citizens" for which education and interest and participation in public movements are essential, and he talks of a fair distribution of women's seats among the communities. I suppose that he nevertheless thinks that if women's seats are distributed merely by counting heads, and not according to the extent of education and the comparative absence or presence of public spirit among the women of different communities that is a fair distribution. It is well known that the leaders of the section of Musalman Bengalis whose views have found acceptance with the Government think that the women who would stand as candidates and cast votes, are undesirable specimens of their sex. It is also well known that female education has made comparatively much less progress among the Muslim Community than among the Hindus. And owing to their social and educational handicap, Muslim women can take very much smaller interest and part in civic and other public movements and affairs than Hindu women. In spite of these facts, the Premier thinks it fair to give the same number of seats to Muslim women as to Hindu women! Let me not be misunderstood. I cordially welcome the prospect of Muslim women taking part in public affairs. It is only the Premier's claim of fair distribution of women's seats which I repudiate.

"Attempt Fair and Honest"

One can imagine the inward glee with which the Premier rubs in the failure of the Government nominees at the R. T. C. to produce an agreed scheme, by telling "the Indian communities"—

"Let them remember when examining the scheme that they themselves failed when pressed again and again to produce to us some plan which would give general satisfaction."

Assuming that the failure of the Government nominees must mean the failure of 'the Indian Communities,' who did not choose them, is that any reason why the British Cabinet should feel justified in expecting the people to accept their manifestly mischievous scheme? The Premier thinks it a "fair and honest attempt." It does not seem axiomatic that it is either.

The Decision keeps old obstacles and creates new ones

He says: "The most that Government can hope for is that their decision will remove an obstacle from the path of constitutional advance." It is a curious hope, seeking that the decision keeps the old obstacles intact and creates new ones. There can never be any constitutional advance by means of constitutional methods without the joint endeavour of all communities; but the word 'joint' is taboo, and 'separate' is the word beloved of the rulers of India. Inconsistently enough, however, the Premier says to the Indian communities, whom the scheme practically requires to non-co-operate with one another, their duty is to co-operate in working the new constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations; and he concludes his sanctimonious homily with the similar observation that "communal co-operation is a condition of progress and that it is their special duty to put upon themselves the responsibility of making the new constitution work." As Mr. MacDonald is neither Machiavelli nor Mephistopheles but the Prime Minister of a great people, one ought to think that he is not indulging in grim joke. It is my considered opinion that in spite of the disruptive tendencies of what the British Cabinet have done, all Indian communities ought to co-operate,—not, of course, for making the new constitution work, but for radically mending it, or if that be impossible, for ending it and making a beneficent one in its stead. For, even if it were workable, it cannot produce any balance of good result.

But Where is Swaraj?

What is the "new place" the new constitution, according to Mr. MacDonald, is to give India in the British Commonwealth of Nations? That of a habitation of helots who must not make any joint endeavours to be and remain free? What are the precious rights of free men for which different communities and groups are going to scramble and fight? Of what kind of Swaraj, of what rights, are the communalists going to get a big share? The Premier's statement and the Decision are both silent on these points.

Incompatible with National Self-rule

In the second paragraph of his statement relating to Government's Communal Decision the British Premier says:

"We have realised from the very first that any decision that we may make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticised by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands."

As this sentence does not indicate the worst fault, mischievousness or maleficence of the decision, critics should not be put off the scent by it. The decision, is not to be considered mainly as against the interests of this Indian community or group or that, but as against the national interest of all Indian as *pro*-Britain and *contra* India. I shall show later on that the Decision is utterly incompatible with national self-rule.

One of the essential conditions of democratic and responsible Government is that what is today a minority party may become the majority party tomorrow by the conversion of its opponents to its way of thinking, or owing to other causes. In this way all groups have an effective chance of giving the nation the benefit of their wisdom, capacity and public spirit. The changeability of the personnel of the ruling party gives the ruling majority for the time being a sense of its real responsibility to the nation and exercises an effective check on arbitrary, irregular or corrupt methods and actions. But if a constitution makes any religious community, as a community, the permanent ruling majority, or the permanent tools in the hands of the alien real rulers, there cannot be any democratic and responsible self-rule in the country, and all the advantages of such rule pointed out above are lost. The Communal Decision militates against the essential conditions of democratic and responsible Government and would, if given effect to, deprive India of all the advantages of such Government.

It subjects the Hindus to grave, contemptuous and insulting injustice, perhaps because it is they who have worked for and demanded self-rule most. Under it their representation becomes distinctly weaker in some provinces without getting stronger anywhere, as I shall show later on. It must cause grave anxiety to all real patriots, as under the circumstances, there can be no peace and no peaceful progress. For, lovers of non-violent methods will be untrue to themselves if they accept the Decision and co-operate to work a communalism-ridden constitution, and do not make the utmost efforts in a peaceful and legitimate manner to unsettle the Decision.

Though there is much cause for anxiety, there is none for being down-hearted. Difficulties exist and crop up only to try our mettle and manhood, which can be proved by overcoming them. Hindu and other Nationalists and Hindus in general will not, cannot, be crushed.

More Than Communal

The communal decision or, to use the Prime Minister's exact language, 'decision on communal representation,' is something else in addition to being communal. Properly speaking, the communal decision ought to have assigned their respective shares in the legislative bodies only to the religious communities. But it has done more. Women are not a religious community by themselves, nor are Europeans and Anglo-Indians, Landholders, Universities, Labour, and the Depressed Classes separate communities. But the decision assigns seats to all these groups—perhaps to maintain "the balance between the communities" desired by the bureaucracy in their own interests. In this there has been an irregularity or impropriety in procedure also. In Chapter XXI of the Indian Franchise Committee's Report, devoted to a discussion of questions relating to the representation of labour, landlords, commerce, and other interests not communities, it has been observed:

"We desire to add that some of our number have felt considerably hampered in dealing with the questions discussed in this chapter by the fact that the communal issue has not yet been decided, and they reserve their right to reconsider their recommendations in the light of the decision that may eventually be reached."

The decision has deprived them of this right, as it has been made without consulting the Franchise Committee. And it is also to be noted that it has been arrived at without consultation with the Round Table Conference or the Consultative Committee or any other similar body.

The indications given in the decision that there may be second chambers, at least in some provinces, have also nothing to do with any communal decisions. They were probably meant to prepare the public for subsequent efforts to antagonize democracy by means of these plutocratic and pseudo-aristocratic bodies.

Makes National Action Impossible

The new constitution which the British Cabinet wants to give India proposes to do that which no free people or no people struggling to be free can put up with in any constitutional proposals meant for them. It intends so to split and divide the voters and the people of whom they are a part as to make mass action, national action, impossible. Without such combined action, freedom can neither be kept nor won. Nor can the bounds of freedom be made wider yet, without such action. Setting sex against sex, creeds against creeds, castes against castes, classes against classes, interests against interests appears to be the underlying mischievous 'principle' of the decision, though it is without any right principle and is full of anomalies. It is anti national.

It was argued in favour of communal electorates that, as in litigation clients have the right to select their counsel, so voters ought to have the right to elect their representatives. Exactly. But do Muslim clients always choose Muslim advocates or Hindu clients Hindu advocates, and so on?

Undemocratic

The scheme is also undemocratic. In a democracy it is essential that those who are to conduct the affairs of the State as the representatives of the people should be chosen by them. If a country be inhabited by different religious communities of varying numerical strength and if at present or in course of time, these communities be equally educated, capable and public-spirited—which is desirable but which is not the case in India now, the numbers of the members of its legislature belonging to these different communities are likely to be roughly proportionate to their numerical strength.

If this ultimate ideal standard be borne in mind, it need not be considered a fundamental defect for a constitution to aim at the different communities and classes having proportionate shares in the legislature as the result of the open door to talent. What is fundamentally objectionable from the democratic point of view is the deprivation of entire groups of the opportunity of having anything to do with the election of legislators (and indirectly of members of the Cabinet) —specially of their majority, belonging to communities or classes other than their own. To take concrete examples:

Ruinous Effects of Separate Electorates

Mussalmans can vote only for Mussalman candidates, Indian Christians only for Indian Christian candidates, Hindus only for candidates who are Hindus, non-Muhammadans or non-Christians, etc. If in any place in the opinion of a Muslim voter a Hindu, Christian or any other non-Muslim candidate be the ablest and most impartial and public-spirited citizen, why should he be deprived of the support of such a Muslim voter? Again, if in any place in the opinion of a Hindu voter, a Muslim, or a Christian candidate be the worthiest of election, why should the Hindu voter be prevented from voting for that non-Hindu candidate and why should that non-Hindu candidate be deprived of the support of the Hindu voter? During the brief history of restrictedly representative institutions in India, many Hindus have voted for Christian and Muslim candidates, many Christians for non-Christians, and many Muslims for Hindus and Christians, and that with good results. Rank communalists may want to elect 100 per cent Hindus, 100 per cent Muslims, 100 per cent Christians; but it is more beneficial for a State to have as its legislators and rulers broad-minded, liberal persons who can look at things from the points of view of different classes and communities than to have narrow bigots, fanatics and obscurantists.

In the name of constitutional advance, and in order to get the support of communalists for foreign rule, the free or would-be free citizen's right to vote for a possibly worthiest candidate in his opinion, irrespective of creed or race, is being taken away, as also the right of that candidate to the support of all voters of all creeds or races who consider him worthiest.

Under a system of joint electorates, to whatever religious community or communities, classes, castes, interests or races, the majority of the members of a provincial council might belong, it could be said that people of all communities had helped to elect them and were responsible for choosing them. So the members also would feel their responsibility to and would and must try to promote the interests of all these groups. But under a system of separate electorates, in some provinces the majority of members would be Hindus elected exclusively by Hindus or, in any case, by non-Muslims and non-Christians, in some, the majority would be exclusively elected by Muslims, and in one province, Bengal, the majority would be either Muslims or Muslims cum Europeans elected exclusively by their co-religionists or compatriots. Hence, each province of India would be ruled by a foreign bureaucracy (for British domination would continue) through a majority of legislators for whos[illegible]tion people of all the groups would not be responsible and who would not feel responsible to and would not in consequence ordinarily try to promote the interests of all groups. This would be a highly undesirable state of things. It would not be self-rule or representative Government. It would be rule by people with whose election whole groups also would be inadequately served. Instead of the services of all members, they would be entitled to and would have the services only of particular groups. And the men elected would not necessarily be the ablest and wothiest available. Separate communal elections cannot conduce to the growth of capacity in a community, as outside competition is eliminated.

Opposed to MacDonald's First Pronouncement

Separate communal electorates with reservation of seats and weightage, are opposed also to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's definite pronouncements and to the principles underlying the League of Nations' Minorities Guarantee Treaties. In 1931, Mr. MacDonald said in the course of his speech on the subject of the Round Table Conference at the debate initiated by him in the House of Commons:

"If every constituency is to be earmarked as to community or interest, there will be no room left for the growth of what we consider to be purely political organizations which would comprehend all communities, all creeds, and conditions of faith. This is one of the

problems which have to be faced; because, if India is going to develop a robust political life, there must be room for National political parties based upon conceptions of India's interest, and not upon conceptions regarding the well-being of any field that is smaller or less comprehensive than the whole of India. Then there is a modified proposal regarding that: a proposal is made that there should not be community constituencies with a communal register, but that with a common register a certain percentage of representation should be guaranteed to certain communities. It is the first proposal in a somewhat more attractive, democratic form, but still essentially the same."

This passage would make out the British Premier as an opponent not only of separate electorates for electing the separate representatives of different communities and interests, but also of the reservation for them of a certain percentage of seats to be filled by joint electorates.

The following extract from his speech on the same occasion would lead one to conclude that he was an opponent of weightage, too:

"It is very difficult to convince these very delightful people (advocates of communal representation) that if you give one community weightage, you cannot create weightage out of nothing. You have to take it from somebody else. When they discover that, they become confused indeed, and find that they are up against a brick wall."

It now appears that this brick wall was entirely a figment of Mr. MacDonald's imagination. For, the communalists have not been confronted with any difficulty in getting not the British Cabinet in giving weightage at the expense of the Hindus, and in Bengal at the expense of both Hindus and Muslims more at the expense of Hindus than of Muslim for the advantage mainly of Europeans.

The provincial cabinets have not yet been divided into water-tight compartments, but such a division may be up the British Government's sleeve. So let me quote another passage from his House of Commons speech:

"Another problem that faces us from that point of view is, if your legislature is to be composed in these watertight compartments, whom are you going to appoint your Executive? The claim is put that the Executive, *i.e.*, the Administration, the Cabinet, shall also be divided into watertight compartments."

And, of course, the claim will be met, directly or indirectly. Some ethically squeamish people may think Mr. MacDonald has been insincere, inconsistent, and so on. But they must be wrong. He has had to play to different galleries at different times: that is all. And he has a good precedent for his inconsistency. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report argued against separate representation but decided in its favour.

How The League of Nations Tackled Minorities Problem

The Minorities problem in India ought to have been solved according to the principles underlying the Minorities Guarantee Treaties, concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, of which, both Great Britain and India are Member States and to which, along with Great Britain and other States India was one of the signatories and contracting parties. It is obvious that the principles which the collective intelligence, wisdom and statesmanship of the world laid down to deal with the Minorities problem in some twenty States of the world and which were accepted and enforced by Great Britain and India in the case of those States, should have been followed in the case of India, too. Far from the Minorities problem being peculiar to India, it has been a more serious problem in many European countries, being one of the underlying causes of the Great War, and it has been dealt with everywhere there according to the general and standardized treatment laid down in the League of Nations' Minorities Guarantee Treaties. But, as in everything else, from the spiritual and moral principles embodied in the Sermon on the Mount downwards, India is looked upon as a peculiar and unique country where all that is quite inapplicable is right and applicable elsewhere. I know India is not a clean slate as regards the Minorities problem. But neither were those European countries such where the Minorities Guarantee Treaties have been accepted and enforced.

The question whether the principles underlying the Minority Treaties should be applicable to all Member States of the League has been repeatedly discussed in the League Assembly. Ten years ago in 1922 an agreement was reached and a resolution was adopted in the third Assembly of the League, of which the fourth paragraph is quoted below:

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligation to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe, in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the Treaties and by the regular action of the Council."

But far from this resolution being adhered to, either in spirit or to the letter, in the case of India, it has never been even considered, although Mr. Arthur Henderson, the then British Foreign Secretary, stated in January, 1931, at the meeting of the League Council as its Chairman that "the system of the protection of Minorities inaugurated by the League of Nations was now a part of the public law of Europe and of the world." (P. 21 of The Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, January, 1931). But India is outside the world, and hence a "high standard of justice," or in fact any standard of Justice, need not be followed here!

The Minorities Guarantee Treaties give protection only to the racial, religious and linguistic minorities only in matters relating to their racial culture, customs, language, and things of that description. Separate commercial, economic or political interests of any group (like those of the European sojourners, the landholders or the merchants in India) are not recognized, nor are merely social minorities (like the non-Brahmins or the "untouchables") recognized, as minorities entitled to protection. Hence separate communal representation and electorates have no place in any of the up-to-date Western constitutions, including that of Turkey.

All persons in India, whether belonging to a majority or minority group anywhere, should bear in mind what objects were sought to be achieved by means of the Minority Treaties and what evil results sought to be prevented. As reminders, the following extracts will serve a useful purpose. M. Blociszewski of Poland wrote in his note of March, 1922:

"We must avoid creating a state within a state. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group instead of becoming fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of Minorities to the last extreme, these minorities will become disruptive elements in the state and a source of national disorganization."

Speaking at the League Council on December 9, 1925, Sir Austen Chamberlain said:

"It was certainly not the intention of those who had devised this system of Minorities protection to estab-

lish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life. The object of the Minority Treaties was to secure for the Minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged."

Speaking at the League Council on December 9, 1925, M. Dendramis, representative of Greece, said:

"A perusal of the Treaties showed that the Minorities concerned were racial, linguistic and religious Minorities. The authors of the Treaties had not intended to create groups of citizens who would collectively enjoy special rights and privileges; they had intended to establish equality of treatment between all the nationals of a State. If privileges were granted to the Minority in any country, inequality would be created between this Minority and the Majority: the latter would be oppressed by the Minority, and it would then be the Majorities question which would have to engage the attention of the League of Nations."

These extracts should suffice to show that the communal decision of the British Cabinet has sought to do that which the League of Nations strove successfully to avoid in its Minorities Treaties, and has avoided doing that which the League had in view.

Europeans in general, particularly those of the Anglo-Saxon breed, consider Asiatics as less civilized if civilized at all—than themselves and less able to follow political principles of the right kind. But Asiatics can grasp and follow correct principles. Let me give an example. In "Prabasi," a Bengali magazine, Rabindranath Tagore has written in the course of an account of his travels in Persia and Iraq:

"In various countries of the world it has been held that it would not do for communal religion or creed to occupy all spheres of human life and activities. At a farewell dinner given to a high British administrative officer in Palestine, he said: 'Palestine is a Mahommadan country, and its government should, therefore, be in the hands of the Mahommadans, on condition that the Jewish and Christian minorities are represented in it.' Thereupon Haji Emin El-Huseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, replied: 'For us it is an exclusively Arab, not a Mahommadan' question. During your sojourn in this country you have doubtless observed that here there are no distinctions between Mahommadan and Christian Arabs. We regard the Christians, not as a minority, but as Arabs."

The words of the British officer and the Mufti's reply thereto have been given in English by the poet and reproduced above. The remaining portion of the extract has been translated from the Poet's Bengali article in "Prabasi."

The Mufti could detect the British officer's conscious or unconscious adherence to the *divide et impera* maxim. In relation to India, Britishers count upon the bulk of Mussalman Indians not perceiving, or not opposing, even if perceived, the adherence to any such maxim.

Hindus Never Demanded Special Rights

It has been already observed that the Premier's anticipation that the Decision is likely to be criticized by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands, may put critics on the wrong track. Quite irrespective of whether the Decision is just or unjust or partial to this community or group or that, it has been shown that it is a very baneful one. As regards the demands of the communities, the public have to be reminded and should bear in mind that the Hindu Community as a whole never demanded any special rights and treatment for itself. In the Hindu Mahasabha's statement on the question of constitutional reforms, issued in March, 1931, by its Working Committee and confirmed at successive sessions of the Mahasabha, it is written: "The Hindu Mahasabha desires to point out that it has throughout and consistently taken up a position which is strictly national on the communal issue." The Hindus of India as a whole or the Hindus of any particular province have protested only when the national democratic ideal has been or has been likely to be departed from and any other community or communities favoured at their expense. At this stage also, therefore, my criticism of the Decision so far as the Hindus are concerned, is not that the Hindus have not got any special rights or treatment, for they claimed none, but that their interests and the interests of all Indians have been sacrificed primarily in the interests of the British rulers and merchants and secondarily in the interests of the subservient sections of other Indian communities to be used as tools in the hands of the Britishers.

Multiplication of Electoral Compartments

The largest number of religious communities, classes, and interests for which separate electorates have hitherto been formed according to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, is ten in Madras and less than ten in the other Provinces. It seems, in the opinion of the British Cabinet, constitutional advance connotes further multiplication of watertight electoral compartments. For, according to their new "communal" scheme, there are to be in the Provinces eighteen separate electorates of the following descriptions: General male, General female, Muslims male, Muslims female, Europeans, Anglo-Indians male, Anglo-Indians female, Sikhs male, Sikhs female, Indian Christians male, Indian Christians female, Landholders, Commerce Industry Mining Planting European, Commerce Industry Mining Planting Indian, Universities, Depressed Classes, Backward areas, and Labour. All these 18 electorates are not to be constituted in all the Provinces, but most of them are to be formed in most Provinces.

Will the Millennium Ever Dawn?

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were ushered in with the promise that at the end of ten years, there would be a revision. Those who have boundless faith in the perfectibility of British political human nature expected something like the millennium at the end of that decade. Here in the present Communal Decision is a foretaste of that millennium. The Communal decision now given contains a similar promise to the effect that:

"Provision will be made in the constitution itself to empower the revision of this electoral arrangement (and other similar arrangements mentioned below) after ten years, *with the assent of the communities affected,* for the ascertainment of which suitable means will be devised."

Were the words I have italicized above written with the draftsman's tongue in his cheek? It would be a rather tough job to get people fed and fattened on communal fare, to vote for the stoppage of such diet. If some classes are given a "privilege", why should they agree to give it up at the end of ten or even fifty years? Therefore, the apparently temporary arrangement would really turn out to be permanent if, of course, the domination of British Imperialists be permanent.

I have been trying to keep my mind undisturbed by the Decision; but I confess this fresh promise of revision after ten years has frightened me. What additional number of watertight communal compartments may possibly be devised a decade hence! But I find solace

in the thoughts that most probably I shall not live till then, and that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Moreover, the young women and men of today who will be older by that time have stronger nerves than mine to withstand mental and moral shocks.

If, as in the case of the Depressed Classes, so in those of the Muslims, Sikhs, Europeans, etc., it had been decided that their separate representation by special constituencies "shall come to an end after twenty years," if not earlier, with or without their assent, it would have been an incontrovertible proof of the British rulers' sincere solicitude for constitutional progress and national solidarity in India.

Positive Name Better than a Negative One

The Montagu-Chelmsford 'constitution' gave the name of "non-Muhammadan" to all non-descripts like the Aborigines, the Hindus, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Jews, Brahmos, etc. The separate electorate to be formed for this motley crew according to the latest communal scheme is to be called 'General'. For one thing, a positive name is better than a negative one. And one may hope that in course of time even Mohammadans may not object to come under the category 'General', but it is not probable that very many among them would ever agree to become 'non-Muhammadan'. There may be also a quite unintended compliment to the Hindus, the most numerous community in the group, in the use of the word "General." For it means 'completely or approximately universal, including or affecting all or nearly all parts, not partial, particular, local, or sectional.' And it is really a fact that it is the Hindus who have striven more than others for the political advancement of the whole nation, which fact as well as their relative strength is indirectly proved by the undisguised disfavour shown to them by the powers that be. This hostility reminds me that down the ages, from very ancient times, the Hindus have gathered new strength after even each conquest or subjection by alien peoples. In these modern days also they should be able to weather the storm. But for that they must set their own house in order by radical well-thought-out reforms to achieve organized social solidarity.

Anxiety to Placate Muslims

It is stated in the scheme that:

"It is possible that in some instances delimitation of constituencies might be materially improved by slight variations from numbers of seats now given. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to make such slight variations for such purpose, provided they would not materially affect the essential balance between the communities. No such variations will, however, be made in the cases of Bengal and the Punjab."

The anxiety to keep the communalist Mussalmans placated is quite obvious in the assurance given here that Muslim preponderance will not be interfered with in Bengal and the Punjab. The same anxiety is discernible in the sentence:

"His Majesty's Government consider that the composition of an upper house in a province should be such as not to disturb in any essential the balance between communities resulting from composition of a lower house."

Lest anybody should suspect that the communalists may lose in the composition of the legislature at the Centre what they have gained in that of the provincial legislatures, Government take care to state in paragraph 20 that "they will, of course, when considering the composition (of the Central legislature,) pay full regard to the claims of all communities for adequate representation therein." This they have done, as the White Paper proposals relating to the Federal Legislature show.

Figures of the seats for different constituencies have been given in the decision for the whole existing province of Bombay, as well as for Bombay without Sind and for a separate province of Sind, if and when constituted. This has not been done for Bihar and Orissa.

It would be idle to speculate what would have happened if the bulk of the Oriyas had professed Muhammadanism.

Muslims Favoured at the Cost of Hindus, and Europeans at the Cost of Both

The Muslim population form a majority in three of the existing provinces, namely, Bengal, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. In the last province alone the Hindus get some weightage. But as its legislature is to have only 50 seats, owing to its population being small—less than that of many single districts elsewhere, and out of this 50 Hindus and other non-descripts combined are to have only 9, this weightage does not affect the absolute Muslim preponderance in the least. They have gained in the two other provinces. In the Punjab they get 86 seats as Muslims in a house of 175 seats, and also 2 of the landholders' seats, and the one Tumandar (the Tumandars are all Muslim) seat will go to them. Hence a majority of seats is assured to them. It is also probable they will be able to capture one or two Labour seats. In Bengal the Muhammadans get as Muhammadans 119 seats in a house of 250. In this province 5 5 2, and 8 seats have been assigned to Landholders, Indian Commerce, Universities and Labour respectively, total 20 seats. If, as is very probable, Muslims can capture only 7 seats out of these 20, they will be a majority by themselves. In any case, they are assured of a predominant position by combining with the Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

Wherever the Muslims are in a minority they either retain their present large weightage or obtain more. The Hindus and others included in the General constituency are in a minority in the two major provinces of the Punjab and Bengal. Far from getting any weightage in either, in both they get less than the number of seats which could have fallen to their lot in proportion to their numerical strength. It is true the Muslims also in these provinces get a little smaller number of seats than their numerical proportion in the population. But in order to give weightage to Europeans, Anglo-Indians, etc., more seats have been taken away from the Hindus and others of the General constituency than from the Muslims. But Muslims should bear in mind that what they have thus lost has gone to pamper their friends, the Europeans, who have made them their cat's-paw.

Bengal Hindus Rendered Impotent

The position of the Hindus and other General constituency electors in Bengal has been made one of utter impotency. They have got only 80 seats in a house of 250 seats out of which 30 will go to the depressed classes. Assuming that the Depressed Class representatives will side with the other Hindus and that the Hindus, etc., are able to capture all the 20 seats given to Labour, Landholders, Indian Commerce and Universities, even then they will have only 100 votes at their command in a house of 250. Yet, so far at least as Bengal is concerned, it is the Hindus who have striven most for political progress, as well as for the social, cultural, educational, and industrial advancement of the province.

It is noteworthy that, though the Moslems and

Indian Christians also have their "untouchables" and depressed classes, these two communities have not been obliged to give any separate seats to their depressed sections. Mr. MacDonald's philanthropy is reserved only for the Hindu Depressed classes!

According to the existing Montagu-Chelmsford constitution, the Bengal Hindus have 40.3 per cent of the seats and the Bengal Muslims 34.2 per cent. In 10 years the Hindu Bengalis have become politically so backward as to deserve only 32 per cent of the seats in the new constitution and the Muslims have made such astonishing political progress as to get 47.6 per cent! The British Cabinet professed great solicitude for an agreed settlement. But such is their respect for agreed solutions that they have done away with the agreed Lucknow Pact without consulting the parties!

Hindus to Pay and Muslims to Spend

The very great weightage given to Europeans have been sought to be defended – particularly in Bengal, on the ground of their "stake in the country." But in Bengal 'the Hindus' "stake in the country" is very much greater than that of the Muhammadans, as the Hindus pay more than seventy per cent of the total revenues of the Province. But as they are politically obnoxious, they do not get the benefit of the "stake in the country" argument. Hence in Bengal the Hindus are to pay and the Muslims to spend.

In Bengal the total number of the European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians is 180.572 out of a total population of 50.1?2,150, or about one-third (1|3) per cent of the total population. But they get between them 31 seats, Europeans 11, Anglo-Indians 4, Indian Christians 2 and European Commerce 14), or about thirteen per cent of all the seats. This is fair distribution with a vengeance! Of course, the Indian Christians get very little; it is the European Christians, who are about 25,000 in number, who get 25 out of the 31 Christian seats. The Europeans in Bengal are one-two-thousandth (1|2000) of the population, but get one-tenth of the seats!

In Bengal the Buddhists (315,801) and the Animist Aborigines (535,656) far outnumber the Christians. It is really lucky that it has not been attempted to cut them off from the main current of national endeavour by giving them separate representation. Nevertheless, that such representation has not been given to them is an unmistakable proof of the fairness of the distribution of seats made by the British Cabinet!

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE AND THE DECISION

Sitting on the Fence does not make for the Progress of Humanity

It is necessary now to consider the Congress Working Committee's position of neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Decision while at the same time condemning it as anti-national and unsatisfactory. One of the reasons why the Committee has adopted this neutral attitude is that "the different communities are sharply divided on the question."

When Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States of America, he became theoretically the supreme representative of the slave-holding Southern States of the Union as well as of the anti-slavery Northern States. But, because the States were "sharply divided on the question of" slavery, did he say, "in view of the division of opinion," that he "can neither accept nor reject" slavery? Did he neither try nor not try to liberate the slaves? History tells that he struck a blow and freed the slaves. No cause espoused by anyone who dared, if need be, to be in the minority of one with Truth and Right on his side, has ever failed.

The cases are, no doubt, not parallel. But I have cited the example of what Lincoln did only to remind the public that on numerous memorable occasions sitting on the fence has not made for the progress of humanity. There is this much of resemblance between slavery and the Communal Decision that, as the United States of America could not possibly have remained united and become and remained really free if slavery had not been destroyed, so India cannot possibly become and remain united and cannot possibly become and remain free unless the Communal Decision is upset. That decision is not only the result but would also be, if not unsettled, the cause of the perpetuation of our subjection. That decision is objectionable, not mainly or merely because it gives Hindus less seats than they are entitled to on the basis of population or any other basis, but also because it is anti-national, anti-democratic, makes for the disruption and disintegration instead of the unification and solidarity of the communities and classes inhabiting India.

Therefore, Congress as a national organization ought to condemn and reject this wholly anti-national decision in unequivocal terms, even at the risk of having a smaller number of Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh or other adherents. In the long run it is not number but strict adherence to right principles which tells.

Hope of Enlisting Muslim Support Not Fulfilled

The main reason which appears to have weighed with the Committee is that if they condemned the decision outright Muslim Congressmen would have no chance to enter the Assembly. Hence to give them a chance, the Working Committee have adopted a non-committal attitude. I shall be glad if this attitude helps Nationalist Muslim candidates for the Assembly. But will it? In any case, the Nationalist Muslims should feel grateful to the Working Committee for the friendly gesture made towards them by temporarily shelving principle.

Had the Working Committee rejected the Communal Decision outright, communalist Muslim candidates could have told their electors (all Mussalmans, mostly of the communalist variety, and supporters of the Communal Decision), "Do not vote for Muslim Congressmen, for Congress has not accepted but has rejected the Communal Decision." In spite of the Working Committee's non-acceptance and non-rejection of the decision, Communalist Muslim candidates may, however, now tell their constituencies, "Do not vote for Muslim Congressmen, for Congress has not accepted the Communal Decision. It is true that it has not rejected it either. But those who are not definitely with us are against us." Is there much practical and effective difference between these two probable exhortations to Muslim constituencies on the part of communalist Muslim candidates for the Assembly?

Nevertheless, I shall be sincerely glad if the appeals of Mr. Sherwani, Mr. Asaf Ali and other Nationalist Muslim leaders are largely responded to by Muslims and if in consequence large numbers of Muslims become loyal members of Congress and Nationalist Muslim candidates succeed in entering the Assembly. The strength of the Nationalist group in the coming Legislative Assembly depends on the success of the Nationalist Muslim candidates to some extent. If they can outnumber the Communalist Muslim M. L. A.'s—if in any case the Muslim and non-Muslim elected Nationalist M. L. A.'s combined can clearly outnumber any other elected groups combined, that would be some definite and tangible proof of the true fact that Nationalists

represent the majority of politically-minded Indians, even according to the voters' rolls prepared by the bureaucracy, and that therefore Nationalist condemnation of the White Paper is really practically entire India's condemnation.

But if the Nationalist group in the Assembly be not as large as Congressmen of the Swarajist mentality anticipate, the Working Committee's non-committal attitude on the communal question would prove fruitless.

As the two biggest Muhammadan organizations, viz., the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference, have supported the White Paper and the Communal Decision the Congress Working Committee's hope of enlisting greater Muslim support by its neutral attitude has not been fulfilled.

Award would not Necessarily Lapse with White Paper

The Committee observe:

"The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically."

Not necessarily. For, it is only with regard to the Communal Decision that Sir Samuel Hoare, cross-examined by Sir N. N. Sircar, said that "Government had said their last word:" that is to say, though other parts of the White Paper might be altered, the Communal Decision was a "settled fact." Of course, in politics there is no settled fact—other settled facts have been unsettled. But the unsettling has required long, strenuous and immense struggle. Hence, the words of the Working Committee's resolution, "The White Paper lapsing, the Communal Award must lapse automatically," appear rather too easy going. All the parts of the White Paper do not so hang together that either all of them must be scrapped or all of them must be kept intact. It is quite feasible to scrap some, keep others intact and alter the rest. And how is the White Paper going to lapse, what is the exact meaning of this lapsing, and who is to bring about this lapse and how? I confess I do not understand all this. The White Paper proposals are not a house of cards to be blown down by a Working Committee resolution or by an adverse resolution carried in the next Legislative Assembly.

Working Committee One with the British Premier in Expecting the Improbable

The Committee say:

"The Congress claims to represent equally all communities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in view of the division of opinion (on the Communal Decision), can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion exist."

Here the Working Committee expects something as improbable, if not impossible, as the British Premier and Ministry seemed to do. The latter demanded an agreed settlement as a solution of the communal problem. But as the so called delegates to the so-called Round Table Conference (for which the British Government had selected as "representatives" of the Muslim community only inveterate communalists and also from the Hindu and Indian Christian communities some inveterate communalists as their "representatives") could not, as was natural under the circumstances, arrive at and present such an agreed solution, Mr. MacDonald gave his Communal Decision, miscalled an Award.

Of course, Mr. MacDonald wanted an agreed solution from persons many of whom could never possibly agree, knowing full well that there would not be any such agreement and that, therefore, he would be able to impose his will on Indians under the plea that, as they had failed to agree among themselves, he had to give his decision perforce. On the contrary, the Working Committee really want an agreed solution from motives of the sincerest patriotism. I should be delighted if their optimism justified itself. But without in the least pretending to be a prophet, which I certainly am not, I doubt whether a time would come—at least in the near future—when "the division of opinion" on the Communal Decision would completely disappear from among all the different communities. So the Committee may have to keep up their non-committal attitude for an indefinite length of time. In the present state of the human group-mind it is too much to expect that those who have got an excessive advantage would willingly give it up, or that those who have been humiliated and deprived of their just dues, which they had earned by their ability, public spirit, sufferings and sacrifice, and who had been deprived of facilities for serving their country in due measure, would willingly submit to such humiliation, injustice and deprivation.

Departure from Nationalism

I am fully conscious that Congress has to tackle a very difficult problem and I recognize that Congress leaders are making sincerely patriotic efforts to solve it. Perhaps an absolutely national solution is not at present feasible. But the solution which, though falling short of the fully national view-point, should be acceptable to the Congress, must possess at least the minimum of the essentials of a nationalistic solution. Perhaps the leaders would cogitate and deliberate to determine this essential minimum. May it be hoped that this minimum will include joint electorates? Mahatma Gandhi fasted, unto death if needed, partly to bring about joint election of representatives by "depressed" and "upper" class Hindus. But now he appears to be prepared to give up the principle of joint election by Hindus, Muslims and others, for saving or securing the (nominal?) adherence to the Congress of a small number of Muslims.

In July, 1931, the Congress Working Committee, while deviating to some extent from pure nationalism by accepting the principle of reservation of seats for minorities, did not give up joint electorates. Is there going to be a still greater departure from nationalism pure, unadulterated and undiluted?

The Committee observe:

"......the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means for arriving at an agreed solution and not by an appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any outside authority."

I fully appreciate this self-respecting attitude. Moreover, if the communities concerned can produce an agreed alternative to the Communal Decision, Mr. MacDonald is pledged to accept it—though imperialist politicians do not consider their pledges inviolable. So, if any Indian party appealed to the British Government, an agreed solution would strengthen the appeal. Hence, I am in favour of trying to have an agreed solution.

But I am afraid, Congress leaders in their anxiety to secure surface unity may be led to accept an alternative to the Communal Decision between which and that decision there may be as much difference as between tweedledum and tweedledee.

By "any outside authority" perhaps the League of Nations is meant by the Congress Working Committee. But that authority, perhaps anticipating the attitude of the Congress Working Committee, has already neither accepted nor rejected the Communal Decision!

Will the Constituent Assembly Solve the Problem?

A part of the Working Committee's resolution runs as follows:

"The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage, or as near it as possible, with the power, if necessary, to important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by electors belonging to such minorities."

The mere fact that a constitution is drawn up by a constituent assembly, and not by the British Government, cannot necessarily make it satisfactory or more satisfactory than the White Paper constitution. To be satisfactory, it must in the first place be national— at least fundamentally and essentially so, it must not be anti-national, and in the second place, it must fulfil many other requirements which need not be specified. Considering the mode of election of the constituent assembly foreshadowed in the resolution, it is quite possible for a constitution, to be drawn up by it, to be vitiated by anti-national communal bias as the White Paper is—to a less or equal or greater extent. For, as the resolution concedes to important minorities the unnational method of separate exclusive communal election of their representatives to the constituent assembly "if necessary," that "necessity" is sure to arise some community or communities are sure to ask for it and to get it; and representatives of those communities elected in that way are sure to insist upon the inclusion of separate and exclusive communal election of communal representatives in the constitution itself which is to be drawn up by the constituent assembly. And either the majority community and the Congress will have to yield to this communal demand, or there will be no agreed constitution; for, according to another part of the Working Committee's resolution, "the Congress is pledged . . . to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties."

What are "Important" Minorities?

In our opinion, therefore, the passage quoted above from the resolution should have ruled out the possibility of any anti national constitution being drawn up by the constituent assembly by laying down that the constitution must not be unnational or anti-national in any fundamental or essential respects. And the resolution should certainly not have started with a flagrant departure from national lines and principles by indicating its readiness to yield to the communalistic clamour for the exclusive and separate election of communal representatives. And supposing, without admitting, that minorities should have this "right," why are only "important" minorities to have it? What is the standard of importance? Is it not true that the interests of "unimportant" minorities are more likely to be neglected than those of "important" minorities?

"Among other things it will be the duty of the constituent assembly to determine the method of representation of important minorities and make provision for otherwise safe-guarding their interests."

Why is it assumed here that the method of representation of important minorities may or must be different from that of the majority and unimportant minorities? In the constitution of no civilized and modern country that we are aware of, is such a distinction made between the methods of representation of majorities and unimportant and important minorities. In the League of Nations Minorities Treaties, which embody the political wisdom of most of the leading nations of the world, no such distinction is recognized. The United States of America is not in the League, it is true. But it, too, does not recognize such a distinction. Assuming, however, without admitting, that minorities require special treatment, the Working Committee's resolution should have definitely shut out even the suggestion or consideration of separate communal electorates, which are unnational, the special treatment being confined to the reservation of a number of seats for the minorities for a definite period or to a system of proportionate representation, or both, and the like.

Minorities Have No Separate Political Interests

As regards safe-guarding the interest of minorities, the League of Nation's Minorities Treaties do not recognize that any minority group has any separate political and cognate interests, the only minority interests recognized and safe-guarded are those relating to their separate languages, if any, separate religions, if any, separate personal laws, if any, and the like. The Congress practice should be like that of the League of Nations. To recognize the existence of separate political and cognate interests of minorities and in consequence to give them separate sectional representation by separate electorates is to plant a "state within a state" to prevent which, according to Mr. Austin Chamberlain, was the object of the League of Nations' Minority Treaties, and should be the object of all Nation-builders.

Does the Congress Represent All the Communities?

The Working Committee proceed to observe:

"Since, however, the different communities in the country are sharply divided on the question of the communal award, it is necessary to define the Congress attitude on it. The Congress claims to represent equally all communities composing the Indian nation and, therefore, in view of division of opinion can neither accept nor reject the communal award as long as division of opinion lasts."

No doubt, the Congress represents all communities in the sense that among Congressmen there are members of all communities or in the sense that members of all communities are eligible for membership of the Congress provided they accept its principles and "creed" and fulfil other conditions. But it can hardly be admitted that it represents all communities equally.

Congress Should Stick to its Principles

But from the fact that it represents all communities it does not necessarily follow that it can neither accept nor reject anything on which opinions are divided. On the contrary, it is or should be the privilege and the duty of the Congress to find out what is National and to inculcate it, never minding whether that would increase or reduce the number of its adherents. All sections of the Hindus do not support the anti-untouchability principles and activities of the Congress, and numerous Mussalmans are opposed to it for reasons which need not be stated. Nevertheless, it has never been said that the Congress can neither accept nor reject it. Similarly, in no community is there unanimous or practically unanimous adherence to the cult of the charkha. But the Congress enjoins the production and use of khaddar.

The Congress Committee reject the White Paper. But large sections of the Muslims have accepted it. Therefore, the Committee should have neither accepted nor rejected it, for Hindus are against it.

We have pointed out before that if the Congress wants to condemn and reject the Communal Decision only when all communities are against it, it will have to wait for an indefinitely long time, before which that Decision may perhaps break down owing to its innate mischievous, vicious and iniquitous character.

What Course Congress Should Follow

In the meantime, being part of an official scheme, it will be given effect to and go on producing "untoward consequences," unless it is effectively opposed. One way to do so would be for the Congress to boldly denounce it and call on all communities, including as many truly National Muslims as possible, to condemn, oppose and reject it. Such action on the part of the Congress will have the further indirect beneficial result of enabling the public to judge who are the genuine Nationalist Muslims and who are merely liaison officers of the communalist Mussalmans. As in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee, "Judged by the National standard the Communal Award is wholly unsatisfactory besides being open to serious objections on other grounds," the Congress would have ample justification for adopting the course suggested above.

The other method of effectively opposing it, which has been suggested in the resolution, viz., to arrive at an agreed solution of the communal problem, has been partly dealt with already and will be referred to again.

The resolution proposes neither to accept nor to reject the Communal Decision so long as there is division of opinion on the question. We are afraid this division of opinion would last very much longer than the Working Committee has perhaps anticipated; and that for very good reasons. Observers of political conditions in India cannot have failed to conclude that in self-defence British imperialists must go on favouring the growth of sectional ambitions and the rise of sectional claims. The greater the National self-consciousness in India the greater the strength of Nationalism, the greater must be the partiality shown by British imperialists to particular sections of the people which are open to such treatment. Hence, as our Nationalism grows more vigorous, pronounced and articulate, the direct and indirect support to sectionalism and communalism given by British imperialists must grow greater. For this reason, the Congress should not expect communalism to dwindle and die a natural death in the near future. The Congress must directly, definitely, promptly and persistently fight it. For preserving or securing the allegiance of the sectionalists and separatists of any community the Congress cannot make higher bids than those of the British imperialists. If Congress concessions to them increased in arithmetical progression, the Britsih imperialists' favours would be showered down upon them in geometrical progression.

The Committee state:

"No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution falling short of national which is agreed to by all parties concerned and conversely to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties."

Whether in the future any solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress or not, we do not know. But in the past the Congress has either propounded or accepted or been a party to solutions that are not purely national; e.g., the Nehru Report, reservation of seats for minorities, etc.

Illogical Position of the Congress

Let us try to be a little logical. The resolution says that the Congress is pledged to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any parties concerned. Now the Communal Decision is a solution of the Communal problem and it is not agreed to but opposed by the Sikhs to a man and also by innumerable Hindus and others: why not then reject it outright? Perhaps it is to have the privilege and the honour of not being so rejected, because it is not an Indian but a British solution!

Suppose the proposed constituent assembly arrives at substantially the same solution as or a worse solution than the Communal Decision, the Congress must then, according to this resolution of its Working Committee, accept it!

The Committee proceed:

"It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent the untoward consequences of the communal award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on this essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority."

I have already commended this self-respecting attitude of the Congress. I do so again. But I beg leave to conclude by putting a supposition stated above, in an interrogative form. If the agreed solution be more communalistic than national, will the Congress accept it? Are there no such things in politics as right principles? Is it true that the bigger the crowd of supporters—particularly of communalistic supporters—of any scheme, method, or opinion, the better it is?

Change of Front by Nationalist Muslim Leaders

The Nationalist Muslim leaders had at first condemned the Communal Decision. Had they adhered to their first thoughts, which they have not, the Congress Working Committee would not most probably have adopted a neutral attitude. I present here some specimens of Nationalist Muslim condemnation of the Decision, which is different from their present attitude.

I shall first give the opinion of the late Sir Ali Imam. Presiding at the All-India Muslim Nationalist Conference at Lucknow on the 18th April, 1931, he said:

"Today's Conference represented Muslim Nationalists, in other words, people who were not wedded to a scheme of separation. They had been simply flooded with messages from every corner of India from different leaders who one and all insisted on the basic principle of joint electorates."

"Separate electorates connote the negation of nationalism. Political problems are but a reflex of social forces. If you erect an iron wall between community and community in their Politics, you destroy the social fabric, and day-to-day life will become insupportable if you insist on building political barriers. Nationalism can never evolve from division and dissensions."

At this Lucknow Conference Dr. Ansari moved the principal resolution the last paragraph of which stated that "the Nationalist Muslim Party" "strongly holds" the principle of "joint electorates." In moving the resolution Dr. Ansari said, in part:

"This is not the occasion to expatiate on the absolute necessity of joint electorates for the growth of a united nationhood. I am speaking to Mussalmans just now, and I wish to tell the Muslim community through you that, apart from wider national considerations, the insistence on separate electorates would prove suicidal to the continuance of the Mussalmans in this country as a political and cultural force of any significance."

Presiding at the All-Bengal Muslim Nationalist Conference at Faridpur, on June 27, 1931 Dr. Ansari repeated his previous views.

The principal resolution passed at this Conference insisted on "joint electorate with adult suffrage." In supporting this resolution Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani said:

"The advocates of separation wanted to erect insurmountable barriers between Muslims and other communities. To this the nationalists could never consent. The evil effect of separate electorates was apparent from

the fact that the spirit of separatism was penetrating among the Muslims themselves. Votes were being canvassed on the basis of a candidate being a Mirza or a Pathan, Qureshi or Ansari, Shiah or Sunni."

Dr. Ansari, in the course of a speech at the United Provinces Nationalist Conference at Meerut, on 20th July, 1931, stated that joint electorates were the second basic principle of the scheme he stressed.

Dr. Mahmud in his presidential address at the same Meerut Conference stated that:

"The programme of separate representation has killed the spirit of competition. It has arrested the natural and healthy growth of public spirit among the Mussalmans. Common electorates, on the other hand, will draw out the best and the noblest that is in the Muslim society."

Malik Barkat Ali, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Punjab Nationalist Muslim Conference held at Lahore, on the 24th October, 1931 said with reference to the question of separate electorates:

"We feel that in the circumstances of today and in the India of the future, they should have no place whatever."

The Bengal Council devoted the whole of August 2, 1932, to discussing Mr. Abdus Samad's resolution in favour of joint electorates and ultimately adopted by 47 votes to 32, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan's amendment:

"That the Government be pleased to inform the proper authorities concerned that in the opinion of this Council the system of separate electorates in the future constitution of the country should be replaced by a system of joint electorates."

Mr. Asaf Ali concluded a long statement issued to the Press on June 14, 1932, from New Delhi thus:

"The simplest formula they (the Muslims) should stick to is 'joint electorates, no reservation, no weightage, no special constituencies and adult suffrage, or the lowest qualification for franchise to enable the bulk of the population to get representation, and if any formula for minorities is insisted upon by minorities in different provinces it should be uniform for all minorities.' Any deviation from it would complicate both present and future issues, and would work to the detriment of both the country and even the Muslim community."

The principal resolution at a meeting of the executive committee of the Bengal Nationalist Muslim party held in August, 1932, under the presidentship of Chaudhury Mozzem Hossain recorded

"Its emphatic protest against the Communal Award recently given by the Prime Minister in consultation with the British Cabinet on the following among other grounds: (a) It recognizes the principle of separate electorates, which is fundamentally opposed to responsible government. . . . . ."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said in the course of an interview to the Free Press in Calcutta on September 1, 1932:

"The Communal Award of the Prime Minister is the most dangerous thing that could happen to Indian Nationalism. It has set one community against the other, without giving any tangible benefit to any save the Europeans."

Dr. M. A. Ansari, President of the Nationalist Moslems, said in a recent interview, published in the 'Hindustan Times' of the 13th March, 1934:

"The Communal Award is the result of the deliberate choice of a particular kind of Round Table Conference personnel to render a settlement impossible and thus impose an outside solution."

It has been said that if the Congress had rejected the Communal Decision, it would have been partizanship; for "Muslims in general seem to like it!" Now, in the opinion of the Congress Working Committee the Communal Decision is a bad thing—it goes against Congress principles. So it comes to this that it is partizanship to reject a bad thing, if some people like that bad thing!

But let it be granted. Is it only the rejecting of it that would have amounted to partizanship? The condemnation of the bad thing—I mean the Communal Decision is not partizanship!

Position of Pt. Malaviya's Nationalist Party

It has been said, whereas the Congress wants to replace the Communal Decision by an agreed solution, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his party want to get rid of the Communal Decision by appealing to the British Government or through its instrumentality. This is not a correct description of the position. By its attitude of non-acceptance and non-rejection of the Communal Decision of the British Government, the Congress give it some quarter. The new party, by its programme of fighting the Decision in and outside the legislature does not give it any quarter at all.

Both by deed and word, before and after the holding of the Conference, Pandit Malaviya has shown that he is at least as much for an agreed solution of the communal problem as anybody else. I do not know that anybody has worked harder than or as hard as he, more earnestly than or as earnestly as he, in connection with the Unity Conferences in recent years. The failure of the conferences was due to Sir Samuel Hoare's making higher bids for Muslims' allegiance. The Nationalist Party's programme includes the arriving at a Communal settlement as one of the items.

As regards Government's possible final role in the Communal settlement, neither the Congress nor the Congress Nationalist Party are likely to be able to effect the settlement without the agency or instrumentality of the Government. Neither the Congress nor the Congress Nationalist Party have at present any revolutionary aims. Neither can or do say, "when we arrive at an agreed solution, we will give effect to it ourselves, because then the Government will be *no nest*, or paralysed, or superseded." When either or both have arrived at an agreed solution, they will have to say to the British Government in effect: "You said that the Communal Decision could be replaced only by an agreed solution. Here is the agreed solution. Accept it and give effect to it." If then that Government does not honour its pledge, the people of India must think of some other means of giving effect to its will.

So far as I am concerned, I must say that I do not believe that there can be any agreed settlement of the communal problem so long as there is selfish British domination, so long as there exists its effective power to bestow "favours" (let me call them such), and so long as there are major parties or there is a major party to accept these "favours" and refrain from taking part in a united national struggle for freedom.

Congressmen are saying that their proposed constituent assembly is a better means of registering the people's will and obtaining a desirable constitution framed by the people than the Congress Nationalist Party's proposed national convention. As the object of both the gatherings is the same and as I care more for realities than for mere names, I cannot give preference to either as a nostrum for curing the National Malady. Both the parties seem to take it for granted that the British Government will be very obliging, will give them all facilities for calling a thoroughly representative

popular gathering, and then immolate itself at the altar of the Indian National Will. But, perhaps because I am an arm-chair politician, I am unable to make any such assumption.

Examples of Government's Favouritism

I have already more than once referred to the favouritism shown to some communities and the unjust treatment accorded to some other communities in the Communal Decision and in the White Paper proposals supplementary thereto. Let me give a few concrete illustrations.

The provinces of Madras, U. P., Bihar and Bengal contain a population of more than 17 crores and 65 lakhs. This is more than half the population of India minus Burma. In the Federal Legislature, this majority is to get 72 seats in the Upper Chamber and 141 seats in the Lower. The population of the rest of India, forming the minority, is to get 178 seats in the Upper Chamber and 234 seats in the Lower!

In British India minus Burma the "general" constituency consists of 18,42,21,834 Hindus and others, out of a total population of 25,66,27,138. They are more than two-thirds of the population. They are to get 124 seats in a Lower House of 375, *i.e.*, less than half the seats!

The total number of seats in the provincial Legislative Assemblies is 1585. In the provinces, minus Burma, Hindus number 17,63,59,738 out of a total population of 25,66,27,138. In proportion to their numbers, they ought to get 1,088 seats out of 1,585. But they are to get only 839 (on the assumption that they will get all the "General" seats), *i.e.*, 249 less than their due!

The most glaring example of "favoured community" treatment is the number of seats given to the Europeans. According to the census of 1931 the number of Europeans is only 1,68,134. But to this small number of persons seven seats have been out of the 150 in the Upper House for British India and fourteen seats in the Lower House out of the 250 for British India. It is to be borne in mind that, according to Appendix II of the White Paper, the 257.1 million inhabitants of British India are to have these total numbers of 150 and 250 seats in the Upper and Lower Houses respectively. So in the Upper House every 1 2|3 one and two-third million persons get one seat, and in the Lower House there is one seat for a little less than one million people. But the Europeans are such supermen that only 1,68,134, of them get 7 seats in the Upper House and 14 in the Lower!

I have already said that Mussalmans are much less than one-third of the population of British India. Yet in both the Houses they have been given one-third of the British Indian seats. Excluding Burma, there are 66,478,669 Mussalmans in India. Excluding Burma again, there are 40,254,576 Depressed Class people in British India. That is to say, they are somewhat less than two-thirds of the Muslim population. But whereas in the Federal Assembly or Lower House Muslims are to get 82 seats, the Depressed castes are to get only 19; and apparently in the Upper House no seats have been reserved for them. Yet British die-hards, imperialists and officials profess great anxiety for the welfare of the Depressed Classes. Further instances of unequal treatment need not be multiplied. But it must be added that 10 seats for Labour and 9 for Women are quite inadequate.

To prevent misunderstanding it should be stated that I am against reservation of seats for any community or interest. But as the principle of reservation has been accepted by the Government, the number of seats reserved ought to have been strictly in proportion to population, without weightage.

Majority Converted into Minority

The total Population of British India minus Burma is 256,672,138, of these 177,157,035 are Hindus. Deducting 40,254,567 Depressed Class Hindus, we get 136,902,459 as the number of the "Caste" Hindus. They form the biggest group by themselves. But they alone are not entitled to the "General" seats. Parsis, Buddhists, Jains, Jews, Animists, and others share these seats with them. These latter number 91742, 342161, 408622, 17625, 4666634 and 1538015 respectively in British India. So that for the "General" seats there are altogether 143,967,258 claimants.

It has been stated above that the total population of British India minus Burma is 256,627,138. The 143,967,258 claimants for the "General" seats are thus more than half the total population of British India, Burma excluded. The 136,902,459 "Caste" Hindus alone are also more than half the total population of British India, excluding Burma. Even if Burma were included, the total number of claimants (143,967,258) to the "General" seats, would be the majority in British India. Hence they ought to have got more than half the total number of seats provided for British India. In any case they ought to have got at least half the seats. But in the Federal Assembly, out of the 250 British Indian seats only 105 have been allotted to them. Thus the majority has been converted to a minority! One of the "14 points" laid great stress upon by Muslim Indians is that by no arrangement must a majority be reduced anywhere to a minority or even an equality. Therefore justice-loving Muslims should condemn this conversion of the non-Muslim majority to a minority.

And who are the men who form this majority? They have among them the largest number of the ablest, the most public-spirited, the most self-sacrificing, and the most prosecuted fighters for self-rule in India. Verily they have got their reward in being reduced to a position of hopeless impotency in the Federal Legislature.

Princes to Get More Than Their Due

On the other hand, a few hundred Princes of India, who have not striven for Indian self-rule but who would, on the contrary, be used as tools to fight Indian nationalism, are to have 100 seats out of 260 in the Upper House and 125 seats out of 375 in the Lower, placed at their disposal to be filled by their nominees.

Even if their subjects numbering 81,237,564 had the right to elect their representatives to the Federal Legislature, they would not be entitled to more seats than the 134,967,258 claimants to the "General" seats.

That the legitimate interests of a minority should be protected goes without saying. But the best and perhaps the only way to do it, is to evoke and depend on the goodwill of other minorities and the majority. To treat a country as if it were the battle-ground of warring camps is to make it such, if it be not one, or to keep it a battle-ground for ever, if it be one. Such treatment can result only in the prevention or putting off of the growth of national solidarity.

I have already shown that the majority has been reduced in the Federal Legislature to the position of a minority. Hence my suggestion is that the safe-guarding of the legitimate interests of the majority should be one of the special responsibilities of the Governor-General.

Communal Representation Incompatible with Responsible National Self-government

I have already said that separate communal representation is incompatible with responsible national self-government. It is necessary to explain myself a little in detail.

Self-rule means that people are ruled either by themselves or by the representatives elected by them. In ancient times in very small village republics, the citizens themselves in meeting assembled could transact the business of the state and govern themselves. In our present-day really self-ruling States, the Government is "of the people and for people," but literally not "by the people," but by representatives elected by the people. But under the Communal Decision, in the Central and Provincial Legislatures the statutorily fixed majority parties will consist either of Hindus elected exclusively by Hindus, (as *e.g.*, in Madras or U. P.) or of Mussalmans elected exclusively by Mussalmans (as *e.g.*, in the Punjab or N.-W. F.) or of Mussalmans elected exclusively by Mussalmans-cum-Europeans elected exclusively by Europeans (as in Bengal). Therefore, neither in India as a whole nor in the Provinces will there be representative Self-government, but Government by statutorily fixed communal majorities, elected, not by voters of all communities, but by voters belonging to the particular communities concerned. In the Muslim-majority provinces not a single legislator of the majority party will be elected by a single non-Muslim voter and in the Hindu-majority provinces not a single legislator of the majority party will be elected by a Muslim or a Christian. And even such majority parties will not be the real rulers of the country. They will be only nominal rulers. Their "Government" will be a sham, as the real power will remain in the hand of the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, the Provincial Governors, and the foreign bureaucracy in general, known as the "Steel-frame"—an expression coined by Mr. Lloyd George.

One of the essential conditions of democratic and responsible Government is that what is today a minority party may become the majority party tomorrow by the conversion of its opponents to its way of thinking or owing to other causes. In this way all groups have an effective chance of giving the nation the benefit of their wisdom, capacity and public spirit. The changeability of the personnel of the ruling party gives the ruling majority for the time being a sense of its real responsibility to the nation, and exercises an effective check on arbitrary, irregular or corrupt methods and actions. But if a constitution makes any religious community as a community, the permanent ruling majority, there cannot be any democratic and responsible self-rule in the country, and all the advantages of such rule, pointed out above, are lost. The Communal Decision militates against the essential conditions of democratic and responsible Government, and would, if given effect to, keep India deprived of all the advantages of such Government.

Under a system of joint electorates, to whatever religious community or communities, classes, castes, interests or races the majority of the members of central and provincial councils might belong, it could be said that people of all communities had helped to elect them and were responsible for choosing them. So the members also would feel their responsibility to and would and must try to promote the interests of all the people of all these groups. But under a system of separate electorates, in some cases the majority would be elected exclusively by the Hindus, or at any rate by non-Muslims and non-Christians, in some cases the majority would be elected by Muslims, and in one province (Bengal) the majority would be either Muslims or Muslim-cum-Europeans elected exclusively by their co-religionists or compatriots. Hence each province of India would be ruled by a foreign bureaucracy (for British-domination would continue) through a majority of legislators for whose election people of all groups would not be responsible and who would not feel responsible to and need not in consequence ordinarily try to promote the interests of all groups. This would be a highly undesirable state of things. It would not be self-rule or representative government. It would be rule by a bureaucracy, mostly British, in the name of a majority with whose election whole groups of people had nothing to do.

I do not lay stress on the fact that the Communal Decision has been grossly and insultingly unjust to the Hindus. For, even if it had been possible for it to be fair to the Hindus and all other communities, separate and communal and class electorates would have remained a great evil against which the nation must wage unrelenting war.

Congress Wanted to Win Over Muslims

The split in Congress ranks over the Communal Decision is to be deeply deplored. If any section of Congressmen had believed that the Communal Decision was good and necessary in the interests of India and had, therefore, parted company with those who believe it to be anti-national, anti-democratic and injurious to the interests of the Indian nation as a whole, then in that case, too, the division in Congress ranks would have been regrettable. But what adds to the painfulness of the present situation is that, though all Congressmen believe the Communal Decision to be anti-national, anti-democratic and injurious to India, yet for the sake of expediency a section of them will not agitate against it, or vote against it, if returned to the Legislative Assembly as members. The Congress Working Committee's attitude of neutrality towards the Communal Decision was evidently due to its hope—a hope which has not been fulfilled—that that would make Muslims friendly to the Congress and lead many of them to join it and also lead Muslim voters to cast their votes in favour of Muslim candidates who were Congressmen.

Principle Sacrificed to Expediency

Principle should never be sacrificed to expediency. But supposing the sacrifice of principle for the sake of expediency were justifiable, it must be shown that expediency has produced or is expected to produce the desired result. In the present case, however, the generality of Muslims have not changed their attitude to the Congress. As for voting for Congress-Muslim Candidates, Muslim voters have been asked by the two biggest and oldest Muslim organizations, *viz.*, the Muslim League and the Muslim Conference, that they should vote only for those Muslim candidates who accept and would support the White Paper including the Communal Decision.

I have said above that principle should never be sacrificed. This maxim should in particular be strictly followed by those who have declared that Satyagraha is their rule of life. Satyagraha is a Sanskrit compound word. Satya means truth and Agraha means 'strong attachment,' 'persistence,' 'insisting,' according to Apte's Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Therefore, Satyagrahis should prove their strong attachment to truth by persisting in and insisting upon truth in and outside the Council Chambers.

In spite of a party's failure to achieve its object, it

can command the respect even of those who do not belong to it, if it adheres to truth and principle and bears witness to the truth under all circumstances. But non-persistence in and non-insistence upon its convictions cannot command respect.

VOICE OF MAJORITY NOT NECESSARILY VOICE OF TRUTH.

It was said at Wardha that there would be a fight to the finish between the two Congress parties and the result would show which was right. But rightness and wrongness cannot be determined in that way. The voice of the majority of voters is not necessarily the voice of Truth and Right. Even if the candidates of the Congress Parliamentary Board succeed in capturing all the elective 'general' seats, that would not in the least show that the attitude of neither accepting nor rejecting was right.

If one nation, by successful warfare or by some other means manages to bring another nation under its dominance, this fact of domination does not, by its mere existence, stand justified morally. Still, this method of establishing the power of one nation over another has been employed righ through history and is still being employed by the so-called highly moral, just and civilized nations. Successful war is still the criterion by which masters and slaves are determined among nations, and the ruling nations are still accepted everywhere as rightful rulers so long as the ruled do not turn the table on them by successful warfare. (Such warfare is called rebellion at first, but, when successful, it becomes war, *e.g.*, the American War of Independence). The ethical and logical aspects of this matter need not be discussed any further here. It can surely be asserted that the complete domination of one group of normal human beings by another, howsoever brought about, is contrary to ethics and justice. Such a state of affairs is comparable to the institution of slavery. All over the civilized world public opinion considers slavery dead and buried. But what is the reason that led civilized humanity to discard slavery, if not entirely, at least on the surface of things? That slaves were cunningly enticed or forcefully brought away from their own homes and were sold often to harsh and cruel masters was one of the root causes of the disappearance of open and acknowledged slavery from the modern world. But not all slave-owners treated their slaves with curelty and heartlessness.

Therefore, another and the fundamental argument against slavery is that it lowered humanity to the level of beasts by buying and selling men against their will and rendered the well-being and life of the slaves subservient to their masters' whims. Slaves could change ownership in the same way as cattle or dogs, and they were deprived of the human right of free will, of self-improvement, of ideal and responsible conduct. Could one call a thing like this moral or just? Could it enable even the slave-owners to keep their manhood unstained? It tainted the buyer as well as the bought.

At the present time all the provinces of India are under the British. If some one asked them, "Why are you ruling such and such provinces," they would answer, "Oh, we have conquered them." It is called the "right of conquest" in the western catalogue of rights and wrongs. Whether such a "right" is truly a right need not be discussed here. But this is certain that according to this code of military ethics, if a third party came along and by successful warfare conquered, both Britain and India, that third party will, by right of conquest, become the master of both countries.

REVIVAL OF SLAVERY IN ANOTHER FORM.

At the present moment the British are talking about granting self-rule to India. The sort of self-rule they are granting will keep their overlordship intact. Indians will not have the final say in any matter of vital importance. The provincial legislatures may assume the nature of glorified village Union Boards or Municipalities and the self-ruling Indians may resemble a slave, carrying his master's luggage, who is free to carry the weight on either shoulder according to his own choice as well as decide himself which road he will follow or what food he will eat during the journey. The master would not interfere in these matters so long as he carried the luggage to its proper destination. Leaving aside, however, the nature of the self-rule that India will get, let us assume that it will be real self-rule. Even then, the way the British are distributing political rights among the Indians, *i.e.*, on the communal basis, is making the latter in their political aspect somewhat similar to the slaves who used to be bought and sold in the open market in former times.

In the different provinces of India Muhammadans predominate in some and the Hindus in others. In such provinces as show a Hindu majority, even though the Muhammadans have been given seats far in excess of their actual proportion to the total population, the Hindus will be in an effective majority. Those Hindus who will occupy the majority of seats in the legislatures of these provinces will be elected entirely by non-Muhammadans; but they will nevertheless, govern the Muhammadans of the province. The significance of this will be that in these provinces Muhammadans will be governed by people in whose election they will have no voice. That is to say, in these provinces the British will have placed the Muhammadans in the hands of the Hindus, although in these provinces the Hindus can claim no right of conquest over the Muhammadans.

Similarly, in some other provinces, the Muhammadans are in a majority and as such will have undisputed sway in the legislatures of the provinces. They will elect Muhammadan legislators from amongst themselves and place them in power in the legislatures without any reference to Hindu opinion. In fact, in these strongly Muhammadan provinces, the British will have put all the Hindus in the hands of the Muhammadans by means of separate electorates and communal distribution of seats. The Muhammadans have not conquered these provinces from the British nor from the Hindus. Therefore, this handing over the Hindus to the Muhammadans without voice or choice is comparable to the sale of slaves to masters by dealers who perhaps are stronger than both the buyers and the bought and enter into the game solely with a view to profiteering. Those Muhammadans who say, "Give us to rule over the Hindus in some provinces and we shall give the Hindus to rule over the Muhammadans in some others," may be asked, Who gave you the right to sell the Muhammadans to the Hindus in the predominantly Hindu provinces? Who, again, gave the Muhammadans the right to subject the Hindus to irresponsible Government in the provinces where the Muhammadans are in a majority?" The fact is that the minority Hindus or the minority Muhammadans are neither cattle nor slaves that the British might hand them over to the tyranny of irresponsible rule by another community.

REAL DEMOCRACY CAN OVERCOME COMMUNALISM

Some say, if communal electorates and reservation of seats were done away with and joint electorates established instead, the Hindus would occupy the majority of seats in the Central Legislature and the whole of India will be ruled by Hindus as Hindus, that is, elected by, representing and responsible to Hindus alone. There is a serious mistake in such a view. I would here remind you of the developments

which, His Excellency Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy, looks forward to, even under the Communal Decision but which can be really looked forward to only under national democratic self-rule. Addressing the Legislative Assembly on 5th September, 1932, he said:

"A Government has to deal with the practical problems of the advancement and prosperity of the people. The people are not in their ordinary lives divided into exclusive communal compartments. They have the most varied relations with each other, and those relations develop series of interests and objects which are bound to cut across the purely communal outlook. I would, therefore, suggest to those who are looking at self-government in India as a problem of the Raj of one community or of another to reflect that in practice this is not a natural development. And I would urge them rather to contemplate as a more probable picture of the future a grouping of parties on the basis of economic or other non-communal interests."

With a joint electorate and general allotment of seats, the elected members will be responsible for the well-being of all, irrespective of their own religious views. With the destruction of the communal outlook, the political representatives will be elected on account of their fitness to do good to all and not because they belonged to a particular sect, so that, very naturally, the proportion of members of particular religious views in the legislatures will not always be any index to the numerical strength of the communities in the various provinces. And a majority community may not always find a majority of their own sect in the legislature. Democracy is more real than communalism, for after all, the important issues of a nation's political life are not religious. Therefore, democracy can always overcome Communal narrowness. In England, the U. S. A., and elsewhere there exist different religious and racial groups. But no one ever counts the proportion of Catholics, Protestants or Jews in the legislatures of these countries. The ministries in these countries are formed according to the strength of the various political parties. One party may be in a majority for some time, but, unless their ministry show ability to do good to the country they may lose their power in the next election, so that there is no risk of a permanent Government by an everlasting majority of any group without reference to their honesty, ability or ideals. It is easier for men to change over from one party to another than from one religion to another. So democracy cannot exist where majorities are based on non-political standards, such as religion, complexion, language or race.

In a system of joint electorates the members of the legislatures will be elected not only by their co-religionists but by all groups and they will be responsible to all groups. They will thus think it worth while to behave in such a way as would enable them to secure votes from all communities and not only from their own. As a result persons of extreme communal views will be open to defeat by more liberal and abler persons. The communities will be replaced by parties which will be composed of members of all religions. Parties will gain or lose support according as they benefit the nation by their activity. The present desire for communal "safeguards" is born of jealousy, fear, suspicion and covetousness. Taking advantage of this "opening," the British are "awarding" some power to each and every community but actually depriving the community of communities—the nation, of any real power.

If we could have real democracy in India, even a small community in a given area might turn out a large number of able men to act as legislators and officials. Merit being the criterion, smaller groups everywhere would not give up all hope as they would when branded as an eternal minority, and everybody and every group would attempt self-improvement. With communal government each community will work only for its own good and none for the common or national good. This fact alone should condemn this most infamous of political inventions.

Hindus Opposed to Communalism

With real democratic elections there is every chance that at least in Bengal and the Punjab Hindus will remain most of the time, even permanently, a minority in the legislature. Still, the Hindu Sabhas of these provinces and the Sikhs in the Punjab have voiced their opinion favouring joint electorates. The Hindus do not wish slavery to be revived in the Indian political world. They do not wish to possess unnatural and unjust power over others, nor would they give up their own right anywhere to others. In no country can there be different communities of exactly equal numerical strength. Not even the worst and most powerful of tyrants can force different communities to assume this sort of equality. Therefore, one or other community will always be larger in number. In such circumstances, true non-religious democratic politics is the only solution. Selfish exploitation of the minorities would surely break up the nation and that would bring disaster to all. Though we have been under the British for a long time we have not yet lost our manhood to such an extent as to agree to being treated politically like slaves who could be forced to change masters at any time without opposition.

National Self-rule and Not Communal Mendicancy Makes a Nation Prosperous

This rambling address has already become too long, I crave your kind indulgence for a few minutes more to enable me to place before you some concluding observations, in order to show that it is national self-rule which can make the different communities and classes and their aggregate the Nation healthy, prosperous, respected and enlightened, not communal mendicancy and the patronage received in return.

In the centuries during which the constitutions of independent and free countries of Europe, *e.g.*, like Great Britain and France, have gradually taken their present forms, there have been serious internal bloody conflicts beween their different religious communities, and the predominant groups have often subjected their opponents to fierce and unjust persecution and various kinds of unjust discrimination as regards educational facilities, laws of inheritance and the right to follow any professions, and occupations of their choice. For example, in England the burning at the stake of persons holding religious opinions different from those of the community in power was at one time largely practised. Jews, Roman Catholics and Non-conformists suffered from serious disabilities, which have been gradually removed. A similar state of things existed in France and other old free countries also. In these countries religious and other class conflicts are not yet entirely things of the past. Yet at no time have there been in these countries any reservaion of seats in their legislatures for different religious communities, whether forming a majority or a minority of the population, nor any separate elections by separate religious constituencies. The absence of such devices there have not stood in the way of these countries remaining free and becoming powerful, prosperous, educated and enlightened. The peoples of these countries as a whole, and even their most backward communities, are better educated than the most progressive sections of Indian and live in greater comfort

and enjoy much better health than the corresponding and even higher classes in India.

Condition in Other Countries Compared

It is also to be borne in mind that in India different religious communities have never indulged in mutual burnings as in Europe, nor have there been such religious massacres here as the notorious massacres on St. Bartholomew's Day in France. Neither Hindus nor Mussalmans, when in power, have so systematically discriminated against one another as some religious communities in Europe in the past.

In spite of these facts, Englishmen in India have instilled into the minds of some religious communities the idea that without the "safe-guards" of reservations of seats, "weightage" and separate electorates, these communities would not be able to be prosperous, educated, healthy, etc. If that were a fact, why were these devices never adopted in Great Britain and Ireland, in France, in U. S. A., Japan, etc.? If the peoples in those countries as a whole and the separate communities forming parts of them could do without them and yet be powerful, prosperous, enlightened, healthy, why are these devices considered necessary in India--devices which divide group from group, make national solidarity impossible, and create distrust and dessension where they do not exist? Every politically-minded nationalist in India knows the answer.

It may be objected that these devices may not have occurred to the ancient and later constitution-builders of Europe and hence the older countries of the West had to wade through much mutual conflict, suffering and bloodshed to their present more civilized condition, and that these devices are necessary to make more peaceful progress possible and smoother working of new constitution practicable. Let me examine this objection.

The constitution of the United States of America, where there are various religious and racial groups and where racial and religious riots still occur, is a comparatively new production. But these devices are absent in its constitution. That is also the case with the Canadian Constitution. The Japanese Constitution is of still later date, but that, too, is without these devices. And yet all these countries and the different communities living there are more prosperous, more educated and more long-lived.

Should any objector consider even the nineteenth century an age of uncivilization, we would invite his attention to the independent and free states re-constituted in Europe after the last great war in the present century. The people in every one of these countries and each of the groups constituting them have higher incomes, better education, better houses, longer lives, etc., than the people of India and the corresponding classes of Indians. Such a state of things has not been brought about there by the devices referred to above. These have not been adopted in any of these countries. Only some safe-guards relating to education, racial customs and culture, language, personal laws, and the like have been provided. These and these alone should be provided in India, if and where necessary.

The last refuge of objectors may be the assertion that India is a peculiar country. It is true, no country is exactly like any other country. India also is not exactly like any other country. It is not peculiar in any other sense. But perhaps this statement is not quite accurate. It is peculiar in this that, whereas in the constitutions of the older countries of Europe and in those of U. S. A., Japan and the new States of Europe only the interests of their own peoples had to be safe-guarded; in the constitution to be manufactured in London for India the political and economic interests of Britishers must be safe-guarded above all and first of all.

I have said that the people of other civilized countries are more prosperous, more educated, healthier and more long-lived than Indians though there is no separate communal representation there. Let me mention a few facts and figures to prove my point.

It is unnecessary to seek the aid of statistics to prove the extreme poverty of the bulk of the Indian population. One official admission will suffice. In the Report on Constitutional Reforms, popularly known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the signatories, the then Secretary of State and the then Governor-General, have stated that "the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standard of Europe. (Section 132).

As regards sanitation and health, let the following death-rates per mille per annum, taken from the Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations 1933-34, speak:

Canada	10.1	Germany ..	11.2
U. S. A.	11.1	Austria ..	14.0
Argentine	12.5	Belgium ..	13.3
Ceylon	22.1	Bulgaria ..	16.8
Cyprus	17.1	Spain ..	17.3
India	24.8	Britain ..	12.5
Japan	19.0	Australia ..	8.7
Palastine	22.1	New Zealand ..	8.3
Philippines ..	19.4		

Another index to health is the expectation of life in years at birth of the people of different countries, as to which the following figures are taken from the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 171-72ff

Country.	Males.	Females.
Australia	55.20	58.84
Denmark	54.9	57.9
England	48.53	52.38
France	45.74	49.13
Germany	44.82	48.33
Holland	51.0	53.4
India	22.59	23.31
Italy	44.24	44.83
Japan	43.97	44.85
Norway	54.84	57.72
Sweden	54.53	65.98
Switzerland	49.25	52.15
United States	49.32	52.54

As regards education, the following table of illiteracy taken from Whitaker's Almanack 1934 will give some idea:

Country.	Year.	Per cent of Population illiterate.
Turkey	1927	91.8
Egypt	1927	85.7
Brazil	1920	67.0
Portugal	1920	65.0
Mexico	1921	64.9
Spain	1920	43.0
Greece	1928	43.0
Poland	1921	32.7
Italy	1921	26.8

By now all these countries have made appreciable progress in education.

Comparatively unprogressive countries have been mentioned in the above table. In 1930, in the United States of America only 4.03 per cent. were illiterate. In Japan, there are practically no illiterates except infants. In Russia (U. S. S. R.) in 1926, the percentage

of illiterates was 48.7. At the end of 1930, it was 33. And at the end of 1933 it was only 10. Mark the rapid increase in the number and percentage of literates in Russia. In India in 1921, the illiterates were 92.9 per cent of the population, and in 1931 they were 92 per cent of the population. But even this slight progress is deceptive. For, whereas in 1921 the total number of illiterates was 29,34,31,580, in 1931 it was 32,16,28,003.

The Negroes of America, who were sold as slaves in America, were originally an uncivilized people without literature and without even an alphabet. Till their liberation on December 11, 1865, it was a penal offence to teach them or for them to receive any schooling. But in 65 years from 1865 to 1930, they have made such progress in education that in 1930 only 16.3 per cent. of them were illiterate, against 92 per cent. of Indians. This ought to make both us and our Government ashamed for we have ancient literatures and more alphabets and scripts than we know what to do with.

Remedy of Remedies

One of the main reasons why India is poor, illiterate and unhealthy is that she is not self-ruling. Therefore we should make the greatest possible efforts, to win self-rule.

There is a Sanskrit proverb which says

वाणिज्ये वसते लक्ष्मीस्तदर्धं कृषिकर्मणि ।
तदर्धं राजसेवायां भिक्षायां नैव च नैव च ॥

which means that the Goddess of prosperity dwells in commerce, half of that in agriculture, and half of that in the service of the State, but not at all in begging.

Imperial preference (open or disguised), manipulation of exchange and currency, the practical monopoly of shipping in foreign hands, concessions of minerals, etc., to foreigners, the foreign control of our public exchequer and the like make it impossible for the generality of our people to prosper by commerce and industry. Agriculture, generally speaking, is in a backward, pre-scientific condition. The public services and the army, according to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, find occupation for only 1½ per cent of the people. Begging for communal. favours or any other favours cannot make the people at large either healthy, wealthy or enlightened. National Responsible Self-rule is the remedy of remedies. Let us strive for it.

INSURANCE NOTES

Unemployment Insurance

The Unemployment Act, 1934, which has been in force since June last, in Great Britain contains in the main the provisions of the earlier Unemployment Insurance Acts and there is no change in the rates of contribution obtaining at present. The reduction in the rates of benefit introduced under the National Economy Act 1931, has also been restored. The new Act grants what are to be known as "additional days" for benefit. The qualification for being entitled to such benefit is that the insured contributor, claiming the benefit has been fully insured for at least five years. The number of "additional days" for which benefit is to be granted is calculated by what is called the "ratio rule." For every five contributions which have been paid by the claimant during the past five years three "additional days" for benefit will be allowed. If the claimant is a juvenile, that is, person under 18 years of age, every two contributions will be treated as one for the purpose of "additional" days calculation.

The new Act embraces within its scope juveniles at school-leaving age and in this respect it has gone in advance of the previous legislations. With a few minor exceptions, all persons 14 years of age and over who are working for an employer, will be insurable unless they are either (*a*) employed in agriculture, (*b*) employed in domestic service in private houses, or (*c*) apprentices receiving no wages.

The new Act aims at placing the Unemployment Insurance Scheme on a sound basis and with this end in view the "Unemployment Insurance Statutory Committee" has been set up. The committee are entrusted with the duty of examining the working of the Scheme every year and reporting upon its financial position and should they ever find it necessary, they are to make such suggestions as will improve the position of the Fund and make up the deficiencies, if there be any. The new Act is an improvement upon its predecessors and it is expected that it will be successful in achieving the ends for which it has been enacted.

M. G.

NOTES

"An Un-Islamic Outrage"

By publishing the following signed leader in *The Bombay Chronicle* its editor has rendered distinct service not only to his own community, but to others also :

AN UN-ISLAMIC OUTRAGE

"I am giving only one life for protecting the honour of the Prophet, but Mussalmans will be prepared to give lakhs of lives for the same object." So declared Abdul Qaiyum, the youthful Muslim from the N.-W. Frontier Province, when he was convicted by the Sessions Judge of Karachi for the murder of Nathuram and sentenced to be hanged. The words reveal the wrong and perverted notions of Islam, which are entertained by not a few of those who call themselves Muslims as well as the danger involved, at the present stage of educational progress in India, in the publications of books and leaflets which contain unwarranted, insulting and provocative attacks on the founder of any religion. There are few crimes more heinous than, in the name of one religion, to defame the founder of another. But not less condemnable and outrageous is the notion that it is a meritorious deed to take the law into one's hands and kill the perpetrators of such crimes. Nathuram, the murdered man had paid the penalty for his crime when he was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for publishing a scarrilous pamphlet about Prophet Muhammad. But evidently there are Muslims, who belive that it is a meritorious act to kill a man who insults their Prophet. It was this belief which was responsible for Abdul Qaiyum's homicidal assault on Nathuram and, worse still, for his justification of it. No belief could be more repugnant to the teachings of Islam and to the practice of the Arabian Prophet, who invariably forgave his traducers and was magnanimous towards his enemies. The Sessions Judge in sentencing Abdul Qaiyum said : "There is no immunity for a Muslim to do what he likes according to the personal law of Islam." If the Sessions Judge made this statement in reference to the contention of the defence Counsel, it must be made clear that there could be no greater calumny against Islam than to suggest that it, directly or indirectly, sanctions or justifies an outrageous act such as that of Abdul Qaiyum. According to the Sessions Judge the accused had not murdered Nathuram out of personal grudge, but out of veneration for the Prophet. Whatever his motive, the accused could not have committed a deed more un-Islamic and more antithetic to what the Arabian Prophet lived for and taught. No one has a right to call himself a Muslim who does not regard this outrage as indefensible and there could be no greater disservice to Islam than to consider perpetrators of such outrages as 'martyrs' in its cause. SYED ABDULLAH BRELVI

"Empire merely Based on Brute Force" Not Wanted?

London, Oct. 5.

Sir Herbert Samuel speaking at Dundee, profoundly regretted the demonstrations at Bristol, yesterday, because India was not a party matter. He declared, "It concerns the whole country and also the Dominions and the latter will not consent to be party to an Empire which is merely based on brute force. The Liberal Party actively co-operated with the Government in fashioning the new Indian constitution and if the Government stands to its proposals the Liberals all over the country will give it continuous support."—Reuter.

As if the Government's proposals are tantamount to laying the foundation of the new Indian constitution on the willing consent of the people of India!

When have the Dominions *practically* sympathized with Indian aspirations, and what will they do if the British *Empire* (of which they are not parts), not the British *Commonwealth of Nations* (of which they are parts), proves to be merely based on brute force?

We do not mean to say that, individually, Dominion statesmen have not declared themselves in favour of self-rule for India—they have done so. But in practice the Dominion Governments have treated Indians as a very inferior people.

General Smuts on Self-government for India

London, Oct. 19.

General Smuts emphatically declared himself wholeheartedly in favour of self-government for

India at Dundee on the occasion of conferment of freedom of the city. He expressed the opinion that the problem was eminently one for the exhibition of that genius for compromise which always distinguished the people of Britain in relations with other peoples and in the solution of their own political problems. "What is happening to-day is not forced; it is inevitable. India must have self-government conferred on her."

General Smuts recalled that a century ago Macaulay introduced into India British ideas of self-government, justice and equal rights which had been germinating. The "most explosive thing in the world is ideas and those seeds of ideas planted by Macaulay have produced their crop and you are faced with the situation which must be dealt with."

"Whatever you do in the matter let it be the work and gift of the nation as a whole, it will be a sad day and a sad occasion if, self-government of India should become a party question in Britain and should not be treated as a great national issue in which every section of Britons joined."

General Smuts pointed to the great success which resulted from the great act of British statesmanship in granting self-government to the ex-Boer republic 1907, when every counsel of worldly wisdom seemed to point out a different direction. South Africa's position in British commonwealth to-day was largely due to act of faith. "My strong wish is that the precedent followed there should be followed in this case, too."
—Reuter.

The opinions expressed by the Boer statesman are welcome. It should, however, be borne in mind that he is not a British statesman, and also that British statesmen when in power do not or cannot give effect to their pro-Indian views expressed when out of power or in opposition.

India and British Political Parties

When General Smuts desired that India should not be made a party question in Britain, he made his meaning clear. He wanted that all British parties should jointly confer self-government on India. But when British politicians indulge in the cant of India not being a party question, what is meant is that all British parties should combine to rule India as a subject country for Britain's benefit. We are afraid that is the sense in which Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal on leave, referred in his speech at Edinburgh on the 15th October last to "the best way of *governing* India"—not, mind, "the best way of *making India self-governing.*"

In a speech Sir John said that the irresistible march of evolution in India was full of difficulties. From the standpoint of those responsible for the Government of India, it was greatly to be deplored that Indian affairs had become from time to time a matter of acute political controversy in Britain.

Whatever the differences might be as to the best way of governing India, it could be agreed by all men of practical experience that the only policy likely to succeed all along the line was a policy which could be steadily and persistently pursued without being tossed and twisted about in the turbulent stream of party politics.

Sir John said that Britain's wonderful record in the management of external affairs had been made possible largely by the fact that those affairs were treated as standing above party politics.

He did not believe that in the Parliamentary life of Britain, Indian affairs could for very long exercise a dominant influence. The issues which would sway the electorate to determine the alignment of political parties would always be domestic.

If this was so, justice, as well as experience, dictated that the destinies of India should be worked out in an atmosphere of judicial calm and the leading statesmen of all parties fully realized this.—Reuter.

What is said to be everybody's business may be nobody's business, and, therefore, it is only proper that the problem of giving self-government to India should be, not a party problem, but an all-British-parties problem. "The destinies of India should be worked out in an atmosphere of judicial calm," in order that no British party or politician may be carried away by any remnant of War-time zeal for world democracy, self-determination for all nations and the like. Justice dictates it. But justice of what variety? The ordinary colourless kind, or of the martial or ordinance sort?

British Labour Conference and Self-determination for India

In what we have written in the foregoing note it is not to be taken as implied that we expect any British party to do justice to India. It is easier for individuals to desire to be just than for parties to be just in practice. Many members of the British Labour party have expressed a desire for justice to India. But the party as a whole has made the gesture indicated in the following telegram:

London, Oct. 3

The Labour Party Conference at Southport to-day considered a resolution submitted by Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, expressing the conviction that it is imperative that the principle of self-determination for the establishment of full self-government for India should be implemented forthwith.

The resolution supported the Indian demand that constituent assembly should be elected, based on adult franchise.

Mr. Arthur Henderson urged the withdrawal of the resolution and refused to give an undertaking on behalf of the Executive to carry out its policy of self-determination for India. He said: "We have laid down very clearly that we are going to consult, if possible, all sections of the Indian people. That ought to satisfy anybody."

The Conference then passed on to other business —Reuter.

Mr. Henderson ought to know that *that* does not satisfy the Indian people. "We are going to consult, *if possible*, all sections of the Indian people." Just as at the so-called Round Table Conferences all sections of the Indian people were alleged to have been consulted!

Indo-British Partnership!

A Reuter's telegram reads in part as follows:

London, Oct. 4.

A spirited attack on the Government's India policy was repelled at the Conservative Party Conference, which opened at Bristol to-day by the adoption of an amendment, by 543 votes to 520, that it was not in the interest of the Party that the Conference should pass any resolution, particularly as it had been decided that a special meeting of the party Council should be held to confer with Mr. Stanley Baldwin when the report of the Joint Select Committee is published.

The Conference thus rejected Sir Henry Page Croft's resolution, which he moved amid cheers.

"This Conference, which is prepared to support the measures for a greater measure of self-government in the Indian provinces step by step and in accordance with the Government of India Act, records its emphatic opinion that the partnership between Britain and India in the Central Government of the Indian Empire must not be dissolved and urges the Government to assent to no proposals which imperil the future of India within the Empire or impair the confidence and unity of the Conservative Party in view of the menace of Socialism."

Indo-British partnership indeed! There is as much partnership between Britain and India as there is between India and the Man in the moon.

But if the sort of relationship which exists between India and Britain can be called partnership, there are a greater degree and quantity of the thing in the White Paper proposals than exist at present.

For, those proposals make the Governor-General and the Governors greater autocrats than they are at present and add greatly to the powers of the steel frame. That is so far as administration goes. As regards growing rich by utilizing the resources of India, the proposals make it very clear that Britishers are to be in an unequivocally better position than now. This fact has been brought out anew in Prof. D. N. Banerjee's two articles in the October and November numbers of this Review.

The rejection of Sir Henry Page Croft's resolution by such a narrow majority shows that the die-hards are very strong. The result will be that more "safe-guards" will be added to the White Paper, making it blacker than it is.

Or the White Paper proposals may be scrapped altogether. Mr. Neville Chamberlain has said as much when he stated that it must not be assumed that the future constitution of India would be based on the White Paper.

If that thing be scrapped altogether, no tears will be shed so far as we are concerned. We shall only ask (whom we do not know), why all this bother, commencing with the Simon Commission, continuing with the so-called Round Table conferences and ending (supposing that that is the concluding chapter) with the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee, and why this squandering of the poor Indian taxpayer's money.

Mr. Fazlul Huq Wants More Empty Hostels

In the course of his presidential address at the recent Bengal Muslim Youths Conference, Mr. Fazlul Huq

> "peaded for a larger number of well-built Hostels throughout Bengal for Muslim students."

His attention is drawn to the following paragraph page 83, in the Government of Bengal's *Eighth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal* for the years 1927-1932:

> "A considerable proportion of the accommodation provided in the Moslem hostels, with the solitary exception of the Rajshahi Madrasah, remained unoccupied during the period [of five years] and a few hostels were also closed owing to the lack of boarders."

No Examples of Self-sacrifice in India for Moslem Youth!

Mr. Fazlul Huq concluded his address with an appeal, part of which runs as follows:

"Before I sit down, I wish to say a few parting words by way of fervent appeals which I hope you will allow to burn into your hearts. I appeal to you to take up the work of organizing yourselves into a band of devoted workers in the cause of your community and country, with all the ardour, the enthusiasm and the energy of youth. I appeal to you to be inspired with that idea of self-sacrifice which filled the hearts of the Neo-Spaniards of the days of Cervantes who regarded self-immolation in any public cause as the only true religion known to man."

It may be that Mr. Fazlul Huq did not want Moslem young men to imitate the examples of self-sacrifice set in India by non-Moslems (assuming, of course, that there have been such). But it is rather strange that, though there have been Mussalmans in India for more than a thousand years, he could not discover any examples of self-sacrifice among them.

Baroda Girl Guides in South Africa

Reuter reports :

CAPE TOWN, Oct. 16.

The party of Girl Guides from Baroda, who are touring South Africa, are being enthusiastically welcomed by the Indian community as well as by European residents.

Their pleasing demeanour, skill with various weapons, notably the bow and arrow, and excellent drill displays have created a most favourable impression.

The Guides, who are now nearing the end of their tour, arrived to-day at Ladysmith (Natal), where they were welcomed by the Mayor and a large gathering of Indians and Europeans.

Over the Mayor's head was suspended a huge garland of flowers. Suddenly a Guide stepped out and from a distance of 12 yards drew a bow. An arrow sped directly over the Mayor's head, cutting the cord by which the garland was hung.

The garland fell over the Mayor's shoulders—a spectacular event which greatly pleased those present, including the Mayor, after he had recovered from his initial surprise.—Reuter.

The Rand Daily Mail has given an account of what the Girl Guides said and did at Johannesburg.

The eloquence of three Indian Girl Guides, aged 14, 15 and 16 wearing khaki jackets and knicker-bockers, with daggers slung at their sides swayed an audience of nearly 3,000 to outbursts of wild enthusiasm in the Selbourne Hall.

They were members of the party of girl guide students from the Arya Kanya Mahavidyalaya Baroda, India, under their leader Pandit Anandpriyaji. The Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. D. Penry Roberts, presided.

Catherine Mayo's book, "Mother India," was held up to scorn by these girls.

"Are we the down-trodden women of whom she wrote" they asked, and proceeded scathingly to criticize the book. They took the authoress to task as a woman who thought she could assimilate the whole history of India in a 'hurricane tour.'

"We stand before you to-night as examples of young Indian womanhood—the alleged victims of child-marriage—to give the lie direct to "Mother India," they declared.

The big Indian audience roared its approval.

Introducing the Girl Guides, Mr. P. B. Singh said that the tour had been made possible by a very rich sugar manufacturer in Lugazi, Uganda, Mr. N. K. Mehta who was an ardent supporter of the education of Indian women. To show his faith in the Baroda institution he had actually sent his baby daughter to that school.

"Come stand on your chair, Sabita," he said, "Show yourself to the people." And a pretty olive-skinned girl with sleek black hair stood in her khaki uniform and smiled shyly.

Subhadra Kumarti, the 16-years-old guide in her speech, which was made in English and was marked by forceful gestures, urged Indian women not to forget the traditions of their country. They must preserve their individuality.

"The modern Indian woman is coming forward to take her part nobly in the social and political life of her country," she said, "where woman is respected, there does wisdom dwell, a wise man has said. We come to you to present a true picture of Mother India."

At the end of her speech she naively added: "We are proud to be in this historic city of gold—and we hope to have a jolly good time here!"

The guides then sang a song in Bengali, written by Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore.

Another girl, 15 years old, referred in Gujerati to Miss Mayo's book. "An American has written that India is a land of child-marriage, Suttee and general persecution of women. This is an untruth," she exclaimed, and forcefully smacked the fist of one hand into the palm of the other.

In his speech of welcome the Mayor said that it gave the Mayoress and himself great pleasure to be present and wish the Girl Guides a happy tour of the Union.

Mr. M. S. Nana welcomed the tourists on behalf of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

"It is in your hands," he said, addressing the Girl Guides, "in the hands of youth, that the destiny of our motherland lies." Recently an All-India Soccer team had toured the Union. They represented the men of modern India. To-day the Girl Guides were here. They represented modern Indian womanhood.

Months ago we had occasion to witness a drill and acrobatic performance of these Girl Guides at Santiniketan before the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore. He was pleased with them.

Exhibition of Pictures at Rangoon

Mr. Manindrabhushan Gupta, who has gone to Rangoon to exhibit his water-colours, is an accomplished artist as well as interpreter of Indian art. He had his training at Santiniketan, and was a teacher of art for a number of years in Ceylon.

Upheaval in Spain

Poverty of the masses had a great deal to do with the French Revolution. That was one of the main causes, if not the principal cause, of the revolution in Russia. Extensive economic distress lay at the root of the recent upheaval in Spain, too. A large part of the population of that country live in a state of semi-starvation. It is not merely the agricultural labourers who generally cannot appease their hunger, but even the peasant proprietors have often little to eat. And Spain is not distinguished for manufacturing industries.

Statesmen should always beware of the hunger of large masses of men.

India's Representative at the World Press Conference

There have been many world conferences where India was represented by non-Indians. It is satisfactory, therefore, to learn that at the World's Press Conference to be held in Melbourne next year India is to be represented by an Indian editor of an Indian-owned paper. It is an additional source of gratification that Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika,* is to represent India; for that paper has a long record of signal service to the country under distinguished editors.

A Lady candidate for the Assembly

The *Hitavada* of Nagpur writes:

> The Congress Nationalist Party has set up Shreemati Shannodevi ex-principal the Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Jullundur, as a candidate for one of the seats in the Assembly elections. The lady has done considerable work for the Congress cause and has suffered sacrifices, having been imprisoned in the first civil disobedience movement. Women in India have always been apprehensive of their success in elections in a joint electorate constituency and for that reason have been slightly inclined to favour separate electorates If this lady is elected, it will be a signal triumph for womanhood in India and a fitting answer will have been given to the protagonists of separate electorates for women

We have known Srimati Shannodevi for years as a lady who has had remarkable achievements to her credit in connection with the Jullundur Kanya Mahavidyalaya, one of which was the collection of Rs. 100,000 for it, for which she toured India, Burma and parts of Africa. She stands for the Jullundur Division. We support her candidature with all our heart.

India's Public Health Record

The figures reproduced below from the *Bengal Public Health Report* for the year 1932, published last month, show how unsatisfactory and deplorable is India's public health. The figures relate to the year 1932.

Province	Birth-rate per mille	Death-rate per mille.	Increase or Decrease per mille.
Bengal	26·6	20·5	+ 6·1
Madras	36·03	21·96	+14·07
Bombay	35·89	23·04	+12·85
U. P.	34·66	22·23	+12·43
Panjab	41·36	24·70	+16·66
C. P.	45·20	26·89	+18·31
B. & O.	33·8	20·6	+13·2
N.-W. F	28·89	20·00	+8·89
Burma	27·75	17·30	+10·45
Assam	30·06	18·96	+11·10

INFANT MORTALITY RATES PER MILLE

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Bengal	184·8	172·4	178·9
Madras	193·62	171·78	182·58
Bombay	164·01	148·12	156·39
U. P.	169·16	155·49	162·72
Panjab	182·80	173·72	178·52
C. P.	215·16	186·40	201·12
B. & O	138·2	119·0	128·8
N.-W. F	129·93	128·57	129·34
Burma	196·64	171·85	184·50
Assam	166·05	146·51	156·58

These figures may be compared with the following statistics of death-rates per mille in some other countries

Canada	10.1	Germany	11.2
U. S. A	11.1	Austria	14
Argentine	12.5	Belgium	13.3
Ceylon	22.1	Bulgaria	16.8
Cyprus	17.1	Spain	17.3
Japan	19.0	Britain	12.5
Palestine	22.1	Australia	8.7
Philippines	19.4	New Zealand	8.3

Hitler the Complete and Perfect Autocrat!

Hitler has become both life president and life Chancellor of Germany. In addition, Reuter wires:

> BERLIN, Oct. 16.
>
> German Ministers will no longer be responsible to the Reichstag and a law will shortly be promulgated which will require Ministers to take an oath of fidelity to Chancellor Herr Hitler alone.
>
> This announcement was made in a speech to-day by Herr Lammers, Secretary of State, at the Chancellery. He added that the concentration of all power into the hands of one man was the sole means of securing Germany's recovery —Reuter.

Tagore on the Place of Art in Education

Interviewed by the "United Press" prior to his departure for Madras the Poet, Rabindra Nath Tagore, said :

> The present system of education in this country is purely academic in its aims and activities and by woefully neglecting the glorious traditions of arts that were once the most effective instruments ot Indian culture it has stifled the true cultural aspirations of India and has brought about a deplorable state of dullness in the life of the nation. The art has the unfailing virtue of investing a new value to life and its varied creative expressions. I consider it a sacred mission to revive those ideals of Indian art and make them relieve in the educational and cultural life of India. I am shocked to find the poverty of life that India presents to-day which to a great extent is due to the fact that her arts are being looked down upon the arts which are allied to the heroic aspect of life expressing in articulate forms her inner aesthetic institutions.
>
> I have had two happy experiences in Bombay and Ceylon of being able successfully to call the attention of the people there to the imperative need of giving to the arts an important place in education and I hope my visit to Madras will be equally successful.

"Red Lights" of Bombay

The seamy side of Bombay's night life, with its blatant vice, has been mercilessly exposed by Mr. Lincoln Gardener Ellison, author and traveller, in an article in the *Modern Thinker*. He has given a graphic and revolting pen picture of a notorious vice-ridden and disease-infected spot in that city. We can quote only the first paragraph. He writes :

> There are red-light districts, but probably no city in all the world has a street where vice is so blatant and unashamed as Bombay. Here, where West merges into East in a melody of contrasts, vice is the more repulsive because it is so undisguised. There is nothing hidden about it. The evil exists and you have to put up with it.

That other cities have such moral plague spots is certainly no palliation ; but it must be said that Bombay does not most probably hold the record. And Bombay has been putting up a fight with commercialized vice.

American Investigation of Munition Industry

Investigations by U. S. A. Senate Committees are generally very searching and thoroughgoing. The present investigation into the American munitions industry will not most probably be an exception. *The New Republic* writes :

> The Senate committee investigating the munitions industry has made a magnificent start. For the first time, the people of this and other countries have a chance to see the armaments business as it really is. They can see it as a business that lives by deliberately fostering ill-will and threats of war between nations and by shamelessly bribing high-placed officials of all countries.
>
> Since the World War, the United States government has many times boasted of its labours for disarmament. We now find that the State, War and Navy Departments have all along privately been acting as sales agencies for American armament concerns. We find that our ambassadors, generals and admirals have been on terms of improper—in one instance, obviously culpable—intimacy with the munitions manufacturers and have done them innumerable favours. From the Senate investigation, we also learn something about the arms makers of other countries, and find the same scandalous situation, varying in detail in Great Britain, France, Poland, Argentina, Brazil and Peru. It seems possible the revelations of the last few days concerning the operations of Vickers will shortly compel a parliamentary investigation in England.

Some idea of the scandalous situation has been given already by Dr. Sudhindra Bose, published in our last October number. Regarding the sensational character of the allegations made one example, taken from the same paper, will suffice :

> That our government, as a further aid to the Driggs Company, invited a Polish military mission to visit this country. After long delays, the invitation was accepted by Poland, and the Driggs concern was at the point of closing a contract involving many millions of dollars when America's departure from the gold standard in April, 1933, caused the Polish government to reconsider. According to Driggs officials, early in these anti-aircraft negotiations King George summoned the Polish Ambassador before him, and demanded that the business be given to Vickers. London sources indignantly deny this story.

Sir Akbar Hydari on Communal Unity and Education

In the course of his address at the Bombay Provincial Muslim Conference Sir Akbar Hydari said that ignorance of each other's history, literature and culture was to a great extent responsible for communal dissensions and hatred. That is undoubtedly part of the truth.

He observed that he was opposed to separate communal education. He proceeded to say that, if the Benares Hindu University

had not grown up, the Muslim University at Aligarh would not have been established. This statement is misleading. The Muslim *University* at Aligarh may be of later date than the Benares Hindu University. But the Aligarh Muslim University is only the Aligarh Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College renamed and magnified; and that college was founded by Sir Syed Ahmed long before the Benares Hindu University came into existence.

Impressions of Government of India's Deputy Regarding Zanzibar Indians

That an unlimited number of Europeans from various countries can make money in various parts of Asia, Africa, South America, etc., and return to their own countries with their wealth, is not objected to. But if Japanese, Chinese and Indians—particularly the last—make money anywhere and return to their country without settling in their places of business, that is considered abnormal and a great offence on the part of these orientals. A main charge against Indians at Zanzibar, who are going to be ruined by anti-Indian legislation was that they were birds of passage making money in that island. But that charge, assuming without admitting that it is an offence, is mostly false. Mr. K. P. Menon was sent to Zanzibar by the Government of India for correctly investigating the situation there so far as it relates to Indians. He described his impressions in the course of a speech addressed to a gathering of Indians and Arabs at Pemba. He said that he had learned that more than 80 per cent of the Indians at Zanzibar had permanently settled there. So, most Indians of the island not only make money there but spend and invest it there, too.

Principal S. K. Sen of Delhi

By the sudden and premature death of Principal Surendra Kumar Sen of the Hindu College, Delhi, not only Delhi but the country also has lost a distinguished educationist. He was only 44 years of age at the time of his death. He was an Oxonian and had passed the I. C. S. competitive examination, but was disqualified owing to a physical defect. It is remarkable that under him the Delhi Hindu College made a definite advance in athletics and came to acquire an individuality of its own. He was Secretary of the local Bengali Club, the local Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan, the Arts Exhibition, and the head of the history department of the Delhi University. He was also a member of the International History Society. He took great interest in art, music and sport and was a successful administrator. His modesty, kindness and geniality had made him very popular.

Stopford A. Brooke on "Gitanjali"

In a letter written to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, on December 18, 1912, by the late Stopford A. Brooke, published in the October number of *Visva-bharati News*, we get glimpses of what that eminent minister of religion and literary critic thought of the Poet's father's Autobiography and of the translations of the Poet's poems made by himself which were subsequently published as *Gitanjali* and won him the Nobel Prize.

> I was deeply interested by the Autobiography you sent to me, not only by the history it gave me of the whole of the vital religious movement it records, but chiefly by the character revealed in it, and by the movement and life of his spirit It made a deep impression on me and awakened many thoughts in me—too many for me to put into words. I see how many elements in his soul, you have passed through your own soul reshaped them there and given them a new form in your poems. Those poems of yours, however somewhat derived from him, are vitally your own, and sealed with your own personality. But the others, the greater number, are I think the most individual, personal and original poems I have ever read, and how much more intense their personal originality would be, if I could only read them in their own language. Yet, as you yourself have translated them, their native air and light still suffuses them. We have no new soul and atmosphere imposed on them One person, one only, is in them.
>
> They make for peace, peace breathing from love. And they create for us, too storm-tost in this modern western world, a quiet refuge and a temper in which we realize that the real world is outside our noisome world, in the Things and Ideas that are eternal in immortal Love. And because the poems all spring from union with this undying love, they appear in beauty, in a thousand shapes of beauty. It is well for us over here, amid our crowded varieties and useless philosophies, to have a book which without denouncing us—leads us into the meadows of peace and love and refreshes us when we are weary, but yet is not content till it bids us pass from quietude to shape what we have learned there into the life of men and women and bring them also into peace.
>
> I am old, and I wish I had more of peace of certainty in it. But I am very grateful to

you for bringing so much of it to me; by day, and when I lie alone at night. I send you the last volume of sermons I have published, as a little mark of a great gratitude. In some hour when there is leisure, it may interest you to dip into it here and there, and see what a man thinks who has lived through stormy times into old age, and is sure that love is, and was and will be, for ever.

I am most sincerely yours,

Sd. Stopford A. Brooke.

Dr. Bhatnagar's Munificence

A British Company exploiting the mineral oil resources of the Panjab having benefited by the researches in petroleum of Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar of the Panjab University, who is a chemical researcher of note, wanted to mark their appreciation of his work by giving him Rs. 1,50,000. Dr. Bhatnagar has munificently made over this amount to the Panjab University for founding five research scholarships in chemistry. His self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of science are highly laudable. The way in which the Company chose to mark their appreciation of his work is also admirable. Both the parties concerned have acted in a praiseworthy manner.

We hope it will not be considered ungracious on our part if we say that the incident would have given us unalloyed pleasure if the Company concerned had been Indian.

"Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd."

In the course of the debate in the Assembly relating to the giving of the monopoly for the exploitation of certain chemical resources in the Panjab for fifty years to a British Company, it was officially stated that the concession was or would be given to a British company in the absence of a similar Indian one.

Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni, in the course of an article in the *Tribune*, exposes the Government's pretensions that because no Indian syndicate came forward to apply for it, therefore it has granted or is going to grant, the monopoly for the exploitation of the chemical resources to a British company. It is unquestionably true that no Government keeping the interests of India in the forefront could have put forward such an excuse for mortgaging the country's future in regard to an important industry. He asks, "Is it not the duty of a Government, inspired with the real spirit of a trustee, to make an effort to find a syndicate and even to help one to come into existence?" He recalls an instance how about a quarter of a century ago they, in the Panjab, contemplated to start a concern for the manufacture of alkalies, but were thwarted in their plans because an Indian chemist, who was sent to England with a Government technical scholarship to study the practical side of this branch of the subject, could not obtain admission into any British alkali works, despite his seeking the help of the Secretary of State. One of the heads of a British chemical concern is reported to have openly expressed himself at that time to the effect that 'if ever the industry is taken in hand in India, it is we who shall do it and no one else.' However, we feel that if the Government of India would stay its hand and refrain from granting the monopoly to a non-Indian company and notifies the Indian public about it, indigenous capital and enterprise would immediately come forward to take up the work in hand. But will it do it ? The answer to this question will show its regard for India's interests.

First School of Art in Sind

The opening ceremony of the Sind Art Exhibition under the auspices of the Bandhu Ashram School of Art at Hyderabad (Sind) was utilized also for making known the history of that school of art. We read in the *Sind Observer* that the work of building up this institution has been done by Mr. Monimohon Ray Chowdhury of Santiniketan and Mr. Dhirendranath Ghose of the Mayo School of Art of Lahore. Dewan Metharam Dharmdas Trust has given them this opportunity.

Along with drawing and painting this school teaches a few crafts, such as leather work, lamp-shade making, stencil cutting, etc. Its advanced students have been executing a fresco on the walls of the central room of the school.

Sadhu Vaswani in the course of his presidential address welcomed with joy the advent of filling up a great gap in the life of Sind—a School of Art. He commended the pictures placed in the exhibition to the audience and thanked Mr. Kewalram, Mr. Ghose and Mr. Chowdry for their efforts in the direction of creating an interest in the great work of Art. He invoked the blessings of God on the School of Art and hoped that it would thrive more and more and day by day.

Sadhu Vaswani further appealed to Sindhi boys and girls to adopt the ways and methods of simplicity. It was not in costly clothes that lay the true sense of beauty. Sindhi girls and boys were labouring under that illusion and delusion. It was in simplicity that the true sense of beauty could be found. He appealed to the students never to forsake the ideal of simplicity.

More than 125 pictures, original and copied, were exhibited. Among the originals have been mentioned and described Miss Ruki G. Malkani's "Behind the Curtain," Miss Mumal T. Malkani's "Sasui and Punchu,"

Miss Kewal B. Malkani's "Mira Bai" and "Grandpa's Pride," Miss Issar N. Jagtiani's "In the Moonlight Night," Miss Jasoti K. Thadani's "Miravi," and Miss Gopi T. Jhangiani's "On the Door".

Amongst copy work, Bhoji A. Adwani's Budha, Devi G. Lalwani's 'Christ,' Dholi H. Bhawnani's 'Young Mother,' Giani A. Vaswani's Venus, Gopi Lalwani's 'Patient in Tribulation,' Jamni J. Shahani's 'Radha in Swoon,' Mani Chandiramani's 'Count Leo Tolstoy,' Parpati H. Thadani's [illegible], an old soldier, Pupati G. Sippy's 'Virgin in Prayer,' Radhu N. Bhawnani's [illegible], Raki G. Malkani's 'Expectation,' Sati T. Bhawnani's 'To the Temple' and Vishni D. Jagtiani's 'Young Lady' deserve special mention.

The stencil work by Miss Godhiwari B. Shivdasani was quite good and the leather work by Miss Kaluwanti I. Malkani was excellent.

London-Melbourne Air Race

Last month we read in the papers news of the London-Melbourne Air Race and how the competing aeroplanes passed through India and we asked: Where is India



Mr. Scott (figure wearing a great coat) winner of the London Melbourne Air Race, at Bamrauli Air Station.

We were present at the air station at Bamrauli (Allahabad) when Mr. Scott, winner in the race, landed there. His machine being painted red, it could be seen from the ground even when it was at a great height. He arrived at Bamrauli about an hour before he was expected. He is a tall man with a splendid physique. At the time he landed he wore a long coat, felt shoes, socks turned down and an evening cap. He had a rolling or swinging gait like that of sailors.

Japanese Competition in the World Market

A Japanese trade mission recently spent four months in visiting the South Sea Islands, India, Asia Minor, and Europe. So far as India is concerned the mission's report says some interesting and some naive things. In its opinion, "the nation that is most drastically oppressing Japanese products is Great Britain." "Oppressing" is delightful! The report observes that "India is no longer interesting." It was interesting so long as nothing was done here to prevent Japanese goods flooding the markets. But Japan has still some hope. For Japanese articles can reach British India through the State of Cutch which "has never joined in British tariff agreement." It is also noted that the attempts of the British authorities to suppress the trade through Cutch have been unsuccessful, because that "State is anti-British." It may be that that State and many or most other States are "anti-British," but the writer of the Japanese trade mission's report does not know that such anti-Britishism can be crushed by the British authorities at any moment.

Another thing which the report says is that in India "the masses respect Japan as the leader of the Asiatic races." When Japan defeated Czarist Russia, there was no doubt some respect felt for her as having taken the first step to make a breach in the citadel of European ascendancy in the East. But that feeling of respect has disappeared owing to Japan's increasing imperialism and militarism.

But whether Japan is respected or not, it would be a great mistake to think that she is able to more than compete in some world markets owing merely to some adventitious circumstances or to trickery. Japan succeeds mainly by the development of technical skill and machinery equipment. As

the September number of *Far Eastern Social Information*, published by Japan's Research Institute for Social Problem, informs its readers :

A remarkable development has been made in technical skill and machinery equipment in all branches of Japanese industries. As the Japanese cotton industry started considerably later than other advanced countries it was able to avail itself of the benefits from the start of new superior machinery and other equipment perfected in the advanced countries. The success of Japanese mills in skilful mixing of different grades of cotton is well known. The cheapest grade is used as much as possible in spinning cotton yarn of desired counts, in consideration of the price of raw cotton of the different countries and the nature and price of cotton yarn to be spun, and thereby to lower the cost of production. The adoption of the one process system of mixing and blowing in the process of opening, mixing and batting or blowing, the "simplex" in the process of slubbing, intermediate and roving and the highdraft in the process of spinning has effected considerable economy in the labour required in cotton spinning. It is reported that while the cost of producing one bale of cotton yarn of 20 counts was 25 yen in a mill with 30,000 spindles equipped in the old way, it was 22 yen in the case of the same mill equipped with highdraft spinning frames and 20 yen in that equipped with both highdraft and simplex frames. Considerable improvement has also been made in respect of maintaining the most suitable temperature and moisture in the spinning process.

A remarkable improvement has been made in the weaving department with the introduction of the automatic loom. About 80 per cent of the looms in Japanese weaving foctories under the management of spinning concerns are estimated to be automatic. A person usually operating anywhere between 4 and 6 power looms at a time, can manage anywhere between 20 and 30 automatic looms and a skilled worker from 40 to 50.

The Japanese cotton industry is also highly electrified in the direction of lighting plants and generating motive power. According to the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, while only 50 percent of the power consumed in spinning mills in 1922 was electric, this increased to 88 per cent in 1929 and 97 per cent in 1933.

Considerable improvement has also been made in technical skill in local weaving concerns. Special attention has been given to simplification and standardization of products. As an example of improvement in machinery equipment for better efficiency, the instalment of automatic stop equipment in workshops whose scale is so small as does not permit to introduce automatic looms may be mentioned. In this way the number of looms operated by one worker has been increased to 8 or even 12. It is even reported that as a result of these improvements the cost of production in certain local weaving concerns is 20 or 30 sen per roll lower than that in large scale weaving factories.

Similar information is given on other topics.

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Bengal

Calcutta, Oct. 5.

"If the Government do not allow me to go to the Frontier, I shall settle in the heroic land of Bengal and devote myself to village work." This welcome announcement was made by Khan



Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan
Reproduced from a pencil sketch by
Mr. Kanu Desai

Abdul Gaffar Khan, replying to the address presented at Deshbhandhu Park this evening on behalf of the citizens of North Calcutta.

United Press.

Foundation of Indian Physical Society in Calcutta

A Society under the name of the Indian Physical Society with the object of promoting the progress and upholding the cause of Physics in India has been established in Calcutta. The Society will publish books, journals, and translations relating to original researches in Physics and associated sciences and will co-operate with other scientific bodies, institutes or academies of national importance.

In his inaugural address the President referred to the importance of original research in sciences and said that about 35 years ago Calcutta was the only centre of scientific research in India. The centres have now increased in number, in Calcutta as well as in other parts of India. He referred to the existence of societies in India and abroad and said that the inauguration of the Physical Society will supply a long-felt want. He further added that it was a happy sign that prominent physicists from all over India have agreed to lend their cordial and active support to the cause of the Society.

The office-bearers of the Society for the current year are: President—Mr B. M. Sen, M. A., I. E. S., Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta; Vice-Presidents—(1) Prof. J. B. Seth, M. A., I. E. S., Professor of Physics, Government College, Lahore; (2) Prof. Kamta Prosad, M. A., I. E. S., Professor of Physics, Science College, Patna; General Secretary Prof. D. M. Bose, M. A., Ph.D., Head of the Physics Department, University College of Science, Calcutta; Treasurer—Prof. P. N. Ghose, M. A., Ph.D., Sc.D., Ghose Professor of Applied Physics, University College of Science, Calcutta; temporary head-quarter of the Society 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

The first regular meeting of the Indian Physical Society for the reading and discussion of scientific papers was held on Sunday at 9 A. M. at the Hall of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. Twenty papers containing results of original investigations in various branches of Physics were communicated from different parts of India. The range of subjects was wide and interesting and included topics on structure of molecules and of crystals, Band Spectra and Magnetism. Several distinguished physicists and a large number of persons interested in physics attended.

Development of the Fruit Industry in U. P.

The value of fruit in diet is coming more and more to be recognized. Physicians have been recommending fruit increasingly. But many of the fruits recommended are not sufficiently low in price to be consumed by ordinary people in sufficient quantities. Therefore, the growing and marketing of fruit should be organized and developed. India possesses such varieties of soil and climate that there is scarcely any kind of valuable fruit which cannot be grown in some province or other. Years ago the late lamented Sister Nivedita contributed an article to this journal pointing out how the Himalayan slopes in Darjeeling district could be utilized for growing many kinds of delicious and health-giving fruit.

Exhaustive notices on fruit development and the marketing of fruits in the United Provinces prepared by Mr. R. E. Allan, Director of Agriculture, now on leave in England, were discussed and fully approved at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the U. P. Fruit Development Board held recently in Lucknow. Mr. P. B. Richards the present Director of Agriculture United Provinces, presided.

Valuable suggestions for the development of fruit industry in the Provinces have been made by Mr. Allan, who in his report states:

> There is ample scope in these Provinces for organized improvement in the manner in which we grow our fruit and in the methods by which we dispose of the produce of the orchard. Improvements which would lead to increased consumption by lowering the cost per acre to buyer but which by increasing the amount of saleable fruit per acre and by preventing undue dissipation of profits between the grower and buyer would markedly increase the return each of the former secured from his gardens.
>
> For the most part it must be accepted that in comparison with other fruit areas of the world we are very far behind in all matters concerned with orchard management and disposal. We have a tremendous lee-way to make up. On the other hand we cannot hope to run before we can crawl and it is only by a process of development that it appears possible to build up an organized industry and to give full effect to the advantages bestowed on us by nature in the form of soil and climate. The majority of our fruit is grown by a class who are capable of appreciating better methods and of giving effect to those if so inclined.

Dealing with the question of marketing of fruits in the United Provinces Mr. Allan says:

> The individual orchard has to be improved or laid out; the control of the garden has to be tighter; the methods of grading and packing have to be learnt; more members must be enlisted; the Agriculture Department periodicals at present the organ of the Fruit Board should be subscribed for. Steps should be taken to educate boys in the school on the value of fruit in a diet. A good deal of local activity will be needed to raise even the minimum funds of an effective producer society

and still greater activity to convert this to a producer and disposal society.

With the Central Board, it is true, rests the building of the organization the tackling of railways or other bodies or authorities with which production and sale may be linked but a Central Board, acting with a full body of virile activity behind it, is a very different body to one in which its members and associated societies are half moribund. Success, therefore, rests with each grower of fruit himself."

What is true of the United Provinces is true of other actually or potentially fruit-growing areas also.

Agricultural Research in Bengal

A Press Note circulated by the Press Officer, Bengal, tells the public what is being done in the province in the sphere of agricultural research.

Since the establishment of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, Bengal has been receiving grants from it for promotion of agricultural research. The following note will give an idea of the work done in Bengal.

A su of Rs. 5,702 was sanctioned for the investigation of the possibilities of improving cane crushing and boiling plants utilized in the production of sugar by the open pan system. As a result, an approved crusher designed to crush one ton of cane per hour is now on the market and has proved very successful, not only on account of the high quantity of cane it can crush per hour, but on account of high percentage of juice extracted. It is, moreover, the cheapest mill on the market of its capacity. The boiling plant produces rab of high purity suitable for spinning white sugar.

In addition to the grant for sugar machinery, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has provided Rs. 13,050 over a period of 5 years, for a sugarcane testing station.

As regards rice research it is stated :

Although Bengal imports rice, she also exports rice, not only to European markets, but also to Eastern markets, such as Mauritius, Ceylon, Aden and the Gulf. To enable the Bengal Government to expedite the work which has been commenced on commercial rices, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research sanctioned a scheme which is now working, costing Rs. 2,18,772 spread over a period of 5 years. Work is being conducted at Chinsurah on the Patnai paddies of European trace, and at Bankura or the Western Bengal paddies which are exported to Eastern countries. It will be some years before this work is completed ; but, even in the short time that the scheme has been in operation, valuable results have been obtained.

The feeding of cattle is also receiving attention.

The feeding of cattle in Bengal is, as a rule, restricted to paddy straw, what grazing they can pick up, and a small ration, on occasions, of oil-cake. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has provided a sum of Rs. 48,590 spread over a period of 5 years, for an investigation into the requirements in the way of fodder and grain of Bengal cattle to maintain themselves and, at the same time to be efficient work cattle. The investigations have so far been of very high value, and the information which has been obtained shows that even with a slight increase in the green fodder ration, the efficiency of the stock is raised. Paddy straw alone is not even a maintenance ration. Green fodder must be supplied to the cattle before they can do the work which is required of them. In Napier grass, the Bengal Department of Agriculture has found a green crop which gives enormous yields. It can be grown on spare land and can supply the deficiency which has been shown in the results obtained during the experiments at the Nutrition Section at Dacca.

The combination of two important bye-products, which at present are of little or no value--molasses & *cura* with the addition of lime, form a most excellent cake for the stock. A complete ration has been produced by adding a protein to the two carbo-hydrate ingredients in the cake.

Physical research on soils is also being carried on.

Both the Calcutta University and the Dacca University have received grants from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research to co-ordinate the work between the two Universities and the Agricultural Department, the Council sanctioned a grant of Rs. 22,568 for physical research on soils. In Bengal, with its high rainfall and humid climate, the investigation of soil conditions is of the utmost importance. The investigation of soil conditions is also very complicated owing to the changes in the course of rivers during its formation. The silt brought down by one river is physically and chemically different from that brought down by another ; and, in many cases, these have mingled on account of the changes in the courses of rivers.

We have read in the late Mr. Nitya Gopal Mukerji's writings and have been also reliably informed recently that the soil in many parts of Bengal is fit for growing high grade cotton. The Bengal Agricultural Department should issue a note on the subject in Bengali. A paragraph on fruit culture follows :

Bengal has never been able to pursue research into problems of fruit culture. A gra t has just been received from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research to enable the establishment of a Horticultural Research station at Krishnagar. The importance of fruit, not only from the point of view of the fruit farmer, but as a subsidiary crop to the general cultivator is enormous. The improvement of varieties of the crops grown in the Province, the introduction of fruit crops not grown after the conditions preventing their growth have been investigated, and the marketing of the crops grown are subjects which are being taken in hand.

Some chemical problems relating to soils are also being tackled.

At the Calcutta University, Prof. J. N. Mukherjee has been assisted by a grant of

Rs. 14,109-12-0 to investigate the physical problems in connection with soil colloids. The work that has been conducted by him and his Assistants has been recognized in that the Advisory Board has proposed that further grants should be given for the development of his schemes.

Dr. A. T. Sen at Dacca, working under Prof. J. C. Ghosh, has been developing two schemes—

(1) for the development of new methods of analysis of the soils, and

(2) examination of the chemical constituents affecting the nutrition value of rice

Lord Irwin on the Work of Christian Colleges

Lord Irwin, late Viceroy in India, is now Lord Halifax. In the last week of September he spoke at Leeds on the work of the Christian Colleges in India. Two brief reports, one telegraphic and the other sent by mail, have been received in India. The substance of the former is given below.

> Viscount Halifax the principal speaker, said that the main work of Christian missions had not been reflected in direct conversions but in the presentation of Christian life as seen in practice. It is not too much to say for Western civilization that the evolution and acceptance of public conscience justice fair dealing, toleration and chivalry were all products of Christianity. Viscount Halifax pointed out that the youth of India to-day would provide the rulers of India for the next fifty years. Power will be in the hands of the educated classes and they would come from Indian colleges and universities.
>
> The Christian colleges alone could provide what in the Western world had given true civilization and citizenship. *Reuter*

The majority of British and other European Christians in India are not Christian missionaries. That many Christian missionaries lead lives which are a presentation of Christian life in practice is true. But their effect is more than neutralized by the worldly and in many cases worse lives led by the aforesaid majority. History does not support the claim that the evolution and acceptance of public conscience, justice, fair dealing, toleration and chivalry were, as parts of Western civilization, *all* products of Christianity. The Inquisition, Slavery and the Slave Trade, Imperialistic and Industrial Wars, discrimination against Jews and various Christian sects, etc., were some time or other, advocated by the clergy or laity of either all sects or the clergy of some sects. Colour prejudice and race hatred, as directed against Asiatics, did not prevail in pre-Christian Europe as they have prevailed in recent centuries of the Christian era. By all this we do not mean to say that Lord Halifax's claim is entirely unfounded. What we mean is that the credit he gives to Christianity cannot be claimed in its entirety.

Then again when he asserted that the Christian Colleges *alone* could provide what in the Western world had given true civilization and citizenship, he made an incorrect statement, because other colleges also, which form the majority, along with many other forces and factors, can provide and have provided these things.

Turning to the report received by mail, we find he said :

> It was essential for us to win and hold the confidence of India. He went on to say that unfortunately, India was a matter of acute political controversy but so far as he was aware, there was no disagreement in any quarter as to the ultimate goal that we wanted to reach in our dealings with India, and the consequence of that goal must be the casting of ever greater responsibility for their own government upon the shoulders of Indian men and women. How best could we help India to discharge that growing burden on the constitutional side ? The whole question was being examined by both Houses of Parliament and he had no doubt that when it made its report Parliament would give its most earnest consideration to what might be the best method of helping India.

So far as our knowledge goes, there *is* disagreement among Britishers as to the "ultimate goal." Lord Halifax had no doubt that Parliament would give its most earnest consideration to what might be the best method of helping India. We are afraid the majority of present M. P.'s and other Britishers would agree in holding that India would be best helped by strong rule by Britain.

Lord Halifax also said :

> Nobody who had reflected upon or lived in India would doubt that the force that would ultimately decide the success or failure of any constitution would be the character and the spiritual qualities of the Indians who would work the constitution that Parliament might pass. India stood pre-eminently in need of this new spiritual strength. All the best of her sons to-day were consciously or unconsciously crying out for a higher spiritual fellowship. This spiritual fellowship was the best thing one could give to India. There, as elsewhere, youth was on the march and the future was going to be immensely affected by what youth said, thought and did. If they agreed with him in thinking that it was the students passing through the colleges who were going to have this great machine in their hands in years to come, then the Christian colleges were placed in a unique position for exercising influence.

His general observations are true, but it cannot be admitted that the Christian Colleges held any unique position.

> The main work of missionary effort in India had not been reflected in direct conversion to Christianity. Individual conversions were taking place, and he did not wish to undervalue all that was happening by way of mass movements producing in some cases phenomenal results. The Christian religion filled the place of the third largest religion in India. But he thought that the main effort of all missionary work had been to present Christianity as seen in practice, ministering to the sorrowful, the oppressed, and the needy to open the eyes of India to a truth that it was very difficult for Indian thought to comprehend, the truth of value of each human personality in the sight of God.

Have the bulk of white Christians, particularly of the imperialistic and industrial nations, realized the truth of the value of each human personality (of coloured Asiatic and African peoples) in the sight of God?

This truth was realized in India, too, and that even before the birth of Christianity.

Lord Halifax concluded by observing:

> India and its problem was easily the biggest thing that this country had tried to solve. There were many people who had misgivings and even great fears about it, but there were other people who thought that faith was likely to be a better solvent than fear and that it had been through faith that all our biggest Imperial achievements had been won. He felt the greatness of the opportunity given to this nation to-day to go to India and say that these colleges were merely giving them that something which was essential to the success of the great effort upon which they and we were commonly engaged, and if they would accept our services we, in England, would gladly give them of our best.

Railways and Rival Transport Service

Speaking at the 31st session of the Indian Railway Conference Association, Sir Joseph Bhore, the Railway member, said:

> Whatever may be the strictly narrow Railway view of such competition, present and prospective, we must all admit that in the larger interests of the country it is good that it should exist, for it is only through such rivalry can the public be assured of the maximum efficiency in service at a minimum cost.

This is a reasonable view.

Increase of population in Britain and Marriage

Regarding the excess of births over deaths in Britain during recent years the *Manchester Guardian* observes:

> Britain, in a word, will shortly be faced with a situation she has not known for many centuries; an expending population has been normal with us since Elizabethan times; we doubled ourselves between 1800 and 1850; doubled ourselves once again between 1850 and 1910.

It has been estimated that the population of Britain will reach its maximum about 1940 and then the decline will commence.

Is it for that reason that, according to a special correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, Sir Michael Sadler expressed his firm conviction that London University would in future be the greatest University in the British Empire and it would have one compulsory subject—marriage? This is what he actually said, in part:

> LONDON'S DESTINY
>
> One day it will be the most famous and influential of English universities, because of the wealth of the metropolis, its supremacy in the possession of great cultural collections, its geographical convenience, and its tremendous attraction to foreign students.
>
> It will become not merely an English university, but the University of the Empire.
>
> Sir Michael made it clear that he did not think either Oxford or Cambridge would ever deteriorate as a centre of learning.
>
> 'A hundrd years from now,' he declared, 'Oxford will still be enjoying its rich and noble heritage. But it will no longer be one of the favourite twin-daughters of the state!'
>
> GREEK IDEAL
>
> He forecast the abandonment of all the ideas of a 'liberal education' that have been accepted and conformed to for so many generations past.
>
> It is his belief that there will be a reversion to the ancient Greek ideal in education—the attainment to perfect harmony between body and mind and spirit.
>
> 'This will mean the training of the body in fitness, grace and self-control,' he explained.
>
> 'In every aspect of life, of conduct, and of aspiration, the body is linked to the mind; and intellectual and emotional education must spring out of physical culture.
>
> 'It is no real liberal education which denies the body, or is furtive toward it.'
>
> He smiled as he added: 'If you could come back to University College in the year 2010, you would see here just as many young men as were here in 1934—but you would hear the Dean saying to them: 'Gentlemen, there is only one course that is compulsory; and the subject of that course gentlemen, is—"marriage"!'

Australia's Congratulations to "India's" Naval Forces

On the occasion of the inauguration of the Royal *Indian* Navy, the Australian Naval Board sent congratulations to the naval forces

in India upon their new designation of "Royal". As India has been given a Navy for Britain's use, and as it is predominantly non-Indian in composition, the congratulation seems worse than a joke.

Madras "Non-Brahmin" Party to Admit Brahmins

The Justice party of Madras, generally known as the Non-Brahmin party, has decided to make Brahmins also eligible for its membership. This is a step in the right direction.

Entry of Sixteen Papers into Hyderabad Banned

A new or an old order, it is immaterial which, of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, has banned the entry into his state of sixteen Indian papers, including some of long standing and established reputation. This fact shows that he does not want that the administration of his state should improve. No individual man is infallible, far less a collection of individuals. And the administration of all states, big or small, is carried on by a large number of individuals. They may all require correction.

Assassination of King Alexander and M. Barthou

The assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia and of the French statesman M. Barthou in France are melancholy events. It can only be hoped that the assassination of the King will not lead to or precipitate any war.

It is little consolation to the innocent multitudes of sufferers in Bengal from strong rule to have fresh proofs of the well-known fact that anarchists or terrorists or revolutionaries are not a monopoly of Bengal, and that the fact of their existence is not a provincial but almost a world problem

Militarism from the Cradle

While pacifists the world over are cogitating how to outlaw and banish war, Signor Mussolini has formulated his scheme for seeing that from the cradle to the grave every Italian child is imbued with the fighting spirit. From the age of eight, if not earlier, they are to be prepared for war. They are to be taught its virtues and to grow up as warlike as beasts of prey.

Mass Education in China

According to Reuter,

> The system of mass education is being revolutionized in China.
>
> Because of the lack of teachers, specially women teachers, and of other problems caused by tradition, students are being made into teachers, and the move has met with unprecedented success.
>
> The students attend school during the day, and go out at night to teach, instructing both young and old. Some of the great difficulties of Chinese education have been solved by this method.
>
> The "child teachers" have been most effective among women. In one family, for instance, a six-year old grandson taught his 60-year-old grandmother how to read in a short space of time.
>
> There are 27 child teaching centres in China, several of which have been operating successfully near Shanghai.

If mass education were attempted in India, all the unemployed graduates and undergraduates (including matriculates) would find employment. Children, in any case, would not have to become school teachers. But as our Government is not national, who is going to tackle the job?

Two hundred Nationalities in One State

British objectors to India's being or becoming a nation and achieving self-rule point to the numerous linguistic, religious and caste groups in this country as insuperable difficulties. But in Soviet Russia the diversity is far greater. On the occasion of that state's admission as a member of the League of Nations, M. Litvinoff, its representative, said:

> The idea in itself of an association of nations contained nothing theoretically unacceptable for the Soviet Union, which was itself a league of nations in the best sense of the word, uniting over two hundred nationalities. He claimed that never before had so many nations co-existed so peacefully within a single State, never before had so many nations in one State had such free cultural development and enjoyed their own national culture as a whole and the use of their own language in particular. There were neither national majorities nor minorities in the Soviet Union, and this on territories where before the Soviet regime all nationalities except the dominating Russian were being stamped out by violence and repression. At the present time the periodical press in the Soviet Union came out in fifty languages. The Soviet States had never excluded the possibility of some form of association

with States having a different political and social system so long as there was no mutual hostility and if it was for the attainment of common aims.

France's Loss

Last month within a few days France two of her statesmen, M. Raymond Poincare and M. Barthou. The death of the former was natural, the latter was murdered. The former had retired from active political work after a very distinguished career, but the latter was still in the saddle.

Truthfulness in Politics

When Mahatma Gandhi wanted to substitute the words "truthful and non-violent" for the words "peaceful and legitimate," in the article defining the object of the Congress, we think he used the word "truthful" in the ordinary everyday sense. Therefore it seems to us unnecessary to investigate the philosophical difference between relative truth and absolute truth and whether the latter is attainable. Truthfulness is necessary in politics and even if not attainable under each and every circumstance, should be our ideal.

As for non-violence, even if it be not attainable in thought by ordinary individuals, it is not so very difficult of attainment in deed and in word. Every ideal is difficult of realization. It would not be an ideal if it were quite easy to realize. It is far better to have an ideal and to fail to come up to it even after strenuous endeavour and thus to expose oneself to ridicule, than not to have any ideal at all.

Mahatma Gandhi's contemplated Retirement from Congress Leadership

Writing before the meeting of the Congress at Bombay we do not want to discuss Gandhiji's statement describing and explaining why he wants to retire from its leadership. We only want to say that there is at present no other leader who can keep together and lead so many persons as he, and therefore his retirement would be a loss to the country and the Congress.

We wholeheartedly support that portion of his statement in which he explains why he wants the organization of an All-India Village Industries Association.

Forty-Eighth Session of Indian National Congress

The 48th session of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay in the last week of the last month. In spite of the great difficulties, described in the speech of Mr. K. F. Nariman, Chairman of the Reception Committee, which the Committee had to surmount, the preparations made on a lavish scale for the holding of the session were satisfactory, as we can personally testify. But instead of giving our own impressions, we



Miss Sofia Sonji, Captain of the Ladies Volunteer Corps, Indian National Congress, Bombay.

prefer to give the description of a hostile witness. In its long editorial article *The Times of India* cries down the Congress, pours ridicule on it, and says that its President and other Congressmen "are palpably ignorant of its contents !" But in giving a rather full summary of his presidential address on another page the same paper prints in big type the heading, "Congress President's Elaborate

THE 48TH SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, BOMBAY



(1 & 2) Bird's-eye View of the Congress Nagar

Photograph by "Times of India" Press

Bird's-eye View of the Congress Nagar
Photograph by "Times of India" Press

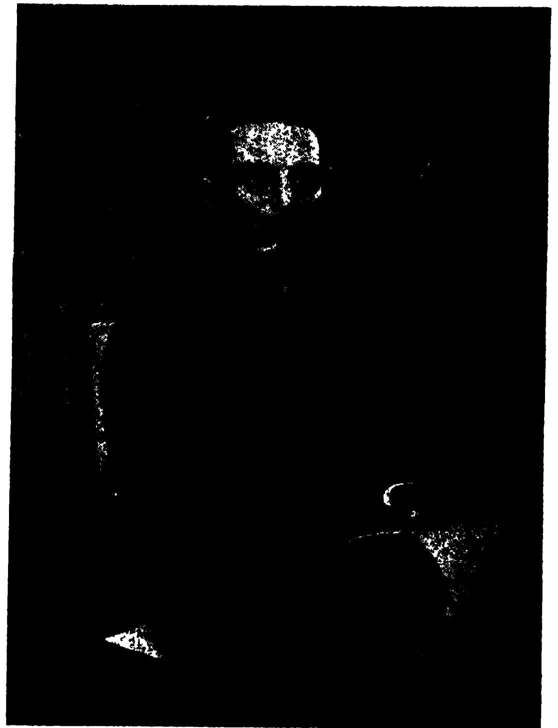


Congress Working Committee Meeting with Gandhi, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, Madan Mohan Malaviya, etc., 48th Session of the Indian National Congress.



Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya





1. Babu Rajendra Prasad, President, Bombay 48th Session of the Indian National Congress.
2. Mr. K. F. Nariman, Chairman, Reception Committee, Indian National Congress, 48th Session, Bombay



Babu Ramananda Chatterjee's Reception at the Railway Station, Bombay



Sir Govindrao Pradhan, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, etc., on the dais of All India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference Bombay

Analysis of White Paper!" So in the opinion of this paper a man can give an "elaborate analysis" of a document, though he is ignorant of its contents This journal gives the following description of the "impressive scenes at Congress opening"

> The 48th session of the Indian National Congress which began in Bombay, on Friday evening can only be described as a unique success from the spectacular point of view The organizers left no stone unturned to make it so The open amphitheatre, designed to seat 60 000 persons, though not packed to capacity, was nearly full The number of two rupee visitors' tickets sold was 35 000 Add to this number about 2,500 delegates, 1 800 Reception Committee members and an equal number of men and women volunteers 600 press representatives and 300 special class visitors who had paid sums ranging from Rs 100 to Rs 5 000 for the honour of sitting near the President's dais not to mention quite a number of people who had gained admission by other means
>
> The control of this phenomenal crowd and the regulation of traffic within the Congress grounds including the pandal was carried out entirely by the volunteers As was to be expected there were several tense moments during the protracted proceedings when the crowds threatened to go out of hand A mobile company of well drilled volunteers with lathis was at once rushed to every scene of disturbance and order was restored with the minimum of force
>
> IMPRESSIVE SCENE
>
> The arrival of the president in procession headed by the Congress band and escorted by the members of the Working Committee and a volunteer corps as well as the guard of honour furnished by the Desh Sevikas in pretty saffron coloured sarees and armed with lathis presented a very impressive picture A national song by a noted singer and a welcome song sung in chorus by a batch of girls marked the opening of the session Then followed the addresses of Mr K F Nariman Chairman of the Reception Committee and Babu Rajendra Prasad the President
>
> The speakers addressed the Congress from a brightly lighted and decorated rostrum erected in the centre of the amphitheatre It was equipped with a microphone and flood lights were directed on each speaker from different angles so that he could be heard and seen from all parts of the huge enclosure

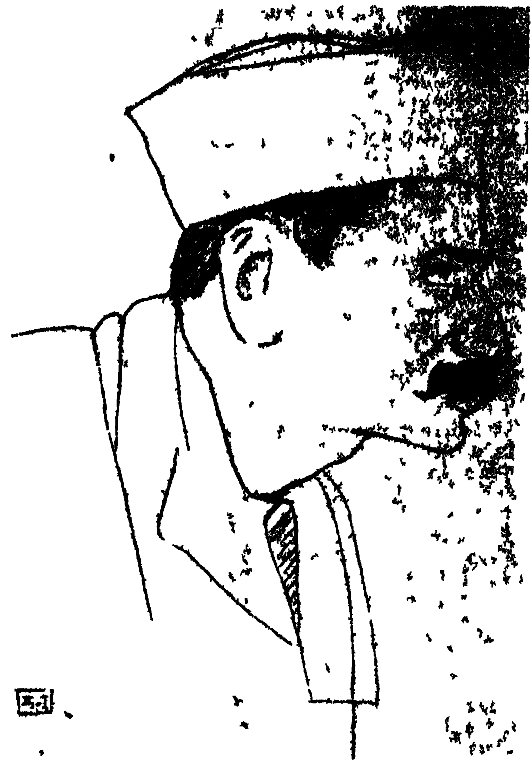
Babu Rajendra Prasad's Speech

The selection of Babu Rajendra Prasad to fill the presidential chair this year was unexceptionable and commendable from all points of view We should rather say that, if he had not been elected this year, it would have been a clear dereliction of duty on the part of Congressmen He has made great sacrifices for the national cause and undergone much suffering and persecution. His services in connection with the Bihar earthquake and floods are too well known and recent to need recounting.

He is meek and mild, but firm withal, as his conduct of the proceedings of the Congress shows.

We can here call attention to only a few passages in his presidential address.

Returning from the second so-called Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi twice requested Lord Willingdon for an interview, but the latter refused to grant him an unconditional interview In the words of Babu Rajendra Prasad, regarding the period of economic depression through which the country has been passing, the President observed



Babu Rajendra Prasad
Reproduced from a pencil sketch by Mr Kanu Desai

> The country has been passing through a period of deep economic depression, which has been intensified by the Government policy of managing

Indian affairs in the interests not of India but of Great Britain. The past few years have seen great distress of the peasantry unable to pay the heavy land revenue and rent and suffering great privations. They have witnessed curtailment of expenditure on nation-building departments, great slump in industry, export of more than 200 crores of distress gold, dislocation of trade and a tremendous increase in unemployment the extent of which even in the best of normal years the British Government have never dared to ascertain owing to its vastness. These years have been remarkable for heavy additions to the so-called Public Debt of India and the burdens of the already overtaxed tax-payer and the poverty-stricken population for carrying on an extravagant and top-heavy administration and partly for suppressing and crushing the movement for freedom.

The Ottawa Pact, which has been condemned with one voice by the best-informed opinion in the country as being detrimental to the best interests of India, and particularly of the masses of agriculturists, was ratified. Its working has proved that the apprehensions of its critics were well-founded. It has successfully tied India to the chariot wheels of the British policy of Imperial preference.

In his opinion,

The position of our countrymen abroad gives no ground for satisfaction. Their treatment in the colonies of the British Empire has been a long-standing cause of just grievance and has influenced not a little the change in our outlook and opinion in favour of complete independence. One after another, Indians settled in these colonies and protectorates are being deprived of their inherent rights to which they are entitled by virtue of their long association, service and contribution to the prosperity of these colonies. They have, in fact, been instrumental in many cases in building up these colonies and many have been born in them and have their homes without any other in the world. One scheme after another is devised to get rid of them after they are no more needed, and although it is some consolation to know that the scheme of assisted repatriation has been given up, it is also to be noted that no place is found in the vast British Empire where they can live and settle with the same full rights to land and citizenship as others have in India. The latest application of this policy of squeezing out Indians is reported from Zanzibar where in spite of the best of relations which Indians have maintained for generations with the Sultan and his subjects, ordinances have been hurriedly passed, which deprive them of the rights of acquiring land. The discrimination against Indians becomes flagrant when we know that this restriction does not extend to the new arrivals from Arabia. There is nothing surprising in all this when we know that Indians do not enjoy even elementary rights of citizenship in their own country and which even the proposed constitutional reforms are not going to confer on them. We can only give this assurance to our countrymen abroad that as our position at home improves their position will also automatically improve. In this connection it is impossible not to mention with gratitude the great name of Dinbandhu C. F. Andrews, who has been frequently going to Africa to render such help as has been possible for him to render.

As regards the Government's so-called "Dual Policy" of "Constitutional Reforms" and of Repression, Babu Rajendra Prasad has shown the deceptive and illusory nature of the former and the stern and real character of the latter.

He has criticized the White Paper proposals in detail, judging them in the light of four tests, namely,

(1) How far the proposed new legislatures will be representative of the nation; (2) How far the powers alleged to be transferred to popular control are real in the centre and the Provinces; (3) What the Powers proposed to be transferred in regard to the Finances are, and what additional burdens India will have to bear for the new constitution, and (4) whether the proposed constitution contains within itself any elements of growth and development.

And his verdict in every case is adverse.

In connection with the suspension of Civil Disobedience as a mass movement, says the President,

Two weaknesses seem to me to have dogged our footsteps.

Firstly, the Congress workers had been gradually and perhaps unconsciously led into adoption of methods of secrecy, which reduced what would have been an open battle of defiance into a battle of wits: It was not realised that *Satyagraha* is essentially a fight on a higher moral plane in which suffering is openly courted and cheerfully borne and which aims at conquering the opponent by an appeal to his moral sense and in which any attempt to over-reach him rebounds with fatal effect on the Satyagrahi himself.

Secondly, it must be also admitted that the attack of the Government on a vulnerable point succeeded. People were not prepared to lose property to the extent they were prepared to lose liberty and even life, and when heavy fines and sequestration of property in lieu of fines and confiscations started on a wholesale scale, gradually demoralization set in and ultimately broke the back-bone of the movement. Attempt was made to continue the struggle by confining it to those individuals who had faith in it, and taking it out of the methods of secrecy. That partly explains the Poona and the Patna decisions.

It has had to be suspended in the very interests of the movement and those of the country. The principal reason was our own weakness, and yet I do not feel that there is any reason to be downhearted.

Regarding Mahatmaji's retirement from the leadership of the Congress, the President's advice is :

You should remove from your minds any apprehension that you may have that he is going to retire from public life or that by not being physically connected with the Congress his interest will cease or that his help will not be available. I have no such apprehension. . . . . I do not minimise the effect of such a decision, if he comes to it, but I wish you to have faith in him and I have no doubt that all will be right, whether he decides to work from within or from outside the Congress.



Babu Rajendra Prasad's Reception Procession

In conclusion Babu Rajendra Prasad says among other things :

Let us not, however, be led away by the idea that Swaraj can be achieved by anything we could do in the legislatures. We have to remember that the price for freedom must be paid before we can get it, and while we have every reason to be proud of what has been done and what the country has suffered, it is, after all, yet inadequate for the great object we have in view. The task we have taken upon ourselves is great and glorious. It requires inexhaustible patience, unflinching determination and unending sacrifice. Time and world forces are helping us and, above all, God is with us in this great epic struggle of an unarmed people fighting, with the weapons of Satyagraha of Truth and Non-Violence—a most powerful Government armed cap-a-pie and equipped with the latest engines of destruction devised by science and human ingenuity. For us there is no turning back. The goal is clear. It is nothing short of Independence.

Independence is the natural outcome of all that the freedom movement in India has stood for. It cannot mean isolation particularly when we remember that it has to be achieved by non-violence. It means the end of exploitation of one country by another and of one part of the population of the same country by another part. It contemplates a free and friendly association with other nations for the mutual benefit of all. It forebodes evil to none, not even to those exploiting us except in so far as they rely upon exploitation rather than goodwill. The sanction behind this Independence movement is non-violence which in its positive and dynamic aspect is good will of and for all. We already see signs of how it has begun appealing to a certain extent to world opinion. This appeal has to become irresistible.

Reply came to this last moment request in the form of warrants of arrest for himself, the Congress President, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and other prominent Congressmen throughout the country.

The Congress was taken unawares and the Government expected that they would be able to crush the whole movement within a fortnight. In spite of want

of preparation, in spite of sudden removal of all the prominent Congress workers throughout the country within a few days to prison, when they were not able to give instructions to their followers as to how to organize the campaign, it must be said to the credit of the nation that the lead, which had been given by the Working Committee, was faithfully and spontaneously followed. Thousands again courted imprisonment, *lathi* charges, firings, heavy fines, confiscation of property, and beatings on an extensive scale.

The movement was not crushed and went on for months and months without a break to the bewilderment of officials, who had hoped to crush it in a few days. Special sessions of the Congress were held at Delhi and at Calcutta amidst arrests and *lathi* charges and in spite of the vigilance of the police, who had concentrated upon preventing them.

Mr. Nariman's Appeal to Pandit Malaviya

In the course of his speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the recent Bombay session of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Nariman addressed the following "appeal," as he calls it, to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya :

> The differences of opinion over the Communal Award have been unfortunately pushed to such a degree as to result in the formation of a distinct anti-Award group. The step that Pandit Malaviyaji and Sjt. Aney have taken has caused some jubilation in the ranks of our opponents but their joy is bound to be short-lived. Panditji's intentions are to bring the Award for an open vote and the nation can confidently trust that he and his colleagues will abide by the Congress verdict, whatever it might be. For, no one can realise to-day more fully than Panditji the need for unity in Congress ranks.
>
> Whatever the differences. however strong the personal sentiments, or even conscientious objections, all should be subordinated to the final, national tribunal. Here must end all dissensions and bickerings. Thenceforward stern discipline and loyal devotion should step in. Any opposition to the final verdict would certainly deserve the appellation of rebellion against the parent body.

There is nothing to be said against an appeal proper. But the implication in the last sentence of the extract that, if Mr. Malaviya does not abide by the verdict of the majority but follows his conscience, he would be guilty of rebellion and might be subjected to stern discipline, does not look like an appeal. Mr. Nariman will do well to remember that history has justified many a rebellion and that among the world's greatest persons there have been many rebels. We would also call Mr. Nariman's attention to the lines of James Russell Lowell quoted by Babu Rajendra Prasad, to be understood of course in a figurative sense in the present case—

> "*Truth for ever on the scaffold*
> *Wrong forever on the throne*
> *Yet that scaffold sways the future."*
> *And behind the dim unknown.*

Congress and the Communal Decision

Both the Subjects Committee of the Congress and the Congress in full session at Bombay have, by a large majority, maintained the neutral attitude of the Congress Working Committee towards the Communal Decision ;—they neither accept nor reject it. They hope to replace that Decision by an agreed settlement. The future will show whether any such agreed settlement will replace the Decision, and whether that substitute will be a purely "National" solution, or will be more or less Communal in character than the British Government's Decision.

Congress Parties and the Communal Decision

No Congress Party, by whatever name known, approves of the Communal Decision. There is no difference of opinion among Nationalists, whether Congressmen of any description or Liberals or members of other Nationalist bodies, as to its dangerous and mischievous character. All want to get rid of it. The difference is only as regards the methods and means to be adopted for its rejection. Whatever method and means succeed, the result should be welcome to all Nationalists.

Purchase of Stores for India

It is stated in the report of the Indian Stores Department, London, for 1933-34, that 96.771 per cent of the contracts placed by it were with British firms. That is very good news for Britishers. But were the contracts placed with British firms because they were British, or because among competing firms their goods were, quality for quality, the cheapest in the market ?

For years, India has been in a position to supply her railways, army, etc., with many classes of goods of standard quality at competitive prices. Still they are not purchased in India for the most part. No national government would have tolerated such a state of things.

Panjab Relief from Indebtedness Bill.

Last month the report of the Select Committee on the Panjab Relief from Indebtedness Bill was presented in the Legislative Council.

> Besides official members who reserve the right to move amendments, the report is signed by the majority group consisting of zemindar members, Mr. Chhoturam, Mr. Akbar Ali, Sardar Buta Singh, Mr. Riasat Ali, Mr. Bishan Singh, Mr. Mohammed Hayat and Mr. Habibullah, and three urban members, Mr. Manohar Lal, Mr. Mukundlal Puri and Raja Narendranath, both appending minutes of dissent.
>
> It is agreed unanimously that the Bill has been so altered as to require re-publication.
>
> The changes suggested by zemindar members relate to the reduction of interest, reduction of principal, exemption of a judgment debtor from arrest, exemption from attachment of certain classes of property belonging to a debtor and reduction of the period during which proceedings can be taken.
>
> They state that the debt burden of the agriculturists is stupendous, being modestly estimated at Rs. 200 crores. At the rate of 15 per cent the annual interest on debt liabilities will be Rs. 30 crores. They point out that while even the annual land revenue amounting only to Rs. 3 crores is universally described as burdensome and 50 per cent reduction thereof is advocated by all, the burden of interest debt which is 10 times heavier is rendered three times more unbearable through the fall in agricultural prices to a third of the boom period rates. They fear that the insistence of the moneylending interests on a pound of flesh is a menace to the peace, security of life and property of the province.
>
> "UNJUST AND UNWISE"
>
> Urban members describe the Bill as changed as a wholly unjust and unwise measure. They state that while reducing the amount of debt it has not only made no provision for payment of those reduced debts but has actually made the recovery of the loans more difficult. They declare that the Bill in wiping the present debts furnishes no solution to the Punjab's agrarian and financial problems and conclude that the measure is likely to impair rural credit seriously, if not destroy it very largely, and will not touch even the fringe of the important question of rural betterment of the Punjab.—*Associated Press.*

The suggestion of the "Zamindar" members, if carried out in their entirety, would amount practically to confiscation of part of the money lent by the money-lenders, who certainly could not and did not force anybody to borrow. Reduction of interest is allowable, but if the principal has also to be reduced, this can be justly done only if Government will pay to the creditors the portion remitted.

U. P. Scheme for Recruitment of Graduates in Government Offices

The scheme which the U. P. Government have formulated for the recruitment of graduates in Government offices for increasing the efficiency of divisional and district offices is commendable. There should be such schemes in other provinces also. When graduates are available even on small salaries it is uneconomic, unstatesmanlike and unreasonable to appoint others less qualified than they.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Candidature

It is greatly to be regretted that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's candidature for the Legislative Assembly was invalidated on a technical ground. It does not speak much for the efficiency of those who prepared the electoral rolls for Allahabad that the name of the first citizen of the province and the oldest active leader of India could not be found there. The Pandit's staff also are responsible for the situation to some extent. They ought to have found out and rectified the omission. But perhaps they never dreamed that such an omission could occur. We hope the representation and reference which Pandit Malaviya has made to the proper authorities will result in the removal of obstacles in the way of his candidature.

Mr. C. Y. Chintamani Not Seeking Election

That Mr. C. Y. Chintamani has not sought election to the Assembly owing to ill-health is a misfortune to the country. He is a very able parliamentarian and a very well-equipped fighter for the nation's cause.

Ten Years Plan Suggested for Universalization of Education

Presiding over the 13th session of the United Provinces Secondary Education Conference held at Allahabad last month,

Professor Dr. Beni Prasad in his presidential address, laid great emphasis on the universalization of education up to the age of 15 or 16. While it was now superfluous to dilate on the abstract values of education as such he said that public opinion and the Government had yet to understand the new perspective in which the whole problem of education had been placed by the advance in the physical and social sciences.

Education, or self-realization was pre-eminently a social affair, a function of social organization and therefore, society ought to be so organized that every man and woman might enjoy an equal and maximum opportunity of development and, as a foundation for this, every boy and girl must have the benefit of free education at least to the age of 15 or 16.

NOT IMPRACTICABLE

"This entails," Dr. Prasad explained, "the abolition of poverty and child labour and the provision of a high margin of remuneration, leisure and security. No longer is it correct to describe such an ideal as visionary and impracticable. A well-planned application of science to agriculture, industry and transport, can, in less than a generation, raise the whole of society clean above want or sweating labour, on to a plane of universal comfort and affluence."

In suggesting that education must be universalized, he envisaged "something like a ten-year Plan" which would aim at the rationalization and improvement of agriculture, industry and transport on the one hand and at the provision of compulsory education up to the age of 15 or 16, full facilities for further education for all, adult education and libraries, museums, etc., on the other hand.

The execution of such a plan, he explained, required a new conception of state activity and administration in India: "an energetic organization of thought; a series of planning commissions; a network of functional associations and advisory boards; legislation on minimum wages, maximum hours of work and conditions of work; a balancing of mass production with mass-consumption and an alert and informed public opinion."

Preparedness for Hindu-Moslem Riot

It has been often observed that military "preparedness" leads to war, though military men say that the best way to ensure peace is to frighten your possible enemies by your preparedness for war. What kind of logic led the police and the military at Cawnpore to rehearse a mock Hindu-Moslem riot, described below, is not known, but we hope such preparedness does not forebode an actual riot.

Cawnpore, Oct. 4.

The Cawnpore Police and the Military practised the Riot Scheme today in the city from early morning 6-30 a.m. till 9-30 a.m. The rioters under the leadership of Mr. G. K. Hardoo were supposed to have started operations in different parts of the city and the police and District Magistrate were informed. The reinforcements were immediately rushed to the disturbed areas. An encounter between the rioters and the police followed, the rioters were arrested. Thereafter, the other confederates of the rioters started trouble in other areas and the Military had to be sent for.

Mr. R. N. Marsh-Smith, I.P.S., T.P. Bhala, I.P.S., I.W. Lewis Lloyd I.C.S., H. S. Stephenson I.C.S., Hashmat Ali Cracknell, I.C.S., Balram Krishna Tandon, Magistrate, W. G. Haywood, I.P.S., B.B.S. Verma, I.P.S., K. B. Imtiaz Mohammad Khan, D.S.P., Major Hume, Officer Commanding Station, Captain Chute of the Royal Tank Corps put their heads together and the whole town was immediately divided into units.

Information is received that large crowd of Mohammedans have collected somewhere in the area known as Talaq Mohal, and Colonelgunj and it is believed, that they intend making a raid on Hindu Quarters in Sisamau. At once arrangements are made to hold the Sisamau Nala Road as to intercept this raid. The police rushed towards Kanghi Mohal and effected arrests and put down the trouble. Just then news comes that bodies of rioters have rushed into Meston Road and are looting shops. The police finds it difficult to get reinforcement for the police in all other parts of the town is busy. The troops are at once sent for from the cantonments who at once effect arrests and help the authorities in restoring order. The District Authorities, the Police officials and men and the Military displayed great intelligence, agility and high sense of responsibility in quelling the so-called riots.—A P.I.

It is well known that robbers, terrorists, etc. utilize "hints" picked up at Cinema shows. We hope the Cawnpore mock riot has not provided such tips to future real rioters.

Mr. Visvanath Kar

The sudden death of Mr. Visvanath Kar of Cuttack has removed from the field of religious and social reform and of literature in Orissa a prominent Oriya leader. He was the president of the Brahmo Samaj in Cuttack and editor of "Utkal Sahitya," an Oriya monthly magazine.

Dr. Mrigendra Lal Mitra

In Dr. Mrigendra Lal Mitra Calcutta has lost a distinguished surgeon. He was a kind-hearted man, noted for his sociability, and was a friend of the poor and rich alike.

Dr. Ekendranath Ghosh

Another distinguished medical man whom Calcutta has lost is Dr. Ekendranath Ghosh. Though not an I. M. S., he was appointed professor of biology in the Calcutta Medical

College. He made original contributions to that subject, as also on Ayurvedic, Vedic and astronomical subjects.

Kashmir's People's Assembly

The people of Kashmir have now been given a sort of a representative assembly and formal thanks have been given to His Highness the Maharaja for this gift. Let us hope it will be of some little use to the people of Kashmir, and will not be utilized to pass repressive "laws" for the convenience of the powers that be.

All India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference

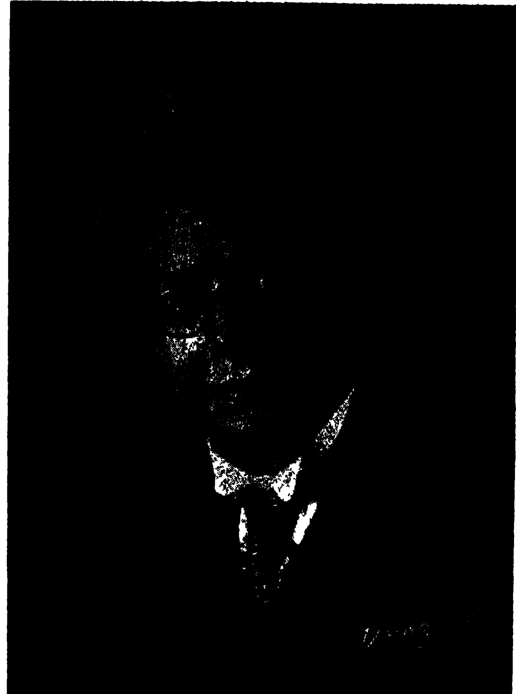
Just before the holding of the Congress session at Bombay, the All India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference met at Bombay on the 25th and 26th October last under the presidency of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. Sir Govindrao Balwant Pradhan was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered the inaugural address. It was followed by Sir Govindrao Pradhan's speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee. The gathering was not large, but delegates had come from all parts of the country. The President read out only portions of his speech, owing to there being not sufficient time to read the whole of it. The first two resolutions, passed unanimously, are printed below.

1. (a) Whereas the Communal Decision given by His Majesty's Government is anti-national and undemocratic, and follows no principle, divides the body politic into separate and conflicting groups to ensure the indefinite continuance of foreign domination, renders impossible the growth of national unity, militates against the very foundation of responsible government, discriminates against or favours citizens on the ground of their religions gives undue and excessive representation to some communities at the expense of others, and reduces the numerical majority of the Hindus to a statutary minority; this Conference strongly protests against the said decision and declares it to be wholly unacceptable.

(b) This Conference deplores the attitude of the Working Committee of the Congress which may be regarded as a virtual acquiescence in that decision and is a regrettable departure from the principle of nationalism which has hitherto been the proudest claim of the Congress to the support of the nation. This Conference earnestly appeals to the Congress to take a national stand on this question and to reverse the decision of the Working Committee by a rejection of the Communal Decision.

2. This Conference is of opinion that the Minorities' problem in India can be best solved in accordance with the principles underlying the system of the protection of minorities inaugurated by the League of Nations which system according to the declaration of the Chairman of the League Council, has now become a part of the Public Law of Europe and of the World.

This Conference is of opinion that no form of representation in the Legislature will be acceptable to it unless it is based on non-communal common roll irrespective of race, sex, caste or creed, provided that in the introduction of the non-communal common roll no community should be made to make any sacrifice.



Sir Govindrao Balwant Pradhan, Chairman, Reception Committee, All India Anti-Communal "Award" Conference, Bombay

Besides the speech of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, perhaps the most notable speeches were those of Mr. M. S. Aney (in Marathi) and the two made by Professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji.

Firdausi Millenary

The great Persian epic Poet Firdausi was born some ten centuries ago. The exact date of his birth is not known. His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi, sovereign of Persia, has arranged to celebrate his millenary, and representatives of various countries have been

invited to attend this celebration. Firdausi is best known for his Shah-Nameh (Book of Kings), celebrating the lives and achievements of the pre-Muhammadan monarchs of Persia.

He is also the author of *Yusuf and Juleikha* and other poems.

Mr. Subhas Ch. Bose on Communal Decision

KARLSBAD, (By air mail).

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has issued the following statement through the United Press:

"I do not look upon the Communal Award, or rather the communal decision, because it is not really an Award, as a lesser evil than the partition of Bengal. And just as the "settled fact" of Lord Morley was unsettled by the people of the country through their own efforts—it is possible for the people to-day to have this decision altered if only they will exert themselves. It is a matter of deep regret that the premier national organization in India has shirked its duty in this respect in spite of the fact that the Communal Award is the most anti-national device that human ingenuity can conceive. If it was necessary for Mahatma Gandhi to stake his precious life in order to alter one small portion of this Award, it will be necessary for the people to stake their all in order to have this outrageous decision rejected by the people.

"For Bengal particularly, this is a life and death question—and if this document is put into effect, it will virtually undo the work of the last thirty years. Therefore all those who regard the Communal Award as an evil should join hands in an all-India campaign for securing its withdrawal or revision."

Attitude of Mr. George Lansbury

The attitude of Mr. George Lansbury is most probably a truer index to the Labour Party's attitude than what Mr. Henderson did, as printed elsewhere in these "Notes." Mr. Lansbury is the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons. His views on the Indian problem are briefly set forth in the chapter on India in his new book *My England*, which he has been good enough to permit us to publish in the form of an article. His position makes it of first class importance.

"Back to the Land"—Mr. Lloyd George's Precept and Example

When Indian Leaders advise Indian young men to go "back to the land," they do not set them an example by themselves becoming cultivators. But when Mr. Lloyd George spoke on the national importance of agriculture he meant business. Recently he and 100 Surrey farmers had been comparing notes on potatoes at a demonstration plot on his farm. He was overjoyed when it was found that his plot had come out best in the demonstration.

He is more proud of his orchards than of anything else he has ever done.

His eyes were bright as a child's when he plunged in among his heavily laden apple trees, to point out those that won him the first prize at the Crystal Palace, and others that had yielded fruit of unsuspected flavour and rich colouring. He went unerringly, obviously knowing them by heart, to other trees in the orchards that had so far been disappointments.

"Remember those Worcesters you saw here last time?" he said: "No good at all. I was thinking of giving them up. Well, this year they have done wonderfully. Won the first prize."

The farm at Churt is not the mere plaything of an elder statesman. It is a definite contribution to agriculture. For it was derelict when he took it, abandoned on account of its low grade soil—third or fourth class. Mr. Lloyd George is showing that it can yield abundantly when properly used.

Mr. Lloyd George is cultivating about 240 out of 500 acres. Before his time the farm employed three men. To-day it employs thirty-one, earning from 15s. to 50s. per week.

"I am happy," he said, "happier than I have ever been in my life. Politics were fun. I enjoyed all that; but they weren't somehow as satisfying as this is.

"I am addressing you not as an ex-Prime Minister, but as a registered potato-grower. I have ceased to be a politician. I have now become a cultivator of the soil; so that what I say is without reference to politics, and merely my observations as a cultivator of land.

"I am opposed to the policy of restricting production merely to raise prices. It suits me personally, but in the long run it won't do any good."



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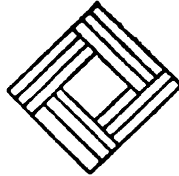


TWO JAPANESE PAINTINGS

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CO-EDUCATION IN AMERICA

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

UNTIL recently co-education has been regarded as a peculiarly American system of education. Without a doubt co-education was first tried out in modern times on a large scale in the United States, and has reached its highest and fullest development here. American experience includes all kinds of co-education, primary, secondary and university, given to tens of thousands of boys and girls, men and women



A basket-ball team for girls

for at least half a century. During this period co-educational schools and colleges have greatly multiplied, while separated schools and colleges have proportionally sickened and died—to the betterment of the whole educational system.

At present co-education is practically universal in the elementary grades of the public schools of the United States. It also prevails to a very large extent in the elementary grades of private and sectarian schools, including those which are under control of the usually conservative Roman Catholic church. Only in a few large cities like New York and Boston is any attempt made to separate the sexes in the lower grades of instruction. Even there the separation is made on grounds of convenience in administration, rather than because it is felt that separate education is the ideal method. It has been estimated that over 96 per cent of the elementary pupils are in mixed schools.

Not only is the free public elementary school in the United States a mixed school, but so is practically the secondary school. In no part of the country, except in some portions of the conservative Atlantic seaboard, is any distinction made in secondary education between girls and boys. Today only about twelve per cent of all girls and boys in the United States are studying in separated high schools.

Not long ago I went to see a friend of mine who is a city Superintendent of schools where several thousand boys and girls, from elementary up through the high school classes, are taught together.

"How do you like co-education" I asked my friend.

"You might as well ask me how I like eating or why I should wear shoes on both feet. Co-education is the most simple and natural educational method," came back the answer instantly. This city Superintendent has been dealing with the co-educational system for several decades. He ought to know what he was talking about.

Sir Michael E. Sadler of England states somewhere that the co-education of little boys and little girls is beneficial, but the co-education of the young folks beyond the age of thirteen is undesirable and imprudent. Pure Sadler! Virtuous Sadler! Speaking particularly of his native country, Monsieur Sadler affects to see great dangers in the co-education of what he calls elder boys and girls. I wonder why. He seems to "see things" invisible to others.

Another noted English pedagogue, more straight in his thinking, asserts that the much-lauded segregated public schools of England



A mixed class in German language and literature at a secondary school

are far from being temples of virtue. Indeed, they are "strongholds of immorality." He declares that the vice of immorality is caused by "the arbitrary separation of the sexes in schools." He says that the remedy is co-education which has been shown by American experience to abolish the temptation and with it the evils consequent thereon. He then quotes the following from the government report of the United States Commissioner of Educaiion: "To insure modesty I would advise the education of the sexes together. For two boys will preserve twelve girls or two girls twelve boys, pure amidst coarse jokes and suggestions, merely by that instinctive sense which is the source of natural modesty. But I will guarantee nothing in a school where girls are alone together, still less where boys are."

It is exceedingly rare to come across a man of sense who would maintain that co-education endangers the morals of American girls. Dr. Charles W. Elliot, President of Harvard University, said it was his experience that the girls of America are entirely competent to take care of themselves. Indeed, no one in this country believes that boys and girls are dangerous to one another. They are good and wholesome, I fancy, chiefly because they are trusted to be so. And American youths, be it noted, are not a special creation. They are like the young normal people the world over.

Whoever has first-hand knowledge of American schools must admit that boys remain boys and girls can still be virtuous even though they happen to have shared a class-room while hearing how George Washington beat the English, or how Clive in India killed and looted and still bragged about his "moderation." Anybody who feels that co-education promotes looseness of thought and deed has made an imperfect study of the subject.

In the cultural field there is no separation between the sexes in this country. The only observable tendency toward segregation in American high schools is that which appears in the fact that boys go into one type of elective course and girls into another. In vocational studies especially when organized in special trade or vocational high schools, boys and girls naturally tend to elect different vocational work in order to be trained for the different occupations open to men and women. It is also true that in the larger high schools, boys and girls are frequently separated in athletics, gymnastics, and recreation ; but the few attempts which have been made by some high schools to segregate the boys and girls in separate classes have failed.

Among the arguments which favour co-education in secondary schools, the

American *Cyclopedia of Education* mentions these : In all stages, it is more economical ; it makes more for democracy and equality between the sexes ; it promotes capacity and co-operative powers of men and women workers.

To my mind the greatest advantages of co-education is that it creates equality of opportunity. In the United States, 52 per cent of all persons of secondary school age are in high schools. No other nation, chiefly because of the lack of equal opportunities for the education of girls with that of boys, begins to approach this record. In other countries, less than 12 per cent of all persons of secondary school age are in high schools. That is a record which speaks for itself.

Coming now to the institutions of higher learning, I find an overwhelming trend toward co-education. From the founding of Oberlin College, which was the first institution of its class to introduce co-education (1837), the policy spread at such a rate that by 1880 more than half the colleges, and by 1900 nearly three-fifths, had adopted it. In the more conservative eastern States along the Atlantic coast, segregation was the general practice until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. But they, too, soon learned to discard one-sex education. Today even on the eastern coast, all the great university foundations—except Princeton—admit women to post-graduate instruction.

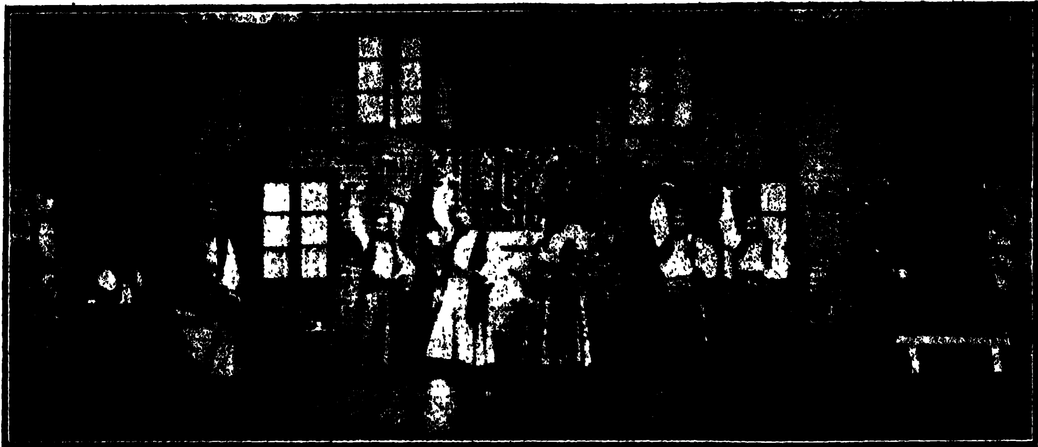
In 1915 women formed about 35 per cent of all graduate and under-graduate students in the United States; but, if the students of Roman Catholic, military and technical colleges be omitted, women studying in under-graduate co-educational colleges of liberal arts formed 42 per cent of the total number of men and women in co-educational colleges. In many co-educational colleges women now equal and sometimes exceed men, and their numbers are steadily increasing.

With the progress of equal suffrage movement, educational leaders persistently demanded on the right of women to have equal advantages with men in the line of education. Moreover, the expense and impracticability of duplicating higher education required the admission of women to men's colleges and universities. These reasons of equality and economy greatly helped the spread of joint education in the United States. In 1928 some 293,000 under-graduate and 17,000 post-graduate women students—altogether 310,000 women—were studying in American universities. The United States, unhampered by restrictions of single-sex education, is the only country in the world where thousands and thousands of women are receiving university education.

At present of the thirty-nine States Universities, all except those of Virginia, Georgia and Florida are co-educational. I myself have been teaching at a co-educational State University for over twenty years. I find nothing to giggle at the co-educational system, as do some of the deep pedagogues of Indian and English universities. All my American colleagues will agree with me that the presence of the two sexes in one class-room creates no difficulties whatever as regards the teaching, while it tends distinctly to good order. The young people of my classes discover that comradeship is possible between members of two sexes on a healthy and unsentimental basis. They also learn through various university activities the value and the art of co-operation. Each sex needs the other.



Mixed chorus of school boys and girls



Operetta put up by a high school Glee Club of boys and girls

"The eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee." College is not a teaching-shop. It is a training-ground for citizenship. It is a preparation for active life in which co-operation is of utmost importance. A plan of education which fails to prepare the youths of a nation to engage in social co-operation safely and sanely will to that extent fall short of its duty.

To Victorian moralists, co-education was immoral, a deadly sin. But thank Heaven! we no longer live in a decadent Victorian era. Sexual development is a natural process and the more calmly it is accepted by the individuals concerned, by just so much are health and morality promoted. In fact I am not familiar with any problem which is best solved by running away from it. What I actually find in America is that the community of work and the opportunity for free and natural intercourse between men and women effectively kill foolish notions on either side. In sober fact there is no emotional strain, there are no emotional disturbances. At least I am not aware of any. The two-sexed atmosphere inside a college is prophylactic against unbecoming conduct. Dr. George A. Dorsey of Chicago, in his remarkable book, *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, concludes an interesting discussion of the subject with this significant statement: "Co-education is sanitary education."

The function of the university, in Emerson's words, is to "bring every ray of genius to its hospitable halls, by their combined influence to set the heart of the youth in flame." For these reasons, according to the testimony of practically all American university Professors, it is better for men students that they be taught in company with women students. Co-education is a benefit to both sexes. Said Dr. David Starr Jordon, Chancellor of the Lelland Stanford University:

> In women's education, as planned for women alone, the tendency is toward the study of beauty and order. Literature and language take precedence over science. Expression is valued more highly than action. In carrying to an extreme, the necessary relation of thought to action is obscured. The scholarship developed is not effective, because it is not related to success. The educated woman is likely to master technique, rather than art; method, rather than substance. She may know a good deal, but she is not effective in action. Often her views of life must undergo painful changes before she can find her place in the world.
>
> In schools for men alone, the reverse condition obtains. The sense of reality obscures the elements of beauty and fitness. It is of great advantage to both men and women to meet on a plane of equality in education. Women are brought into contact with men who can do things—men in whom the sense of reality is strong, and who have definite views of life. This influence affects them for good. It turns away from sentimentalism. It gives tone to their religious thoughts and impulses. Above all, it tends to encourage action as governed by ideals, as opposed to that resting on caprice. It gives them better standards of what is possible and impossible when the responsibility for action is thrown upon them.
>
> In like manner, the association with wise, sane, and healthy women has its value for young men. It raises their ideal of womanhood, and the highest manhood must be associated with the possession of an ideal.



"As You Like It" by the Dramatic Club of a co-educational high school

The arguments of the anti-co-educationists have been met and answered by experience. I seldom hear in this country now the old pitiful arguments that the women have not enough brains for study, or that they lose femininity, or that they are bad house-keepers and incompetent mothers if they have too much intellectual training. All these objections, never taken seriously, have melted away. The social prejudices have disappeared, and anyone who should argue today against co-education would appear a relic of by-gone times—ready to be a museum piece. If the Indian leaders turn themselves to an attitude of facing backward of resisting every move toward a liberal educational policy, they may as well retire for as long a sleep as Rip Van Winkle had.

India, of all the civilized countries of the world, is lagging behind in education. Only 1 per cent of the girls in India are literate, and only 1.03 per cent are under instruction. Less than two thousand women are studying in girls' colleges, and only a few hundred in men's colleges and technical schools. At the rate women's education is progressing in India, it will take hundreds of years to educate them. One way to speed up the process is to follow the American example and do it quickly.

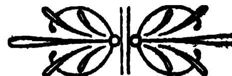
American public opinion, based on many years of actual experience and not on theory, has definitely settled the question of co-education, that is, the right of women to share equally with men the instruction given not only in schools, colleges and universities supported by the government, but also in most of the educational institutions maintained by private efforts. None of the dire predictions of the anti-co-educationists have been fulfilled. A few minor disappointments here and there, yes; but no crop of disaster.

A foreign visitor to an American co-educational university asked one of its students: "What do you think of the problem of co-education ?"

"What do you mean ?"

"I mean education of girls in colleges for men."

"Oh! Co-education is not a problem in America."





THE ECONOMICS OF WAGES

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

IN this article I will endeavour to deal with an economic problem which more than any other is constantly before the mind of the worker—the problem of wages. It is almost tragic to watch the conflicts that go on between employers and their employees over the question of wages and the hours of employments: tragic in this sense, that neither party seems to have the vaguest idea of what are the economic laws which really govern wages.

It would be a great accomplishment for the average Labour man and woman if they applied their minds to the economics of wages and as a result came to a clear understanding of the economics involved in the whole problem. To the average man in the street it seems an obvious truth that the wages he receives are paid out of capital owned by his employer. Employers on the other hand, who are usually just as stupid on economic matters as the most illiterate of their employees, love to exploit the fallacy that the capital they possess is the source from which the wages of their workers are drawn.

It is the acceptance of this fallacious idea by the employees on the one hand and the employers on the other that gives rise to wage agreements on what is called the give-and-take basis. Not infrequently Trades Union leaders are caught in the trap by the give-and-take basis in this way: The employer frankly displays his books, exposes his profit and loss account, the total of his over-head charges, the operation of his market—where it is contracting or where it is probably expanding—the total of his wages bill, and the average of his profits, interest or dividend payments, etc. etc. This seeming fairness on the part of the employer too often beguiles the Trades Union leader, who in face of what may seem to be apparently menacing facts is forced to compromise on wage demands and indeed compelled to ask the employees, on grounds of expediency, to accept less wages than they had expected to receive. This is almost the daily experience over wage negotiations.

At Geneva the same pantomime is performed. No discussion arouses greater interest at the International Labour Office than that which takes place on Wages. At the Geneva Conferences there are foregathered from every country leaders of the employing classes and delegates sent forward from Trades Unions. To read their discussions is one of the most dismaying experiences for the student of economics. For in Geneva as at home the discussion is based upon an utterly fallacious conception of the economics of the whole question. It is little wonder that year after year these Geneva Labour Office discussions end in pure futility.

From what has been said I hope I have made it clear that it is of prime importance that the average working man should try to understand what are the real causes of low wages and all that that involves.

The Wage Fund Theory

There was a theory held by some of the ablest and most disinterested writers on economics and political economy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was called the Wage Fund Theory. Briefly this theory was that wages were paid out of a fund or pool and that if the number of workers increased beyond a given point, or if the number of employees remained the same but their wages rose beyond a certain point, disaster to industry was imminent—because the amount of money in the wages pool was being dried up and sooner or later there would be nothing left to pay anybody and economic disaster would follow. For example, two of the most disinterested champions of liberty of the nineteenth century really accepted this as a basic economic truth and embodied it in their writings as an economic fact to be reckoned with.

Thomas Henry Buckley, than whom there was no more fearless champion of advanced thought and toleration, accepted this theory and indeed you can find it running right through the whole of his magnificent and masterly work *The History of Civilisation in England*. It will always be an enigma to the political and literary student that such a clear and incisive thinker as Thomas Henry Buckley should ever have accepted the fallacy of the Wage Fund Theory. John Stuart Mill also accepted this theory in his *Political Economy*.

Now the Wage Fuud Theory, as baldly stated above, may induce many people to smile and dismiss it as the sheerest nonsense. But in the House of Commons one can hear Members of Parliament treating the Wage Fund Theory with derision at one moment and in the next proceeding to advance arguments for or against an increase of wages by arguments which can only be deduced from an acceptance of the Wage Fund fallacy. I have no doubt that Mr. Baldwin and those who with him advocate tariffs against foreign importations would tell you that they do not accept the Wage Fund Theory. But their arguments in favour of putting tariffs on foreign importations are based upon the belief that if cheap goods come into this country, this will force down the prices of commodities produced within this country—and that a fall in prices within the country will leave the employers with less money to pay wages to the workers out of the "pool."

How often are we told that really we cannot compete in the field of production with the low-paid wages of the producing countries abroad. And further tariff advocates openly say to the British workers: You must either give us tariffs to keep up prices—the implication being that high prices will mean high wages to the worker—or accept lower wages so that we can produce goods as cheaply as the foreigner.

Now the undeniable fact here is that they are making the following deduction: that wages are paid out of capital and that if the wages paid out of capital are high in Great Britain as compared with the wages paid in foreign countries, it means that the poor capitalists here, being compelled to pay these high wages out of their capital, will be utterly defeated in the world of international commerce. To paraphrase their argument it would run thus: "If you, the workers, demand high wages, it can only be at the expense of capital (their capital). And as wages are paid out of our capital, and therefore enter into the cost of production, it means that the price of our commodities will be undercut in the international market by similar commodities produced by those countries that pay less wages. We, the good employers, advance to you, the workers, your wages out of our capital resources (the Wage Fund) and if you make too great a demand for increased wages it will mean we shall have to close down home production to the advantage of foreign importers."

The force of this kind of argument, backed by his business facts and figures, has caused many employees to accept smaller advances than they had demanded or indeed cuts in their wages—and the implied necessity for protection for home production in the above argument has in no small measure caused workers at election times to vote for tariffs.

How Wages are Created

Now let us state the economics of the wages question. We must first of all give a clear definition of what we mean by the term wages. In a primitive form of society the wages of the individual would be all that he secured by his labour exerted upon land in some shape or form and this in the economic sense would include exertion of labour upon the sea. He would enjoy, as one economist puts it, nature's full minimum wage.

In more complicated forms of society the return to labour, or wages, will be that amount of wealth which the worker retains after paying rent for the use of land, and rates and taxes. Wages are the return to labour.

There is no record of any worker receiving wages in advance. A worker has to advance a week's labour, or in some cases a month's labour and perhaps more, before he receives any payment in the form of wages. And, let it be remembered, under our economic dispensation not merely does he advance a given number of days' labour before he receives any wages, but the

employer, if he is an efficient employer in the modern sense, hopes to gain a profit out of the labourer's advance over and above the so-called wage which he pays the worker. So that in truth the capitalist advances nothing. The worker advances labour and receives at the end of a week or a month a wage less than the value of the service he has already rendered to the employer.

Now this is the experience of every worker in this country, yet despite that fact many workers believe that it is the good employer that advances everything to them. It is sometimes asked; do not the employers really pay wages out of their capital during that period in which the workers are employed in erecting, say, a large ship or a large building or working through some other process of production which involves a considerable period between the initial stage of construction until its final completion? When a company undertakes some enterprise which involves a prolonged period of construction before completion, does this company not really pay the wages of the workers during this period of construction out of the capital of the company?

The answer is simple. The workers who build ships, buildings, or are employed upon some other form of production which involves a long period of time before completion, are as truly advancing something to their employers daily as if indeed at the end of each day they were completing entirely the task upon which they were engaged. Let us take the case of workers engaged upon the construction of a great ship. A company raises money for the project, that is to say, they instruct bankers that individuals have guaranteed certain amounts. This book entry is nothing more than a security in the hands of the banks. The company then proceed with their constructional work. After the first week a certain amount of labour has been expended on the ship. Wages are then paid. The banks advance to the company sufficient to cover the wages bill. But the bank advances this money on two grounds. First upon the security of the investments in the company, and secondly on a knowledge that the workers employed have advanced the construction of the ship by one week.

If the workers had done nothing at all during this week and the wages had been paid, then in truth wages would be coming out of capital. But as a matter of fact, if an analysis were made of the position after the first week's work, it would be found that the workers had not robbed the company of any of its substance but by the labour they had exerted on the construction of the ship they had given more in the value of ship than they had received in wages. And so the process continues until the completion of the task.

If we could set aside money considerations, and look upon this process of production as a mere matter of winning daily bread, it will be observed at once that at the end of every week or fortnight the workers have advanced so much ship in return for so much bread, butter, tea, sugar, house-room and so on, and in fact have advanced in terms of ship more than they received in terms of the necessaries of life.

The payment of wages, so far as the employer is concerned, is but the return to the labourer of a portion of their capital which he received from labour. So far as the employee is concerned, what he receives from the capitalist in the form of wages is but the receipt of a portion of the capital his labour has previously produced. As the value paid in wages is thus exchanged for a value brought into being by labour, how can it be said that wages are drawn from capital or advanced by capital? In the exchange of labour for wages the employer always gets the capital created by labour. So although he pays out capital in wages, at what point is his capital lessened even temporarily?

In a rational state of society the value of physical and mental labour would rise, while the cost of individual commodities would fall. Indeed this is the whole underlying principle embodied in the statement that "man seeks to gratify his desires with the least possible amount of exertion." He will invent tools and other devices to help him to conquer the forces of nature and make them more easily the subject of his will. This clearly postulates that with the development of science and the arts more production of the things wanted to gratify his human desires should never cost him a moment's worry. But this part of the

argument would lead us into the problem of wealth distribution. At the moment we are concerned with the economics of wages.

But it is because of the stagnation in the field of wealth distribution that we have in an aggravated form this blind struggle over the question of wages. The worker is not a charge upon the cost of production and in any industry where efficiency is observed high wages paid to the worker would not be to the detriment of the industry but the very opposite. The higher the wage paid to the worker, the greater would be his enthusiasm for the task he would undertake; and the more efficiency would be expected of him. This would mean, taking the national view, that if wages were increased, high efficiency amongst the workers would follow—and surely it is self-evident that the nation which possesses the most highly efficient and contented craftsmen is the nation which is bound to defeat the competition of any country where wages are low and in which the workers are therefore inefficient and miserable.

To bring the illustration more vividly to the eye, let me put it this way. Let us assume that a local football club is being urged to lift some cup. What would be the attitude of the directors of the team towards the players? Would they go to them and say: in order to win this cup we will break your wages and lengthen the hours of your training? Or would they, as in fact they do, take the eleven men to a hydropathic [illegible] the best of treatment, look after [illegible] wants, and, as it drew near the time [illegible] the final, intimate to them that [illegible] be a bonus for each goal they scored.

In this way football cups are won [illegible] in the field of industry, because of the [illegible]ous ideas regarding the economics of [illegible] and perhaps consideration of vested inte[illegible] the employing classes intimate to the wo[illegible] that they are subject to world competition [illegible] that in order to beat this world competition, it is necessary for the workers to take reduced wages, which means reduction of food and creature comforts, and work longer hours. This is how they hope to win the prize of world industry.

The labourer has ever been worthy of his hire and it behoves the labourer to know what is the worth of his hire and to know that as a labourer he advances everything and those who live upon his toil advance nothing. Wages therefore are not paid out of some "pool" or out of some fund which come into being as a result of the frugality of some beneficent capitalists. We have shown above, I hope quite satisfactorily, that wages are a part and in too many cases but a very small part of the value of the labour advanced by the worker to the capitalist.

Later I hope to deal with the distribution of wealth.

THE NEED OF SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURE

By H. D. SEN, D. SC.,

Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore

THE founding of a larger number of well-equipped pharmacological, microchemical and bio-chemical laboratories in India for the accurate assay of drugs, food and agricultural products is necessary. The importance of mass production and mechanization in agriculture in India with adequate transport and marketing facilities cannot be exaggerated.

During the last few years of the world economic depression the chemists had been busy in evolving ways and means of harnessing chemistry for the service of mankind and for solving the question of unemployment. While India was engrossed in politics, philosophy and poetry, Europe and America were being equipped with elaborate research laboratories fitted with delicate testing instruments. These laboratories were as a rule not financed by the State but by the people.

Pure chemistry had naturally been replaced to a great extent by applied chemistry. Of the many branches of applied chemistry which had come to the forefront were pharmaceutical, micro and bio-chemistry.

Pharmaceutical works in India were poorly equipped with delicate apparatus for [illegible] pharmacological tests. India was the home of important drugs whose medical properties were

rather indefinitely known. Mere chemical assay was not admitted to be adequate. Even tinctures of known drugs such as Tr. Digitalis, Tr. Strophanthus and Tr. Squill prepared in Indian Pharmaceutical Works would not be able to stand competition with foreign brands unless they were adequately corroborated by pharmacological tests.

A new phytochemical method was worked out by the writer at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London, which might eventually replace the pharmacological test. This method depended on the fact that tinctures of drugs were poisonous equally to animal and plant life. The growth of rootlets was definitely retarded in solutions of tinctures of known strength as compared to their growth in nutrient media.

If the rate of retardation in growth was worked out to a unit length, the retardation took place with mathematical precision leading to an accurate assay of the strength of the drug.

During his investigation on Digitalis leaves grown under different manurial conditions the predominance of certain metallic radicles was found to affect in a remarkable way the toxic and tonic properties of the drug. The Synchronism in plant and animal life of such metals as Calcium and Manganese was found to be remarkable. The toxicity of the leaves increased with the intake of Calcium and decreased with the intake of Manganese.

Another branch of applied chemistry whose importance was being realized every day was microchemistry. In this connection the writer visited the laboratories of Prof. Pregal in the city of Graz, about 100 miles from Vienna. The microchemical laboratory could be said to be the chemist's "dollhouse" where chemical analyses were carried out with remarkable precision on substances weighing a few milligrams in cleverly designed tiny apparatus.

The importance of bio-chemical researches would be realized every day in connection with the utilization of molasses, the by-product of sugar manufacture, in which the writer was engaged.

The sugar manufacturer was keen on getting rid of molasses either by throwing it into a river or on adjoining fields, but to a chemist it was a mine of gold.

The disaster which had overtaken the Indian cultivator was due to various causes such as agricultural indebtedness, want of agricultural co-operative banks, agricultural associations or trusts, fragmentation of holdings and lack of Government sympathy.

However high India might raise her tariff walls the textile and sugar industry in India could not materially thrive unless Indian agriculture was organized scientifically.

India had trusted her cultivators, who depended on knowledge handed down to them for generations, and not on fundamental principles of scientific agriculture. The "mechanical" cultivators show a lack of "directive force." The utility of scientific agriculture in India had been materially observed in regard to tea, jute, and coffee cultivation, which had increased immensely the wealth of India. Every year about 7,000,000 pounds of tea to the value of Rs. 43,00,000, jute valued at Rs. 24,00,000 and coffee wo[illegible] 2,00,000 were exported from India; but there are many other agricultural products, such as, fruits, flowers, spices, rice and [illegible] the export of which was coming down every year due to India not adopting scientific agriculture. Wheat was mainly exported to European markets from Australia and Canada, rice from Japan and fruits from Kabul.

The idea of mass production in agriculture might be said to be unknown in India. European and American farmers had thrived wonderfully mainly because of the adoption of the principles of mass production.

The experiments on Papaya cultivation and the extraction of papain had been quite successful at the H. B. Technological Institute, Cawnpore. By scientific cultivation and the selection of suitable varieties every tree yielded about 1/5 pound of papain per year. An acre containing 500 trees would yield 100 pounds of papain whose price would fetch Rs 800 A 20 acre papaya plantation conveniently situated near a city to dispose of the incised fruits with adequate water facilities would have a net income of Rs 12,000 per annum. A twenty acre tomato plantation would have a net income of Rs. 8,860.

Sugarcane cultivation had come into the limelight and every Indian agriculturist was keen about it. A few new cane varieties evolved from Coimbatore yielded from 1,200 to 1,400 maunds per acre. Taking the price of cane to be 5½ annas per maund a sugarcane plantation covering 1,000 acres would yield 1,200,000 maunds of cane worth Rs. 4,00,000. Usually in the area in which sugarcane was grown wheat took its place the following year; hence for the adequate supply of a 600 ton factory 3,320 acres or, 4,000 acres of land would be required for cane cultivation.

It was evident that cultivation covering such huge areas would not be possible with implements as were being used, as for example the *desi* plough and bullock power. It could only be done, with the help of machines, such as, the steam tractor and other mechanical appliances as were used in foreign countries.

It might be said that mechanizantion would increase unemployment but actually the contrary would be the case. By means of machine India would be able to produce more and to handle the huge production more men would be required. These having specialized in a particular branch of work would be paid bigger salaries than at present. It would ensure cleaner and more efficient work.

A steam tractor could cultivate 3,000 acres of land per day to the depth of a foot with ease whereas an indigenous plough and pair of bullocks could scarcely plough two acres per day to a depth of hardly 6 inches. Similarly there were other mechanical contrivances—such as weeding, seed planting and harvesting machines.

One of the drawbacks which the Indian agriculturist suffered from was fragmentation of holdings. A large piece of land was not available for starting a fairly big plantation covering about 1,000 to 5,000 acres. There was, however, fallow land in the Indo-Gangetic area and in the marshes of Bengal, which might be available for starting farms.

If this were supported by Government's huge irrigation system and the recent hydro-electric scheme for the supply of cheap electric power, consolidated farms and attached small [illegible] use of the agricultural produce might [illegible]

With the production of raw and [illegible] products the question of transport [illegible] cities arose. Metalled roads [illegible] the [illegible] the molasses-asphalt road recently devised [illegible] H. B. Technological Institute, might [illegible] difficulty

Remarkable marketing organisations [illegible] in foreign countries. Manufacturers in [illegible] days did not stop at producing finished [illegible] in factories but were also intent on the [illegible] tion of their sales.

For the ready sale of Indian sugar, [illegible] necessary that several factories should [illegible] form an association and shops should be [illegible] in the name of the association in the big [illegible] of India.

THE MARSAILLES OUTRAGE: ITS BACKGROUND AND AFTERMATH

By BIMAL BIHARI BASU

THE civilized world was shocked at the news of the dastardly outrage at Marsailles which resulted in the death of King Alexander of Yugo-Slavia and M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister. The pistol shots were aimed at the King and the Foreign Minister was only an accidental victim, for he happened to sit beside the King in the coach as they were being driven through the streets of Marsailles. The French Government had decided to give a rousing reception to the King whose visit was in the nature of a political mission, *viz.*, to cement the tie between France and Yugo-Slavia. The assassin was a nationalist Croat named Kalemann. In order to understand the significance of the outrage, which was in pursuance of a definite political object, it is necessary to trace the sequence of events which culminated in the terrible catastrophe.

As a result of the post-War arrangement consequent on the Treaty of Versailles, the kingdom of Yugo-Slavia and the republic of Czechoslovakia were carved out of the once powerful Austro-Hungarian Empire. Yugo-Slavia is composed of three distinct nationalities, Serbs, Slovenes and Croatians, the [illegible] forming a substantial and powerful minority with a different language and a distinct culture. Ever since the formation of the kingdom of Yugo-Slavia, the Croats had been agitating for local autonomy. The Serbs, who form the majority, would hear nothing of it and [illegible] to meet the nationalist Croatian agitation with repression and greater centralization which merely accentuated the discontent. Gradually the Croats were exasperated and despaired of a peaceful and constitutional solution of their problem. Their sentiment was outraged and their spirit was inflamed when their able and brilliant parliamentary leader, Stefano Raditch, was openly murdered in June 1928. Thenceforth, for parliamentary agitation they turned to secret society movement for achieving their object. Complicated Balkan political situation gave an international character to what was merely a local question. The Croats looked across the frontier and found in Italy a ready, if not open, champion of their cause.

Italy under Mussolini has been dreaming of the greatness of ancient Rome which [illegible] a practical expression in a desire for [illegible]

expansion along the Adriatic. Finding that French interests were strongly entrenched in the Balkans, she took up the cause of national minorities and stirred up troubles among them. Croatia was a ready ground for receiving Italian propaganda and received its special attention, for an autonomous Croatia would be under the direct influence of Italy. Italy had also been energetically supporting the cry for the revision of the treaty arrangements and thereby secured the close adherence of Hungary and Bulgaria to her. But this had an adverse effect on her relations with the Little Entente. Further, the Italian proposal for the establishment of a Danubian State which was to be inaugurated with the preliminary formation of the economic union of Austria and Hungary met with a stout opposition from the Little Entente comprising Yugo-Slavia, Czechoslovakia and Roumania.

France, on the other hand, by its consistent and stubborn opposition to any move for revision had strengthened its alliances with Little Entente. The purpose of the visit of the Yugo-Slavian King was in furtherance of this aim, *viz.*, to cement further the tie of the Little Entente with France.

It is interesting to note that the opening weeks of the year 1934 witnessed a move on the part of the Little Entente to come to a closer understanding among themselves. The first Conference of the representatives of the three allied States of Roumania, Yugo-Slavia and Czechoslovakia was held at Prague on the 9th January under the presidency of Mr. Benes, the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia. The move for this closer understanding was inspired by (1) the united aversion to a revision of the treaty; (2) opposition to the Italian proposal for a Donubian Kingdom; and (3) opposition to the Italian plan for the reformation of the League.

So far we have been examining the state of Balkan politics and the relation of the Little Entente *vis-a-vis* Italy and France. Let us now consider the personal character of King Alexander and its bearing on the Croatian question.

The Croatian discontent grew in volume since the accession of King Alexander. His attempts to keep the Croatian minority under the iron heels of the Serb majority had alienated the best minds as well as the mass of the Croatians. From 1929 till the day of his murder, he had been a virtual dictator. In 1929 he had taken his people by surprise by issuing a manifesto abolishing Parliament and repealing the Constitution. He was justified to some extent in taking this step. It has been said that democracy is not suited to the genius of the Slavs. The parliamentary form of Government foisted upon the Yugoslav people as an aftermath of the post-War wave of democracy, had proved to be an inglorious failure. The Parliament had degenerated into a 'circus, a political madhouse' due to cliques, conspiracies and political assassinations. The King was clever enough to fish in troubled waters. Having never been a believer in democracy, he took the utmost advantage of the situation and "surrounded by the junta, and backed by the army, he leaped into the saddle as dictator." However, pressure from the British and French Governments compelled him to restore some sort of parliamentary Government which he did in 1931. As a dictator, the King is credited with having brought efficiency to the Government machinery. His physical unimpressiveness accounted for his constant use of the military costume. Superstitious and hysterical, he lived in constant fear of his life. He had reason for this fear, for there had been more than one attempt on his life, the last of which proved fatal. Unlike Ex-King Alphonso of Spain, he was not cynical enough to declare such attempts as professional risks of kingship. But he knew how to grind his own axe and was a past master in political intrigues, which he had to be owing to the singularly complicated character of Balkan politics. The supreme contempt in which he held parliamentary Government can be gauged from the following narrative from the pen of an American journalist named Adamic. At the time of his interview with the King, he found His Majesty busy in issuing directions to his followers in the Parliament on the phone on the occasion of a sham debate on the budget. He was "ordering some of his puppets to orate (lamely and stupidly, of course) against the regime, and others to reply brilliantly for the regime."

Of late, it was believed that the King was making a bid for Croatian friendship. He had spent nearly a month with his Queen at Zagreb in the beginning of the year. He tried to make himself popular by freely contributing funds to the co-operative societies which were in a wretched plight and also for poor relief. It was widely believed that he was averse to some sort of local autonomy being given in response to the Croatian demand. But the attempt on his life in March of this year seemed to have stiffened his attitude.

The above sketch will enable us to appreciate the complex personal character of the King and his attitude towards the Croatian question. Let us now consider the foreign relations of Yugo-slavia with the neighbouring States outside the Little Entente, *viz.*, Bulgaria and Hungary.

Bulgaria has been smarting under a sense of wrong done to her by the Treaty of Versailles. Her attitude towards the Little Entente has been one of strict neutrality. She refuses to be a party to any international agreement which may perpetuate her dismemberment. But of late there has been some change in this attitude, and she has begun to take some interest in a rapprochement with the Little Entente with whom she has recently entered into a five years' non-agression pact. But what has a more important bearing on the subject is her subservience to Italy, to whom she looks for a revision of the treaty. This has caused uneasiness among the members of the Little Entente and King Alexander was perturbed at the recent turn of events in Bulgaria which has been seized by a dictatorship of a fascist type on May 19 of this year, its professed objects being, among others, a tightening of the alliance with Italy. But it is not Bulgaria whom Yugo-Slavia hates and fears; it is with Hungary that her relations are very much strained.

Hungary's insistence on treaty revision backed by Italy stood in the way of a better understanding between Yugo-Slavia and Hungary. The relation had been steadily worsening. In April of this year Hungary had petitioned the League against the anti-Hungarian activities of Yugo-Slavia along the 300 miles of their common frontier. The shooting of fifteen Hungarian citizens on the borders was cited as a case in point. The Yugoslav representative on the League is said to have retorted: "If we fired, it was because just across the frontier there is a veritable bandits' lair." The Yugo-Slavian press published startling disclosures about the existence of a Croatian terrorist camp within Hungary which the Budapest Government is alleged to have tolerated and even collaborated with. The recent investigation of the outrage has proved the existence of such a camp. The name of the assassin Kalemann was on the list of Croatian terrorists in Hungary supplied by Yugo-Slavia to the League. The statement of Hostice, corroborated by Benés and Malny, who were accomplices in the outrage, further confirmed this. It has been also established that the head of the Croatian revolutionary organization, Dr. Ralevitch, directed his terroristic operations against Yugo-Slavia from Hungary. The moral responsibility for the recent outrage may, therefore, be justifiably fastened on Hungary.

What will be the aftermath of this outrage? Its effect on world opinion has been one of unmitigated horror.

The outrage still further complicates the Balkan politics. The Italo-Yugoslav relations have distinctly deteriorated and the indignant Yugoslav feeling found expression in an anti-Italian mob riot at Bulzany. All hopes of better understanding with Italy have receded further. Though there can be little doubt as to Italy's indirect encouragement to the Croatian nationalist movement, her direct help to Croatian terroristic operations remains still to be proved.

The question of Yugo-Hungarian relations, the consideration of which was postponed on May 14 due to the efforts of M. Barthou, is sure to raise a storm in the forthcoming meeting of the League.

The effect of the King's murder on Nazi Germany is shrouded in mystery. King Alexander was favourable to the Hitler regime, which feeling was not equally shared by other members of the Little Entente. It is reported that the German bourse showed distinct nervousness in anticipation of the

King's death on the day of the outrage. The whole question assumes a complicated aspect when we remember the declaration of a socialist newspaper of Saarbruck: "The bullets were fired in Marsailles, but they were made in Germany." The paper is reported to have been suppressed since then.

Undoubtedly the Croatian autonomous movement will receive a set-back for the time being.

As a result of the outrage, relations between France and the Little Entente will be further strengthened. But its immediate effect on French internal politics has been a re-shuffling of Cabinet portfolios, due to allegations in the Press. It was openly insinuated by some papers that the head of Surete Nationale was in league with gangsters and did not take due precaution regarding royal safety; and the question was asked as to why the King was allowed to land at Marsailles when it was a well-known fact that it was a rendezvous of foreign terrorists.

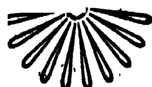
But these statements cannot be regarded as an undiluted truth. It is common knowledge that in France newspapers always make vile insinuations and violent accusations against their political opponents. Even if it is assumed that the landing of the King at Marsailles was an act of folly, it will appear from Hostice's statement that the terrorists had two other plans up their sleeves if the attempt at Marsailles miscarried. Attempts were to be made at Lyons and Paris. However, the French Cabinet had to be reconstructed owing to the resignation of M. Sarraut, Minister of Interior, and M. Cherron, Minister of Justice, both of whom took upon themselves the moral responsibility for the outrage. The head of the Surete Nationale was suspended and has since been dismissed for having failed to take due precautions. M. Barthou's portfolio goes to M. Laval.

It is interesting to note that as a result of this outrage, the fight between the pro-revisionists of the Treaty championed by Italy and the anti-revisionists led by France is going to be grim and prolonged. Any revision means war and as there is as yet no sign of any peaceful settlement of this complicated problem, it is idle to hope that these highly militaristic and nationalistic States will fail to appeal to arms for a decision.

With Germany and France on the warpath, with Mr. Baldwin's reference to the shifting of British frontiers from the white cliffs of Dover to the Rhine and Mussolini's talks about wars of today, only confirmed optimists can see a silver lining in the horizon overcast with dark war clouds or see a ray of hope in the glib talks about the imperative necessity of peace and Geneva pourparlers.

European politics is in the melting-pot and it is not unlikely that a stray shot fired in some remote and obscure corner of Europe may lead to another world conflagration. Nations all the world over are sitting on the edge of a volcano and we may expect an explosion at any moment. Indeed, the world today is a political, economic and cultural madhouse wherein a few insane people are toying with the destinies of nations. It remains to be seen how long this unnatural state of affairs is allowed to continue.

October 29, 1934.



"NO MORE WAR" MOVEMENT

By WILFRED WELLOCK

WE meet in this Conference* in the knowledge that civilization is in peril as at no time in its history, and may at a very early date completely collapse in the conflagration of another world war. The whole world realizes this, and yet seems unable to control the forces which are hurling it to its doom.

The tragedy of this situation is heightened by the fact that it coincides with the age of abundance, in which science has brought forth the treasures of the earth in such measure as to make possible a life of reasonable comfort and ample leisure for the entire human race

This situation ought to be a challenge to every thinking person, and certainly every pacifist, to discover its causes, and having found them to expose them and work for their removal. Inquiry leaves one in no doubt as to what those causes are, while the serious position they reveal calls for plain speaking

The outstanding fact in the life of today is the colossal war that is raging to the ends of the earth for the possession and control of material wealth and the means of its production, and thus for financial and political power. That war takes upon itself a thousand forms It manifests itself in struggles between rival industrial, commercial and financial groups both within and without national boundaries, for the possession of trade and markets; in conflicts between employers and employed, and between the possessors of wealth and the dispossessed, and, finally, between nations. The havoc it produces has given rise to a supreme struggle, world-wide in extent, between those who believe in the possibility of a reasonable life for all, and those who would perpetuate a social order which places economic and financial power in the hands of comparatively small groups of people who use it primarily in their own interest and to the detriment of the general well-being.

That complex conflict has brought Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, dictatorship in Austria, Poland and a dozen other States in Middle Europe; revolution in Spain, communism in Russia, industrial upheaval and dictatorial power in U. S. A., chaos in S. America, a volcanic situation in France, and deepening social conflict in every other State throughout the world; revolt against territorial imperialism in India, etc., and against financial imperialism in the S American States, etc., and imperialist rivalry between the Great Powers—Britain, U. S. A., Japan, France, Germany and Italy.

The paramountcy and fundamental character of that conflict is proved by the fact that everything bows before it—The League of Nations, World Disarmament Conferences and World Economic Conferences, and even the International Labour Office when vital issues are before it. The fact that after sitting for $2^1/_2$ years the World Disarmament Conference has collapsed in the midst of the biggest armaments' race ever known is undeniable proof that forces stronger than appear on the surface are guiding the destinies of the League of Nations. It is necessary to get a clearer picture and understanding of those forces.

Too long the Peace Movement has watched the march of world events with complacence. It has signally failed to give to economic factors the consideration they deserve. While the Peace Movement pleads with the League of Nations for disarmament, the latter is being controlled by hidden economic forces which make disarmament impossible In 1906, we saw Europe stampeded into a notorious armaments' race. Politicians, poets, the "intellectuals" and even the Church succumbed to the panic. The British public, worked up into a frenzy, were induced to shout: 'We want eight and we won't wait." The politicians bowed to the clamour, with little protest from public leaders. Thus the country got its eight cruisers, and eight years later, the World War.

The same influences are at work today. The same panic is being created. Another but far more dangerous armaments' race is under way—more dangerous because the death-dealing power of armaments has increased many-fold since 1918 Thus speeds the world to its doom, unless the entire course of events be changed.

But who will change them, and how?

The central fact about the modern world so far as the peace issue is concerned, is that, outside Russia, all the major economic and financial controls are in the hands of small groups of people—not in those of Governments, much less those of the people. Each of these groups exists to advance its own material interests. They are well represented, directly or indirectly in the legislatures and Goverments of almost every country, and Capitalist Governments rarely act contrary to their wishes. In some cases these groups are national in character, and represent particular trades, combines, or

* The "No More War Movement" Conference held at Leeds on October 13, 1934. Mr. Wilfred Wellock delivered this address as its chairman.

associations. In other cases they are international, like the Armament Interests, for instance. Other groups are imperialist in character, as where the investors of one country try to capture the trade and control the financial and economic life of another country by launching loans and promoting public works, setting up and financing new industries, and getting their own nationals placed in all manner of important posts.

Hence we get a vast network of group interests, all of which are private and owe no responsibility to the peoples whose destiny they control, or to the League of Nations, and very little to Governments. That is why most Governments go to the League of Nations, Disarmament Conferences, etc., with their hands tied; why they resort to secret diplomacy, and incidentally why the public are dismayed when they get no results from such assemblies. These group interests are the real sources of power in all Capitalist States, although everything is done to hide that fact from the public. When Government policy is decided upon, no matter who inspires it, it at once becomes "national" policy, and is supported by the big engines of publicity in the name of patriotism. That is precisely how the recent development of "economic nationalism" has taken place. It explains why the National Government refused to support the abolition of all Air Forces, and the private manufacture of armaments, the shorter working week at the I. L. O. Conference, and why it is at sixes and sevens over the issue of the Indian Constitution, for the difficulty there does not arise over the question of justice or the ability of India to rule herself, but over that of British vested interests.

Now everyone of these financial interests thrives upon exploitation. Their combined success results in class and international domination and all the social degradation these involve—class war and racial antagonism, unemployment, poverty amidst plenty, starvation alongside food destruction and the throwing of land out of cultivation, etc.

Those responsible for a society thus organized naturally regard war as an unavoidable necessity which, however, regrettable, the public must tolerate. This situation gives rise to numerous interests which live by war and preparation for war. Thus about 90 per cent of the military castes seem unable to think of human relations except in terms of battleships and gun-powder. They support the demand for increased armaments every time. On the whole these castes are highly placed socially, have excellent political connections, and stand in good stead with the press of the Right.

Alongside the military castes are the armament makers, assisted to some extent by all the industries which benefit from the manufacture of arms. Those interests, unable to quell the lust for profits, especially during a trade depression, delude themselves into believing that an all-round increase in armaments will in some mysterious way lead to peace. They know, theoretically, what another war might mean, but accepting the principle that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, they make light of the dangers and take the risk, hoping for the best. The lengths to which these interests will go in order to get orders, has recently been revealed by the American Arms Inquiry, etc., and is a clear proof of my contention that Governments, the League of Nations and its appendages, such as the Disarmament Conference, are in the main controlled by powerful private interests.

Then, since most of the big daily newspapers are dependent upon advertisements for their existence, and thrive upon panics, the majority of them sooner or later play the game of the vested interests, with the result that the tide of public feeling tends to swing towards war. In such circumstances it requires politicians of giant stature to stem the tide; but unhappily there are no giants on the political horizon today.

Worse still, when the politicians collapse, the great majority of so-called intellectuals, Church and other social leaders collapse also. Even today, while the forces are gathering which may hurl civilization to its doom, there is an amazing lack of really big men who are combating those forces.

The above is a fair description of the effective controls in the life of today, and in the light of it I ask if it is reasonable to expect from them peace and the well-being of the people? You cannot gather figs from thistles. From its roots, which are greed and the scarcely checked right of human exploitation, to its culmination in a class-ridden society and an imperialistically-organized world, a revoltingly rich class on the one side and an equally revolting mass of degradation on the other side, with fear and growing antagonism convulsing the whole, our civilization hangs like a gas-filled globe, which at any moment may burst into countless fragments.

The time has come to speak plainly. The position is too serious to mince matters. So long as society is organized on a basis which inevitably produces the conditions of war, it is futile to pass resolutions demanding peace and disarmament. Nay, does not such a policy mislead people and cause them to continue in a belief which in fact assists the very evil it is desired to destroy? It is all very well to ask people to support the League of Nations, a "collective peace system," the "substitution of law for force," an International Polic Force, etc., but unless it is realized that in present conditions the League is a cockpit for the play of rival Imperialisms, it is highly dangerous to place too much trust in it. The part played by the Great Powers in the League's handling of the Jap-Manchurian affair is ample justification for my warning. To be frank, the "collective peace system" is largely a chimera in present conditions.

Nevertheless I believe that we ought to hold on the League and use every opportunity to extend its power and influence. It certainly makes possible a postponement of hostilities in critical situations. Its platform should be used to expose the forces which are at work behind the scenes against the interests of world peace, such as the imperialist ambitions of the Great Powers. But having said that I think we ought frankly to recognize the limitations of a League of Nations which rests on the power, camouflaged in a variety of ways, of thousands of private vested interests, while the well-being of the people never even comes into the reckoning.

It is to the credit of the No More War Movement that it was the first peace organization in this country to recognize and affirm that neither peace nor disarmament can accrue from a society which is founded on the right of human exploitation. Taking that stand has resulted in the loss of considerable financial support, though every international event justifies it to the hilt. Indeed, the call to make clear to the public the underlying causes of war is one which the Peace Movement will neglect at its peril.

In the conditions of today the No More War Movement is convinced that there is only one way in which the situation can be saved and peace be assured, and that is by a powerful nation taking its courage in its hands and disarming alone. The events of the last few years have proved conclusively that disarmament by agreement among a number of imperialist States is a delusion. What is today needed is an act of great courage which will lift men's minds above the fears, suspicions, rivalries and illegitimate ambitions which today are corrupting the streams of international life, to the purer atmosphere of a new hope and of a finer idealism. Humanity everywhere is looking for the dawn of the age of peace and social well-being, conscious that the means exist to produce it. They cannot understand what is delaying its coming. Whoever gives hope and guidance to this great and expectant multitude will win their support and save civilization. That multitude includes the teeming millions of workers in all lands, the great majority of worshippers in the churches of the world; indeed all the saner elements in society, including a very considerable body of people who, confronted with the tragedy of a collapsing civilization, are prepared to sacrifice all manner of allegiances if given a bold and enlightened lead.

But let us be quite clear upon this, that no Government will or can disarm unless it sets out deliberately to abolish exploitation and thus imperialism, and to establish the largest possible measure of social justice.

In what I am now about to say I speak not for the Movement of which I am Chairman, but for myself. Joining the No More War Movement does not involve any political affiliations, although I think we shall mostly agree that disarmament cannot be achieved without political action. I personally feel so strongly the need for courageous political action that I am driven to express my views with great frankness. Many of my friends, both of the Right and the Left, may disagree with me, but the times demand that we be outright, honest and frank. The world is in the throes of the profoundest transition it has yet been called upon to pass through, but unless it proceeds much more rapidly than it is doing at present, the catastrophic elements within it may bring about a collapse before the new order has even begun to emerge. Moreover, the new order will not come by observation. As a group of former idealists were once informed: it can only come by courageous action, since it must cut against all the interests which thrive on the existing and tottering order of things.

I am a member of the Labour Party. I joined that Party because I believed it stood for the abolition of human exploitation and social injustice, the cause of both class and international war. For that very reason I believed that the Labour Party was in a position to take a different line of action upon the disarmament issue from any other Party. I saw that by attacking and seeking to put an end to human exploitation, the way would be clear for a new disarmament policy, that of disarmament by example.

So far, however, the Labour Party has hesitated to adopt unilateral disarmament. Indeed by its recent decision to place the country's destiny in the hands of a League of Nations which is breaking under the strain of clashing Imperialisms, it has taken a retrograde step. But already that decision is giving rise to considerable uneasiness within the Party, and I am convinced that coming events will bring disillusion and a strong swing in the direction of disarmament by example. It should also be stated that there exists in the Labour Party a strong left-wing tendency to demand armaments for the purpose of the class war. This may prove to be as dangerous as imperialism itself, and must be combated. Nevertheless, for the reasons previously stated, it is through the Labour Party that I see the only possibility of securing disarmament and outlawing war. I therefore press for the assistance of all who are able to give it in order to win over the Labour Party to a policy which its principles make possible and indeed demand. A very considerable body of opinion within the Party already favours the proposal, while its adoption would command the backing of a large volume of religious and independent opinion which, in due course, would support not less zealously the other items of Labour Policy which unilateral disarmament inevitably entails.

The effect upon world opinion of applying a consistent peace policy, involving measures for

abolishing social injustice at home and exploitation, or imperialism abroad, the turning to social uses of the vast sums now spent on wasteful armaments, and a policy of complete disarmament, would be indescribable. It would awaken the minds of countless millions, galvanize peace feeling throughout the world, and create a more vigorous demand not only for disarmament, but for the changes in social and international relations which disarmament involves. Incidentally it would so exalt the nation which had thus led the way to a new era as to make it the safest country in the world. Were Britain to give that lead, and in doing so give, say, freedom to India, I believe the effect upon world opinion would be electric, and would render India safe from the attack of other Powers.

It is not possible for me here to describe in detail the conditions which I believe the policy I have suggested would produce, and how these conditions would prevent those occasions—presumed attacks by unscrupulous Powers, etc.—which crop up in the minds of people who have always been accustomed to thinking in terms of military power. We are all too apt to overlook psychological factors; and without question the moral effect upon the world of a nation like Great Britain adopting the policy I have described would be such as to revolutionize international policy, completely change the outlook and hopes of humanity entire. Every forward party and movement throughout the world would receive encouragement and inspiration, while reaction would everywhere be held in check.

If my analysis is right, and I present it as an honest and sincere challange to your thought, then I claim that the chief tasks before our Movement are first, to make the public realize the close connection between the existing social order and war, second, to make a supreme effort to bring unilateral disarmament within the purview of practical politics, which must mean, if my interpretation of the situation is correct, bringing that policy within the immediate programme of the labour Party, and third, to help to prepare the machinery for preventing or stopping a war should our peace policy fail. And it may fail Hence we must co-operate with all the organizations, including Labour and cognate bodies, churches, etc., which see the imperative need for preventing this final act of madness from overtaking our civilization.

But it is on the positive programme that we must concentrate. The taking of one firm step in the path of unilateral disarmament would, I believe, do more to save the world from war than anything else, and, moreover, would place us on the road to social freedom, social justice and social peace which are the aims and hope of every people.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL COMPENSATION

By SURENDRANATH BOSE

IN the present day there are many men and women who hold that child-bearing and child-rearing take up so much of women's time as to give them very little opportunity to engage in industrial pursuits. But it is a fact that in days past women had time enough for industrial pursuits in addition to and even as part of their household duties.

Formerly woman was a valuable member of the family. The wife created more value by industry in the home than her husband did out of it. In her hands cloth became clothes, flower bread, and fresh fruits the winter's preserves. Now all things are done outside the home and must be purchased. The wife no longer contributes to the family income by creating values, and with the increased standard of elaborate dressing, she is often its chief burden. (See Nearing: *Social Adjustment*; Chapter 6.)

This state of things has been brought about by the growth of machineries in the industrial world. The mills and factories have made it possible to produce and supply things at cheaper rates than women could ever do; and mills and factories are worked by men outside the family circle. Women's industrial pursuits have thus passed into the hands of men. Formerly social disapprobation checked men from competing with women in what were regarded as feminine pursuits. Now the factories have broken up all sex-divisions of labour, and deprived women of their proper means of earning money. Woman has now become a burden upon men and degraded in

social position ; she has no way for making money except by begging from men or stealing from the daily household accounts or by other still more degraded ways. Her degradation means the degradation of her children and, therefore, of the human race. Women feel their degradation keenly and react in various ways to establish their equality with men. Some of them choose to live single rather than submit to the yoke of a husband ; some go to schools to qualify themselves like men for public posts ; some enter the factories and engage in gainful occupations. The revolt of women in such ways, tends to break up the family and to create social disintegration and racial degeneration. To remedy this state of things, modern society has undertaken to train up the girls in industrial lines with a view to enable them to engage in gainful occupations at home without neglecting their household duties.

The new plan, however, does not promise to be a success. The products of women's labour have such small sale in the market as to make their output unnecessary. This is so because men can produce those very things in a shorter time than women can ; and shorter time means cheaper price. For the price of a product of labour, apart from its profit, must include its outlays, among which are the expenses incurred by the labourer for living during the period of labour, the expenses increasing with the increase of the period of labour. In this way women are outdone by men in industrial competition.

Now the question arises as to why women take longer time than men do to finish a piece of industrial work. The answer is that it is so because women suffer from industrial disabilities from which men are free. The disabilities of women are chiefly the natural hindrances arising from their functions of motherhood and partly the social and industrial restrictions which become necessary for them on account of those functions. The disabilities of women cause interruptions in their labour, as a result of which the period of their labour increases and with that the price of the product of their labour increases also. Hence the point at issue is as to how the industrial disabilities of women can be remedied.

Human society observes the rule of giving a compensation to the disabled, no matter whether the disability owes its origin to nature or to man. Asylums for the aged, infirm or insane, hospitals for the sick or wounded, refuge homes for orphans, or foundlings are, in a sense, different ways of giving compensation to the disabled ; for they are maintained with contributions given by those who are not disabled. In a similar sense, women, who labour under disabilities, should be given a compensation with some sacrifice on the part of men, who do not labour under those disabilities.

It may be argued that men have given a compensation to women in consideration of their disabilities by giving them maintenance and by making provisions for their children. This argument had its weight in times past when women could use their leisure, hours profitably, as has been said above. In these modern times when women's proper vocations have been wrested from them by the factories and hotels, they have much idle time on their hands, and much accumulated energy seeking an adequate object for its employment. In the absence of profitable work, they become unhappy and neurotic, and naturally attempt to relieve their tension according to the promptings of their nature, which might make them run into follies in spite of all social restraints. (See Sir S. Radhakrishnan : *Kalki*). Clearly, then, mere giving a maintenance does not come up to the requirements of a compensation for women.

Compensation may be given to women on account of their industrial disabilities by giving them economic concessions with regard to certain industries ; for example, by granting them municipal aids, free tenures, conveyances exemptions, abatements, easements and other privileges in equitable measures. To take a concrete example, a tailoring factory started by women may be granted a fund for its construction and upkeep, a freehold site for its buildings, a remission of rents, taxes and duties, a passport or conveyance for its controllers and canvassers, and other similar privileges, Such concessions will enable women to reduce their expenditure and hence to reduce the prices of their industrial product and offer them for sale in competitive terms with men, notwithstanding their own

disabilities. In this way, *concessions will constitute women's industrial compensation* and will restore to them many of their lost industries, to the benefit of the individual, the family, the society, and the race.

The success of the compensatory system will depend upon women being better workers and better inventors than men; better workers because men may not give up their endeavours to compete with women; and better inventors because man-made machines may not be suitable for women. Furthermore, the co-operation of men will be necessary to give the women their due and to accord the benefits of the compensatory system to the female members of their respective families.

The industries most suitable to women in these days can be decided only after a study of the actual results of the woman's movement. Corporate bodies of the State might begin the movement by making a selection of those industries which, in their opinion, can be carried on by women in their respective provinces without prejudice to their health and household duties and such corporate bodies might grant equitable concessions to women by virtue of the powers conferred upon them by the State laws.

In making the selection of industries for women, regard should be had to the industries which were originally invented by the mothers for the welfare of the children, and which were long in their hands and were, in fact, perfected by them before passing from their hands into the mills, factories, hotels and schools. A list of some of them given below may be of some use and interest. To wit, spinning, weaving, cutting and stitching, needlework, ordering of wool, hemp, flax, making of cloth and dyeing, extraction of oils, perfumes, distillations, toilette requisites, banquetting stuffs, basketry, pottery, cookery, husking of corns, grinding of grains, the knowledge of dairies, preserves, conceited secrets, herbal doctoring, midwifery, child-nursing and educating. (See Briffault: *The Mothers*; Gervase Markham; *The English Housewife*).

AN ETHNIC STUDY OF THE PANDAVAS

By ABHAYANANDA MUKHERJEE, M. SC.

THE racial origin of the Pandavas has always been a controversial topic. In this attempt to throw some light on this vexed question we shall begin by examining the essential points freed from all embellishments.

It is clear that if some striking features which distinguish the Pandavas from the rest of the people described in the vast epic are discernible, our task will become simple. The point, that suggests itself in this connection, is the marriage of Draupadi to the five brothers. But doubts have been raised as regards its characterizing value and we shall examine this point in detail. It is indisputable that the epic was based upon an ancient story and that the marriage of Draupadi was too essential a part of it to be modified in later versions. We must now see how far this marriage can be said to characterize the Pandavas as a people distinct from the Kurus and other allied races.

Prof. Hopkins is inclined to regard the Pandavas as a body of strangers.

"The Pandus, whatever may have been their antiquity, first come into view with the later Buddhist literature, which recognises the Pandavas as a mountain clan....... The Mahabharata offered various explanatory excuses for the polyandry of the Pandus who, however, as a northern hill-tribe or family probably were really polyandrous and needed no excuse." (Hopkins in *Camb. Hist.* Vol. I, also cp. *The Religions of India.* P. 388).

But Dr. Roy Chaudhuri is not prepared to accept this view. (*Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Cal. Univ., Vol. IX, pp. 95-96.) In trying to prove that "the polyandrous marriage of the Pandavas does not necessarily indicate that they are interlopers," Dr. Roy Chaudhuri has cited the cases of the Brahmana girls Jatila and Várkshi (Mbh. I. 196), the case of Mamatá who was "the *de facto* wife of both Utathya and his brother Brihaspati" (Mbh. I. 104) and the case of a daughter of Yayáti who was "successively married to four persons, *viz.* Haryyasva, Divodasa,

Usinara and Visvamitra" (Mbh. V. 115-119.) We shall now examine these points.

In the Mahabharata (I. 196. 14-15) the cases of Jatila and Varkshi are cited by Yudhisthira in support of the decision of the five brothers to marry Draupadi jointly. There is no doubt that this marriage "was directly opposed to the brahmanical views" When Drupada says (I. 197. 27) "The law teaches that one man has many wives ; but one has never heard that one woman has many men as her husbands," he only gives expression to the general Indian opinion. It is clear from a perusal of this portion of the Mahabharata that the cases of Jatila and Varkshi, about whom only the barest remark is made, did not help Yudhisthira in the least. Several clumsily invented stories were related by Vyasa before Drupada's consent was obtained. It is also important that these stories were not related before everybody but were meant only for Drupada. (I. 196. 19 नन्व वक्ष्यामि सर्व्वेषां राजन् ! श्रृणु मे स्वयम्).

Clearly Vyasa was afraid of criticism. In the Mahabharata "there is not even an attempt made to bring the three justification stories of Vyasa into accord with one another or with the principal narrative. On the other hand it is repeatedly distinctly emphasized that it was an ancient family custom, not indeed a general Indian custom but a special family usage of the Pandavas". (Prof. Winternitz : *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I. P 337.) Instead of trying to justify it "mythologically, allegorically and symbolically" we must accept it as an ethnological fact.

That this polyandrous marriage was judged with peculiar harshness even at that age can be gathered from Karna's retort when Bikarna protested against the barbarity of the Kaurava princes. (Mbh. II. 68 34-36.) Karna said :

> "If you think that we have acted wrongly in bringing her before the assembly when she is wearing only one piece of cloth, hear my excellent words on that point. The gods have ordained only one husband for a woman, O son of the Kurus, but as she has chosen many husbands she has been judged to be a harlot ; therefore in my opinion there is nothing strange in her being brought before the assembly when she is wearing only one piece of cloth or even if she had worn no clothing at all."

That the polyandrous marriage served to lower Draupadi in later estimation can also be gauged from the fact that this "magnificent female character of the epic" appears in the Jataka "as an example of feminine depravity, as she is not content with her five husbands but also commits adultery with a hunchbacked servant" (Jataka No. 536).

The other two cases cited by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri must now be examined. In the Mahabharata Mamata is described as the wife of Utathya and Brihaspati is there clearly mentioned as the husband's younger brother. (Mbh. 1. 104 9-11.) Thus the expression "the [illegible] wife of both Utathya and his brother Brihaspati" is misleading inasmuch as it was a simple case of adultery. Mamata's case therefore lends no support to the marriage of Draupadi.

The case of Madhabi, the daughter of Yayati is rather peculiar. (Mbh. V. 115-119.) But even then her marriage "successively with four persons" affords no similarity to the case of Draupadi. Yayati gave Madhabi to Galaba because he was unable to pay for eight hundred horses of a peculiar breed and Haryyasva, Divodasa and Usinara gave Galaba six hundred horses of that breed for the estimable privilege of begetting sons upon beautiful Madhabi. When it was found impossible to procure the remaining two hundred horses, Galaba requested Visvamitra to accept the six hundred horses and to beget a son upon Madhabi. Surely this cannot be termed being "successively married to four persons." Madhabi was finally sent back to her father Yayati. (V. 119.) Madhabi was used purely as Sulka (price) for horses and cannot be said to have any connection with polyandry. In our opinion if Madhabi's case illustrates anything, it illustrates "patria potestas".

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has also remarked that "the system of Niyoga prevalent among the Kurus was not far removed from fraternal polyandry Mbh. 1. 103. 9-10 ; 105. 37-38)." But we should remember that the recognition of Niyoga and of gudhotpanna and other illegitimate sons has been attributed to "the unusual importance attached to male descendants. Toleration of prostitution has not hindered the growth of a strict law of marriage" (Dr. Jolly : *Hindu Law and Customs*, p. 106.) Polyandry as such was unknown to the Kurus. No mythological element was necessary to support the procreation of sons on a childless widow by a relation, which we find in the birth-story of Dhritarastra and Pandu. We find also that when Pandu asked Kunti to resort to Niyoga for the fourth time after the birth of three sons, Kunti said that Niyoga for a number of times was opposed to dharma and refused. (Mbh. I. 123. 76-78.) Levirate was known to many ancient races, particularly to the Hebrews, among whom no polyandry can be traced.

Though it was accepted as an ancient custom, a tendency to disapprove of Niyoga is discernible in Brahmanical works from very early times.

> "Already Aupajandhani, an old teacher of the white Yajurveda (Baudh. 2, 3, 33ff) had expressed his disapproval of Niyoga. Manu (9. 64-70) condemns Niyoga, immediately after recommending it, as a beastly custom." (Dr. Jolly : *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 155.)

Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's argument is, therefore, in our opinion not convincing.

Hence we must conclude that the polyandrous marriage was an element foreign to brahmanical tradition and "was a special family usage of the

Pandavas." We shall next consider how far other evidences in support of the argument, that the Pandavas are not a body of strangers, can stand scrutiny.

According to Dr. Ray Chaudhuri the testimony of Buddhist literature points to the conclusion that the Pandavas are an offshoot of the Kuru race.

> "In the Dasa-Brahmana Jataka (Jataka No 495) a king of the stock of Yudhitthila reigning in the kingdom of Kuru and the city called Indapatta is distinctly called Korabya—belonging to the Kuru race." (*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 20.)

But the evidence of mere names is a very weak reed to lean upon. In Jataka No 413, Dhananjaya is a Kuru King residing in the city of Indapatta of the family Yudhitthila; but in Jataka No 515 Dhananjaya Korabya is a pious Kuru King called Yudhitthila in the Gathas, and in Jat. No 329 Dhananjaya is a King of Benares. In Jat. No 185, Pandava occurs as the name of a horse. "In the Jatakas there is no allusion at all to the story of the Mahabharata." We are therefore led to the conclusion that the references in the Jatakas bear testimony only to a slight acquaintance with the Mahabharata. As regards Brahmanical literature, "nowhere in the whole Veda is the name of Pandu or of his sons the Pandavas to be found, though in the works belonging to the Yajurveda there is a frequent mention of Kurus and Pancalas."

In the Mahabharata itself we find some confusion regarding names. In the Mahabharata (I. 94. 51-56) we find that Janamejaya is a son of famous Kuru, Pariksit is one of the grandsons of Kuru, Dhritarastra and Pandu are the sons of Janamejaya and Santanu is a great-grandson of Dhritarastra. This Santanu has also been made the grandfather of the later Dhritarastra and Pandu. We also see that the kings Janamejaya, Pariksit, Dhritarastra and Pandu, who are mentioned here, are far removed from the kings of the same name mentioned in the Pandu story. This proves that all conclusions based on bare names should be used with caution.

We see therefore that there are some reasons for supposing that the Pandavas were a body of strangers and that the arguments in favour of regarding them as belonging to the Kuru race are not conclusive. We shall next discuss the question and weigh the probabilities by examining the internal evidence.

We shall start with the birth of the Pandavas. The epic relates a very fantastic story, which according to Prof. Winternitz "could scarcely have belonged to the old poem," in order to explain the birth of the Pandavas who are supposed to have been begotten not by, but on behalf of, Pandu. There is one very important point regarding these births. We find that during the period of these births Pandu had been living with his wives on the Satasringa mountian beyond the Himalayas. (Mbh. I. 119.) In this Trans-Himalayan region were the Pandavas born. After the death of Pandu we find that they were brought down to Hastinapur together with Kunti by hermits who lived beyond the Himalayas. These hermits vanished miraculously after leaving them in charge of Bhisma. This story, in which the supernatural element is predominant, strongly suggests that the Pandavas belonged to a different race (probably of trans-Himalayan origin) and the author of the Mahabharata grafted this new race upon the Kurus.

In our opinion neither Kunti's exhortation to enjoy "the alms" together even when "the alms" was a woman nor Vyasa's clumsily invented stories explained the polyandry of the Pandavas. The real explanation is also found in the Mahabharata (I. 191. 11-16). It is clearly stated there that all the Pandavas were smitten with the charms of Draupadi (I. 191. 13) and Yudhisthira after reading the signs correctly and fearing internal dissension (I. 191. 16 decided that Draupadi should be the joint wife. This clearly proves that it was a special family usage of the Pandavas and not a general custom because nowhere else had this custom been resorted to for keeping fraternal solidarity intact.

We shall next try to find out some other factor which may be used to distinguish the Pandavas from the Kurus and other allied races. One such striking factor is to be found in the Mahabharata (VIII. 83). Bhima is found to literally quench his thirst for vengeance by drinking the blood of his opponent Kuru prince Duhsasana.

In the Mahabharata (II. 68) we also find Bhima taking an oath which has been considered to be the extenuating factor of this terrible form of vengeance. Exasperated by the barbarity of the Kaurava princes Bhima says:

> "Give heed to my oath, ye warriors of the whole world, an oath such as has never before been uttered by man, and such as will never again be uttered by a man. May I never attain to the resting place of my ancestors if I do not fulfil the words which I have spoken—if I do not tear open the breast of this evil, foolish outcast of the Bharatas in the fight, and drink his blood !!"

The justification offered by the author of the Mahabharata seems to be that when Bhima took such an oath, as a Kshatriya he was bound to fulfil it But a question may be asked: Why should Bhima take such a strange oath ? Clearly the idea, strange to others, was not absolutely strange to him. When Bhima took this oath before the assembly (Mbh. II 68), his hearers probably treated it as a hyperbole.

There is another fact which deserves consideration. Even though we accept the theory that Bhima took this foolish oath hastily and felt himself bound by the honour of a Kshatriya to fulfil it. we may naturally expect that he would taste a drop of the blood perhaps, only to fulfil the letter of the foolish oath and that he would never revel in it. But we actually

find him (Mbh. VIII. 83) drinking considerable quantities of blood again and again and pronouncing it to be better than "mother's milk, honey and wine." This terrible revenge was not at all repugnant to him. But the onlookers began to run away terror-stricken and they exclaimed, "This is not a man but a demon." (Mbh. VIII 83.) This proves conclusively that the sight was revolting to the Kurus and others and that the idea was foreign to them. Bhima's attitude supports the conclusion that this drinking of blood must be treated as a distinguishing feature.

Two characteristics have emerged from this discussion—the polyandrous marriage and the drinking of blood. These may help us to establish the ethnic affinity of the Pandavas to some of the ancient races.

This drinking of blood of a fallen foe reminds us of an analogous custom prevailing among the Scythians. The customs of the Scythians in regard to war, as detailed by Herodotus, are, to say the least, horrible, but one characteristic must be noted. Herodotus says :

> "That which relates to war is thus ordered with them ; when a Scythian has slain his first man, he drinks some of his blood." (Herodotus : IV, 64)

This is significant

Regarding the polyandrous marriage we have already seen that the only factor which guided Yudhisthira's decision was the fear of losing fraternal solidarity. (Mbh. I. 191. 11-16.) We have seen also that this method of attaining the object as well as the custom was strange to the Indians, but it was not so to the Scythians. When speaking of the customs of the tribes who dwelt near the Scythians, Herodotus says, "The Agathyrsians have promiscuous intercourse with their women, in order that they may be brethren to one another and being all nearly related may not feel envy or malice one against another." (Herodotus : IV, 104.) From this it is seen that the idea of group-marriage was not novel to the Scythians and that the object was identical with that of the Pandavas, since here also the attempt to preserve the solidarity of the community had been the basis of the custom.

Regarding the high honour in which Draupadi was held by the Pandava brothers, we must say that it does not come in conflict with our theory. The attribute of justice was a commonplace in relation to Scythians so that Herodotus speaking of the Issedones (IV, 26 can say, "For the rest, these also are said to be just ; and the women enjoy rights equally with the men."

These characteristics of the Pandavas which are remarkably analogous to some traits of the Scythians and allied races lead us to the idea that the Pandavas might have been connected with the Scythians. The fantastic story of their birth in a Trans-Himalayan region lends stronger support to the theory. We must consider next how far the geographical position of the land of the Scythians supports this conclusion.

As regards the geographical position we may note the following points from an admirable article by Dr. Thomas called "Sakastana" (J.R.A.S. 1906, pp. 181-216). Says Dr. Thomas :

> "What objection can we urge against the supposition that in ancient times the whole population of the mountainous country from the Sakai of the Greek naratives to Sakastana was in fact Scythian. No one any longer doubts that the Scythians of Europe and Asia were merely the outer, uncivilized belt of the Iranian family and though the observations of Hippocrates may point to an ethnological difference, the close relation of the Scythian dialects to the Zend and Persian is beyond dispute."

The position is further simplified by the following remarks of Dr. Thomas :

> "An early presence of Sakas in Sakastan is explicitly included among the Indo-Iranic speculations of Brunnhofer and would no doubt harmonize with the theories of Hillebrandt. concerning a knowledge of Arachosia and Drangiana by Indians of the Vedic age."

We know that "in the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes (500 B. C.) the Sakai with the Caspii formed the fifteenth satrapy ; and in the army of Xerxes, they were associated with the Bactrians under the command of Hystaspes, the son of Darius and Atossa (Herod. iii. 93 ; vii. 64)." (Smith—*Early History of India* P. 264.) Strabo clearly states that the sakai and allied tribes came from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes. Mr. V. A. Smith (Z. D. M. G. 1907) agrees with the conclusion of Dr. F. W. Thomas (J. R. A. S. 1906) that "the Sakas had been settled in Sistan from very early times." This proves that the geographical position of Sakastana does not preclude the possibility of the Scythian origin of the Pandavas. The Pandavas came from a region outside India ; even though the region cannot be proved to be Sistan itself we may say that it was at least close to Sistan and imbued with Scythian influence.

We have studied the question in its different phases and we must admit that the materials at our command have been scanty. But in the absence of other evidence we may suggest that the Pandavas were a new family or clan related to the Scythians who built up a kingdom and then obtained supreme power by allying themselves with the Panchalas and attacking the Kurus.

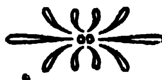


DWARKANAUTH TAGORE

[Few know that there was in Calcutta in the forties of the last century a daily paper named *The Calcutta Star*. It was owned and edited by one James Hume. In its issue of November 24, 1842, it contained the article on Dwarkanauth Tagore, printed below. ED *M.R.*]

THIS distinguished citizen of Calcutta (and now of Edinburgh) was on Friday, the 30th ultimo honoured by a special interview with her Majesty the Queen, at Windsor Castle, prior to his departure for Paris, on his way to Marseilles, to embark for India. On this occasion, we have been given to understand, her Majesty's reception of the Baboo was distinguished by the most gratifying kindness, as was also that of Prince Albert. Her Majesty signified her gracious intention to make Dwarkanauth Tagore a present of her portrait, accompanied by one of her Royal consort; an offer which it is quite unnecessary to say was most gratefully accepted. We cannot ourselves imagine that any mark of royal favour could be more acceptable to our justly honoured Indian fellow-subject than that which it has pleased the Queen to bestow, and we are confident that the flattering notice she has exhibited to the enlightened and liberal-minded Hindoo who has visited our country will endear her to the hearts of the great nation to which he belongs, and produce a happy effect upon the minds of those who have had too much cause to think themselves overlooked by the men who have been sent from this country, and entrusted with the rulership of our Indian territories. It remains to be seen how far her Majesty's Ministers sympathise with their Sovereign in their desire to do justice to the singular, we might say unexampled merits of Dwarkanauth Tagore. We have the best means of knowing that the Baboo aspires not to the possession of those titles, which in the eyes of men less ennobled by moral and intellectual endowments wear so many attractions. But it is not, therefore, less the duty of those who advise the Crown in the dispensation of honorary rewards, to distinguish eminent worth, by conferring upon its possessor some special token of recognition and appreciation.

Already, an inhabitant of Bombay, a man of kindred spirit, and similar position, has been honoured by the gift of knighthood. We cannot then believe, that such a man as Dwarkanauth Tagore will be suffered to leave our shores, undistinguished by some mark, which shall demonstrate to his countrymen the estimation in which his rare virtues are held by the present administration. In every situation of life Dwarkanauth Tagore has presented a noble example to all around him, whether Native or European. As a private individual, by his unbounded hospitality, his uniform urbanity, and his princely munificence—as a government functionary, by the sedulous and faithful discharge of the most important duties—as one of the largest landed proprietors, by his constant efforts to ameliorate the condition of all belonging to his estates: and as a merchant, by his undeviating honour and enlightened enterprise, he has won for himself the esteem, the confidence, and the lasting gratitude of all classes in Bengal. So high was the opinion of his rare merits entertained by that late Governor General Lord William Bentinck, that the nobleman was most desirous that Dwarkanauth Tagore should receive through him some title, that should indicate the high estimation of the government. Lord Auckland, we know, has long honoured Dwarkanauth Tagore with his friendship, and would be the first to rejoice in the elevation of one who has co-operated with him in all efforts to promote the prosperity of India and the welfare of its people. The fellow-citizens of Dwarkanath Tagore have given the best proof of their warm attachment to him by voting him an address and raising a public subscription to obtain his picture, or a statue, or both. We are not surprised at these. Dwarkanauth Tagore and his family, in connexion with Sir Edward Hyde East, were the projectors of that noble institution, the Hindoo College. The School-Book Society, the Medical College, the Native schools of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, the Vernacular Schools, the Fever Hospital, the District Charitable Society, the Blind and Leper Asylums, and last, though not least, the Landholders' Society. are all indebted to Dwarkanauth Tagore and his family, either for their existence or those liberal contributions upon which their continuance and success depend. Such patriotism and philanthropy demand our admiration and esteem; the confident belief that the man who has by their exercise bestowed so many pure and lasting blessings on his country, will receive from the hands of those to whom its destinies are confided some appropriate distinction. The respect and flattering attention with which Dwarkanauth Tagore has been everywhere received since he came to Great Britain has been highly creditable to the people of this country. The effect, we trust, will be to attract many of the natives of India to our shores, that the mass of our countrymen may no longer be strangers either to the features, the intelligence, or the virtues of the Hindoo race. We fervently hope that the time is at hand when that friendship which is the fruit of knowledge and mutual esteem will spring up between the two nations, and be perpetuated without interruption to the latest period of time.



THE TODAS

THE ORIGINAL HILL TRIBE OF THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

By M. FATHULLA KHAN

THE Todas of the Nilgiris (or Blue Mountains) are an aboriginal tribe that has attracted the attention of many travellers and anthropologists. They claim to be the original inhabitants of the hills and masters of the soil.

In the year 1117 A. D. a general of the Hoysala king Vishnuwardhan seemed to have frightened the Todas, offered up the Nilgiri peak to the goddess of Victory and pursuing the Malyalis, made himself master of Kerala. It is, therefore, probable that the Todas were on these hills before 1117 A. D. and that the kings of Kerala or Malabar at that time claimed them as their subjects and the Nilgiris as part of their dominion. Besides, this fact also receives some confirmation from the Tamil classsic entitled *Silappadhikaram*, the date of the composition of which cannot be further from the two dates, 17th May, 756 A. D., and 23rd July, 756 A. D., alluded to in the poem itself. From this work it is inferred that the Chera king looked upon the Nilgiris as a place of rest for himself and his troops, and also that there was a route by which men, horses and elephants could be transported to the Nilgiri plateau. So, the Todas might have come to the Nilgiris either as the camp followers of the Chera king or a consequence of the hills having been opened up on the occasion of this or some other royal march. Another link between the Todas and the Chera king is shown by Dr. Rivers who, when he visited the Nilgiris in the year 1901, found a Toda *mund* called Kannagi *mund* in Keradar villages, belonging to the Keradar clan of the Todas, in ruins. This mund has since been rebuilt and is situated in Meknad, very near the Sisipara route leading from Malabar into the Nilgiris, one of the probable routes by which, according to Dr. Rivers, the Todas entered the Nilgiris. Kannagi, a Tamil friend from Madras tells me, is a fairly common name, at present, which came into use with the story of Kovalan and Kannagi. Kannagi having been taken up into heavens, her worship was solemnly instituted at Vanchi by the Chera king Sanguthuvan who received, on the occasion, the homage of countless Indian princes, including Gajabahu, the ruler of



Toda blessing a woman

Ceylon, who is said to have introduced into his country the worship of Kannagi. The goddess Kannagi or Pattini has been from very early times one of the four principal deities worshipped on that island. Thus, we are led to conclude that the Todas could not have



A Toda family

occupied the Nilgiris much before the 8th centry A. D.

THEIR FEATURES, DWELLING AND OCCUPATION

The Todas, unlike the people of the plains, are tall. The average height of the man is 5ft. 7 in. and of the woman 5 ft. 1 in. They are well-proportioned, strong and fair. The men, resembling closely the Romans, are very hirsute. The women wear beautifully long side-locks which they curl carefully on the round stick smeared with butter. The men are active, untiring, grave and dignified. Nevertheless they are cheerful and well-disposed. They hold themselves superior to the neighbouring tribes—the Badagas and Kotas. Their women are smart at domestic work. In most cases they are handsome, but are prone to temptation.

Their houses form little hamlets known as Munds. These consist of four or five dwelling huts, of which the larger one forms the dairy and a buffalo-pen. They are usually picturesquely situated near a 'shola' (forest) or a stream. The huts are made in a quaint way, looking like half a barrel, with barrel-like roof. The sides project in front, forming wide eaves, and on this side is the door—an entrance so small and low, for it is placed on the same level with the ground, that one has to go crawling on hands and knees to enter in. On either side of the door outside is a sort of earthen bench. And inside, a raised platform to sleep on forms a flank on one side of the door, and the rest of the place is used as kitchen and dining place. The hut is surrounded by a rough stone wall about three and a half feet high with one opening in front, purposely made too narrow for a buffalo to come in.

The Todas wear a simple dress. Men, women and children, all put on an upper white sheet called the 'putkuli', the borders of which are embroidered in coloured thread. It is thrown right round the shoulders. Inside the putkuli the men tie a small strip of cloth, but the women do not. Any kind of head-dress is unknown to them.

The only occupation of the Todas is the tending of their buffaloes, and to make butter and ghee. At sunrise, the men salute the sun, with a queer gesture, putting the thumb to the nose and spreading out the fingers in a manner similar to the English school boy's sign of derision. Then they let the buffaloes out of the pen, milk them, and drive the herd to the



Toda girls at their toilet

grazing ground and laze away the day till evening. They milk the buffaloes again in the evening and churn more butter. Saluting the lamp in the manner the sun was saluted in the morning, they retire to bed. The women are prohibited from entering the dairy or to have anything to do with the milking or churning. They attend to ordinary household work.

The Todas migrate periodically from one hill to another to find sufficient grazing for their buffaloes. These migrations are attended with elaborate and ostentatious rituals.

Social and Religious Arrangements

The planetary week-day, as a chronological element, figures constantly and to a startling extent in the religious and social arrangements of the Todas. The *madnol* is a day of the week which is observed as a holy day and a day of rest in every mund, while the *Arpatznol* is the day of the week which every man has to keep sacred as being the day on which his father died. The most frequent madnols are Wednesday and Friday which are sacred in six clans. Sunday is sacred in five clans, Monday and Tuesday in three, Thursday in two and Saturday in none. Funerals can be performed only on certain days in the week and dead bodies have to wait until those days arrive. The Pykara can be crossed only on certain days of the week. Their year commences with the Teututusthchi ceremony on the first or second Sunday after the New Moon in October when the dry grass on the high hills is burnt, as a public signal, by the dairy priest. Their week days are *Asrom* (Sunday), *Tuvom* (Monaday), *Om* (Tuesday), *Puthvom* (Wednesday), *Tam* (Thursday), *Pilirom* (Friday), and *Tanirom* (Saturday). The peculiarity of the Toda week is that *Om* or Tuesday is the first day of the week, and not Sunday or Saturday.

Their Religion

The Toda ceremonies of birth, marriage and death and certain other domestic ceremonies, connected with fire-worship, ear-boring, puberty, pregnancy, etc., no doubt imply some form of Hinduism, but the articles of faith of the Hindu religion as it is ordinarily practised, involving temples and images of gods and goddesses and gifts to Brahmins, are not found in the Toda religion. If the Todas brought with them from the plains the whole body of their present-day customs and

institutions then the Hinduism of a 1000 to 1,500 years ago has to be looked into for the parent cult that gave rise to the Toda religion. But, it is precisely about this epoch, from 500 to 800 A. D. that there is no information in matters literary or religious.

The Todas believe that a deity leads the same life as the mortal Toda, and look upon their dairy and buffaloes as the property of gods. The dairy-men are regarded as priests. Their gods dwell on highest peaks but are invisible to mortals. Each clan of the tribe has a special deity of its own, who is believed to have ruled over it in past ages.

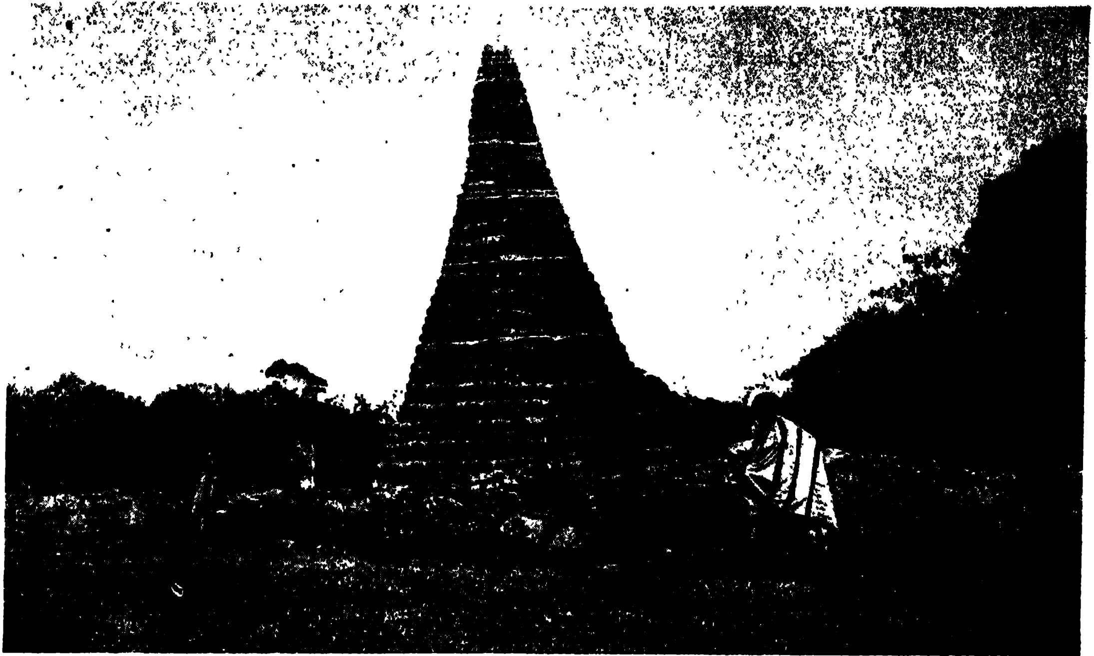
Ohn, a god, and Teikrizi, a goddess, stand pre-eminent of all the gods. I was told that Ohn was the son of Pithi, the earliest immortal of whom the tradition speaks. He created men and buffaloes and became the ruler of Amnodr—the world of the dead—where he now lives. The story relating the manner in which he created them is very interesting. Ohn and his wife, one day, went to the tops of the Kundahs and Ohn laid an iron bar right accross them. Standing at one end of this he brought forth 1,600 buffaloes from the earth, and his wife at the other end created 1,800. The first lot were the progenitors of the sacred herd and the second were the first parents of the ordinary buffaloes. Holding on to the tail of the last of the former lot came out of the earth a man ; who was the first Toda. Ohn took one of his ribs and created from it the first Toda woman. Ohn had a son who was accidentally drowned. In his great grief, Ohn left the plateau and went away to the world of the dead to live with his child. Thereupon Teikrizi took his place as the ruler of the Todas. It was she who originated, as she happened to be a woman, most of their rites and ceremonies and divided them and their buffaloes into several clans and classes that still exist.

The offering of buffaloes in sacrifice is not unusual in South India and the Deccan even at the present day ; but the peculiarity of the Toda sacrifice is that the buffaloes are slaughtered not to secure the favour of the gods but for the safe conduct of the departed soul to Amnodr, the land of the dead. Assuming that this utilitarian idea of sacrifice was a development of the Toda life on the Nilgiris, still the fact remains that the religious idea of atonement was the main key-note of the ritual in their original home, as it still is among similar communities on the plains. From the times of Abel the shepherd has usually sacrificed the firstlings of his flocks and herds as a religious duty. During the period of Buddhist ascendancy in South India, from the 5th to the 7th century A. D., animal sacrifices may have probably been prohibited by dint of religious persecutions, and the only way of escape from such a persecution for a community like that of the Todas might have been to resort to migration.

The Calendar of the Todas

The Toda year, which commences in October-November, is divided into twelve months. They are in order: *Tai, Emioti, Kudri, Atani, Natani, Ani, Atheri, Adi, Ovani, Peritashi, Tudeivi,* and *Kridivi.* It is a noteworthy fact that these months, following the names and order, more or less resemble the Tamil solar months. The only exception is that instead of 'Margali' Atheri is inserted. The year is evidently solar and tropical, for it commences with a definite stage of the tropical year when the grass is dried up in the month of October. And it is interesting to note that the Todas mark time with the aid of the flowering of certain trees. They not only note the annual flowering season of trees but the circumstance that one species of trees (a strobilanth) flowers once in six years (hence called in Botany *Sexennis)*, another once in twelve years, and a third once in eighteen years, enables them to reckon age by the number of times a person has seen the flowering of the respective trees.

Though the year is tropical, the months are lunar and are reckoned from new moon to new moon. And in a solar tropical year there are not always twelve lunar months, but in seven years out of every nineteen they exceed by another month. When I inquired from some of the aged Todas as to how they regard this occasional thirteenth month they seemed perplexed and unable to answer me. Evidently it is passed off without being reckoned as the thirteenth because, in any case, it is essential for them to wait until the tropical sun brings about the drying up of the



A Toda temple

grass, the flowering of trees and then only would the count of twelve months to a year begin again. The fact that the Todas gave to their lunar months the names of the twelve solar months indicates that they came from a place where the Tamil nomenclature of months was in use, and not from Kanarese or Telugu parts where solar months have never been in use. There are communities in India who invariably employ the lunar reckoning for all purposes and also those who employ that reckoning only for religious purposes, while their days for secular purposes are regulated by the solar reckoning. Save Bengal, Orissa, Malabar, and the Tamil districts of South India who employ largely the solar reckoning, all other communities, including the Kanarese and Telugu people, observe the lunar system. Thus it may be safely inferred that the Todas acquired their notions of the calendar in a country where either Tamil or Malyalam was the prevalent language. Here it follows that the Todas did not, in all probability, come, at any rate, not all of them, from Mysore or Coorg. Nor is there any ground for the suggestion that the Toda calendar might have been borrowed from the Badagas, who, at the present day, follow the same reckoning as that of the Todas, for the reason that the Badagas must have followed originally the lunar reckoning and that if they follow, at present, the Toda reckoning it must be due to the Tamil that has for all practical purposes become their common language.

Their Language

The language of the tribe is Dravidian. It is more akin to Tamil than to Malyalam. The Toda words are pronounced exactly as in colloquial Tamil, but usually their sound effect is puzzling. This seems a case of imitation from modern colloquial Tamil. To make a thorough investigation of the Toda language one has to study its earliest grammatical forms in the various formularies of prayer, magic and incantation, which any community would continue to recite in a form as little removed as possible from the primitive, lest the words, if modernized, should lose their spell or potency. And judged by such a method the Toda dialect will be found an old relic of ancient Tamil.

Polyandry

It is regretful that today this interesting hill-tribe, small as it is, is rapidly degenerating under the stress of polyandry and other immoral practices. However isolation may have helped to throw a veil in the past over the growth of such practices, it cannot be said that they are wholly the result of the Nilgiri migration. I am told by a Hindu authority that polyandry of a kind has always existed in South India and has not been confined to Malabar only; and that, in fact, the Mahabharata is a standing plea for polyandry.

The Toda Dance

The Toda dance is very simple. The men join arms in a circle and move round with a sort of hop to the accompaniment of musical shouts of *ha'-ha'-ho'h, ha'-ha'-ho'h, ha'-ho'h*. The music of motion is not much in evidence. Their women-folk do not dance, but they sing in an exceedingly peculiar tune with closed lips.

The way in which the Todas greet one another is strange and singular. While the younger in age kneels down the elderly Toda lifts up his left foot and touches the head, thus blessing the younger one.

My ramblings over the Nilgiris in search of the Toda munds have always been extremely pleasant; and I admire the personal dignity and pride of race which stand out in every lineament of the Toda physiognomy, their rude insistence on the maintenance of patriarchal authority, the truthfulness and the manliness of the Toda and the simplicity of his outlook on life.

COLLECTIONS OF THE NAHAR MUSEUM

By AJITKUMAR MUKHERJEE

IN the early days of Mr Puran Chand Nahar a saying was current in his native village **सिकन्दर शाह बादशाहके माथेमें दो सींग** *i.e.*, Alexander the Great has got two horns in his head. He was greatly attracted by this saying, and tried to find out its meaning, in which he did not succeed for a long time When he was reading in the Presidency College he secured a gold coin which struck him for its similarity to the contents of the saying. To find out the actual date of the gold coin Mr. Nahar sent it to late Mr. Rakhaldas Banerjee who was then in charge of the Calcutta Museum. It is believed from the report of late Mr. Bannerjee that this coin is one of the Asiatic issues of the great Macedonian conqueror.

"The coin just discovered differs from all other known types of the coinage of Alexander··· on the obverse it bears the head of Alexander facing the proper left and wearing an elephant's scalp. It is now well-known that the wearing of the elephant's scalp instead of the usual helmet or Kansia indicated either a raid into, or the occupation of a portion of Anina or India. Thus we find that Demetrius, the son of the Bactrian king Enthydemus, signalised his conquest of Northern Anina by issuing silver coins, on which he is figured as wearing the elephant's scalp. The earlier Greek conquerors of India prized the the possession of elephants above everything. This is shown by the zeal with which Alexander enforced his demand for elephants from the vanquished Indian princes ···It is no longer doubted that Alexander established a mint in India during his three years' stay (330 B. C.-327 B. C.) The square bonny coins are well-known, but at the same time they are so very rare that even the Indian Museum does not possess a specimen. These coins are to be found in the cabinets of a few private collections of Indian coins. The new coin is unique, both as to its minting and type."

On the reverse of the coin we find the figures of winged victory which is so very common on the gold issues of Alexander and Selukus Nicator.

The importance of this unique coin, regarding which further researches may lead to the discovery of a lost chapter of our history, is obvious.

From this time Mr. Nahar's enthusiasm steadily increased; he explored all sorts of likely and unlikely places throughuot the country in a fascinating search for old paintings and manuscripts and sculptures, in course of which he passed through many adventures. He met with frequent disappointments, but his indomitable energy and perseverance prevailed in the long

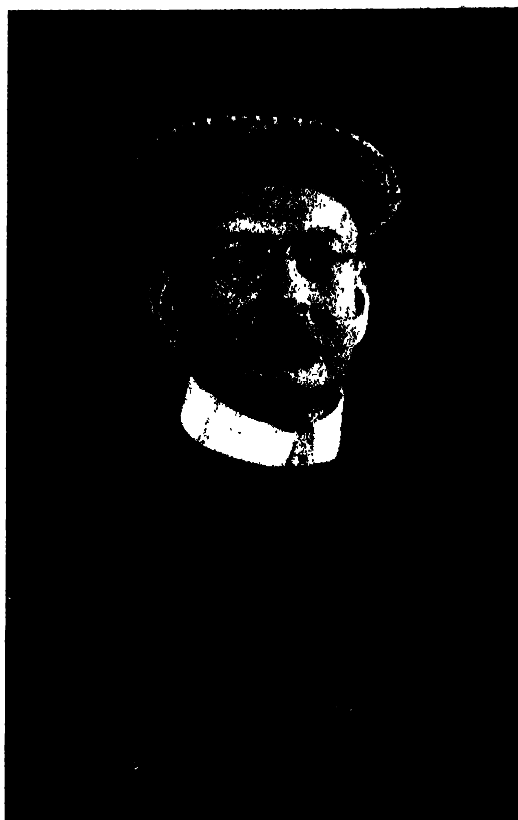
run, and in the end he was able to establish the now widely-known Nahar Museum.

Mr. Nahar's collections are too extensive to be dealt with in a short article. So we propose to give only a brief account of them. The Nahar Collection consists of various sections, such as, paintings, speacially Rajput, Mogul, Jain, and Kangra painting; paintings on ivory, mica and glass; terra-cotta, plaques, seals, inscribed tablets, banners, Jain scrolls, putta, partris, coins and a library of rare books on history and archaeology.

We shall first take into account the old metal images of Ganesh and the Tantrick Kali. These Tantras prevailed in India during the Buddhist period. Most scholars agree that when the Caliphs of Ummeidd and Abbabasid preached Islam in Turkistan, many folk-religions existed in the localities mentioned above. The Caliphs abolished these religious systems, and the priests were driven out. They came to India where they spread the Tantras. So far is known about the origin of Tantras in India. Authentic history cannot go beyond these facts. Buddhism, which, at this period of Indian history, was dominating every sphere of life and society, assimilated these Tantras and preached them as part of their religious system, and the result was the introduction of some new Tantrick gods and goddesses. At first these deities had no shape, they were worshipped mostly like those of Turkistan. Afterwards a simple form was given to them, and the Kali image perhaps dates back to the 6th century A.D.

In the meantime, Buddhism was gradually over-shadowed by the new form of Brahminical religion and when the Brahmins became powerful, they took up these Tantras and began to preach them as ideal gods and goddesses of their religion. Later on, these gods and goddesses were gradually developed to the present form, but if we look at these Kali or Ganesh images, we can easily understand that they are different from what they had been in their original form. There is no Shiva under Kali's feet, no warlike vigour in form. They are simply made of bold lines of bronze. Ganesh has no big belly as he has in the present day, and he is wonderfully curved on bronze. Ganesh was found in Behar near Gosharam Buddhist monastery while digging a well and the Kali image in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal.

The image of Adinath, the first Jain Tirthankar is a striking sculptural specimen of the Pala period. It was found in the district of Bankura. A legend tells us that Adinath, better known as Rishavadeva, belonged to the Ikshaku race and was the son of King Nabhi and queen Marudevi. His place of birth was in the country of Kosala, but according to some, in the north of Kashmir. He was born towards the end of Jugalik period. According to the custom of the time he was married to his own twin-sister Sumangala, and another, Sunanda, whose brother died in childhood. Sumangala's issues were Bharata and Brahmi (the twin) and ninety-eight other twin sons and by Sunanda, he had Bahubal and Sundari. From the decendants of Bharata and Bahubal, the Surja and Chandra dynasties respectively originated, and the country was called Bharat after the eldest prince. He abdicated his throne in favour of his sons and laid the foundation of the Jain religious organization



Mr. Puran Chand Nahar

in this era. He is represented as of golden complexion and with a bull for his cognizance.- On his right side there are figures of Chandra prava in कायोत्सर्ग attitude and Avinandan, the fourth Tirthankar. On the left side is Santinath and Parshwanath. Here the peculiarity of the hanging hair of Rishavadeva is noteworthy. (*Epitome of Jainism by Nahar and Ghose*).

The second figure originated from the Mathura school before 2nd century A. D., fragment 8″×6″ of a medallion, wearing *dhoti* with ends arranged in pleats between the legs and holding the girdle with his left hand, his bending down and drawing towards him the head of his lady-love standing crosslegged to the left, his right hand

embracing her and appearing beside her right breast. The subject is a couple in love-making.

Then we come to the third figure which is of the Mathura School of Art. The bust of a woman with her upper body unclad, perhaps dates back to the Gupta period.

Then the fourth figure is Bajrasatta of the Pala period, and it is nearly of the seventh or the eighth century A. D. Vajrasatta, the sixth Dyani Buddha, is seated on the double lotus in the पर्यंक attitude. His right hand appears over his breast and holds in the upturned palm the Vajra, and in his left hand, is the bell. He is clad in a piece of waist cloth and is decked in Karanda Mukata. Below the lotus there is an inscription ॐ देव धम्मोयं गज वैद्य श्री गेपतेः।

The Vishnu figure of Bengal belongs to the tenth century A. D. To his right and left are Luxmi and Swaraswati. Gaja-Simha, Kinnara musicians and ornamental Kirtti-mukha are on the top, and two flying Vidyadhara couples, with garlands in their hands, face against the two clouds. This Vishnu image is a masterpiece of Bengal art; it has very bold line and technique and its pose is wonderful.



Kali



Ganesh



Vajrasatta

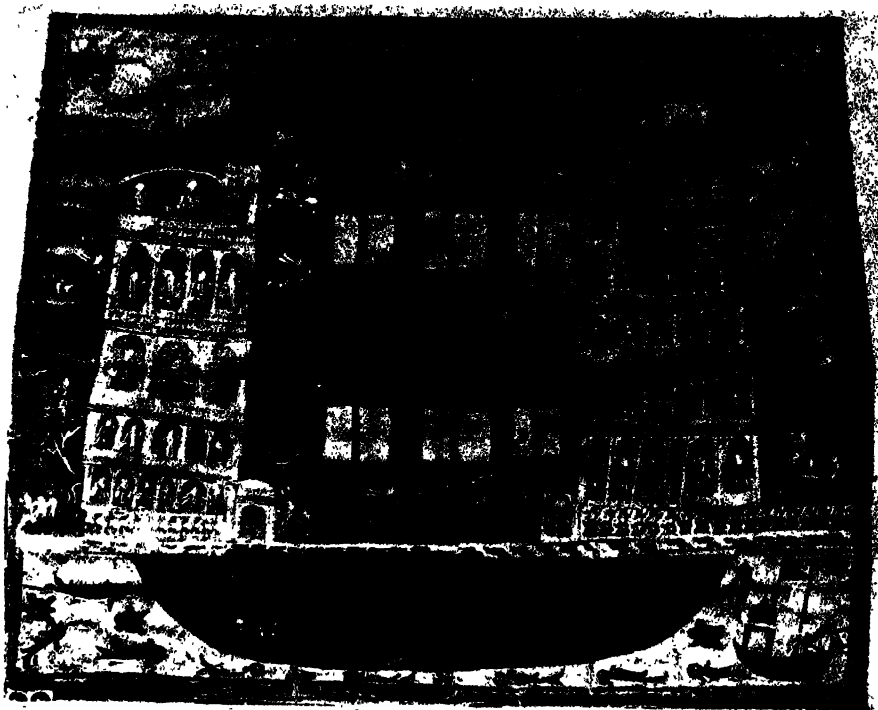


Vishnu

Besides these remarkable sculptural specimens, there are also other noteworthy images of different eras in the Nahar Museum.

As regards paintings Mr. Nahar has collected brilliant specimens of rare pictures. In his art gallery, the earliest illustrated manuscript known is one of the Kalpasutra, on palm-leaf, dated equivalent to 1237 A. D., deposited at Jain Bhandar at Patan (N. Guzarat). Of the next period the Kalpasutras are mostly dated 15th century A. D., and one of these illustrated manuscripts is preserved in the Nahar Museum.

The pictures of each page of these MSS. are brilliant statements of the facts of the life of Mahavira, where every event is





A Scene from *Sripal Charit* (Life of Sripal)



Rishavadeva—
First Tirthankar



A Couple



Bust of a woman

seen in the light of eternity. The colours employed in the illustrations of Jaina MSS. are gold, yellow, blue, white, black, green and pink. The angularity of the features and the projection of the further eye which are particularly the peculiarities in this drawing of human forms, are incidents of local colour independent of the quality of the art, the inevitable marks of time and space.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the traditions of Jaina art. Mr. Coomarswamy says in his introduction of Jaina painting: "The tradition of Jaina art is as sold as that of Buddhist art, and developed under similar condition and partly in dependence on Buddhist art." But the French scholar Ivan Stchoukine in his book—*La Peinture Indienne Des Grand Moghols*, shows, by illustrations, how after the degradation of Buddhist art, Jaina painting developed by the gradual slow steps of change in the Buddhist art in the projection of the further eyes and the delicacy of lines.

Thus we see the successive steps in the development of Jaina painting—the first stylistic type dating back to the earliest period, the second to the period of contact with the Moghul art, and the third to the seventeenth century.

In this connection Mr. Ajit Ghose says in one of his articles, "The development of Jain painting," published in *The Statesman*: "There is a stylistic resemblance between the 15th century Jaina miniatures and the contemporary painted book covers from Bengal in my collection. An example is a unique cover from a manuscript of Vishnupuranam written in Bengali in 1490 A. D. There is a similarity in the conception of forms as shown in the profiles of the faces in the exaggerated angularities, in the shape of the elongated eyes and in the inclination of the bodies and sinuosities of the figure drawings. The colouring of each is individual, but the choice of cinnabar for the back-ground is common alike to the 15th century Bengal artists and Jaina contemporary."

In the later period "Display on the Ship" is painted. Though there is nothing noteworthy in its painting, it is very important from the ship point of view. The different soldiers and the public are showing various displays on this gigantic six-decked ship. To those who have seen only a few specimens of earliest Indian ships, this picture will prove useful.



A Tibetan Painting. Buddha Preaching

We shall now describe a Buddhist Tibetan banner. Mr. Alice Getty in his book,—*The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, says: "As regards painting Tibet lived at the outset upon its borrowings from Nepal or Northern India but very few manuscripts of this period remain to us··· In its later development Tibetan painting transformed its Indian models at will, without experiencing

any foreign influence, that of China, so far at least as concerns fineness of brush work and perfect sureness of line."

It is very interesting to note that the Tibetan and Nepal paintings are closely connected with the art of Bengal, and they were greatly influenced by the Bengal School of Art. Mr. Getty also is of opinion that in Bengal an art analogous to that of Magadha lasted till the eleventh century miniature paintings on palm-leaves, whose technique passed presently to Nepal and Tibet.

A characteristic feature of the painting of this banner is the brightness of its decoration and also the harmony of its subject-matters. Buddha is easily distinguished from all other figures by his pure grace and powerful expression. And though it has turned into somewhat formal, nevertheless it has an intrinsic charm of its own, apart from mere technical excellence. Besides this, there are also many valuable banners of different schools of art in the Nahar Museum, but it is almost impossible to describe them in detail.

There is another section in the Museum, the Kangra school of painting. Nurpur, Basoli, Chamba and Jammu, all in close proximity to Kangra, were the homes of this particular school of painting, and a considerable amount of work was produced by the artists of this school. Pictures are forthcoming, specially portraits, which date from the middle of the seventeenth century, and perhaps are the only kinds of their time. The Kangra Kalm or Pahari painting does not denote great inspiration or display, any decided expression of thought or feeling. It is an art of patient labour and naive devotion. Its chief features are delicay of line, brilliancy of colours and minuteness of decorative details. (Percy Brown's *Indian Painting*).

In the picture, the Toilette of the Queen, we see the brightness of colour and the movement of life and activity. Here all the figures show the signs of sympathy and softness in the treatment of their graces. There are also many other pictures belonging to the Kangra School of Art in the Nahar Museum.

Mr. Puran Chand Nahar's lifelong efforts have made this wonderful Museum possible, the value and importance of which, we hope, no longer require further introduction.

EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY OF A CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPOSITION

By IDA M. GURWELL

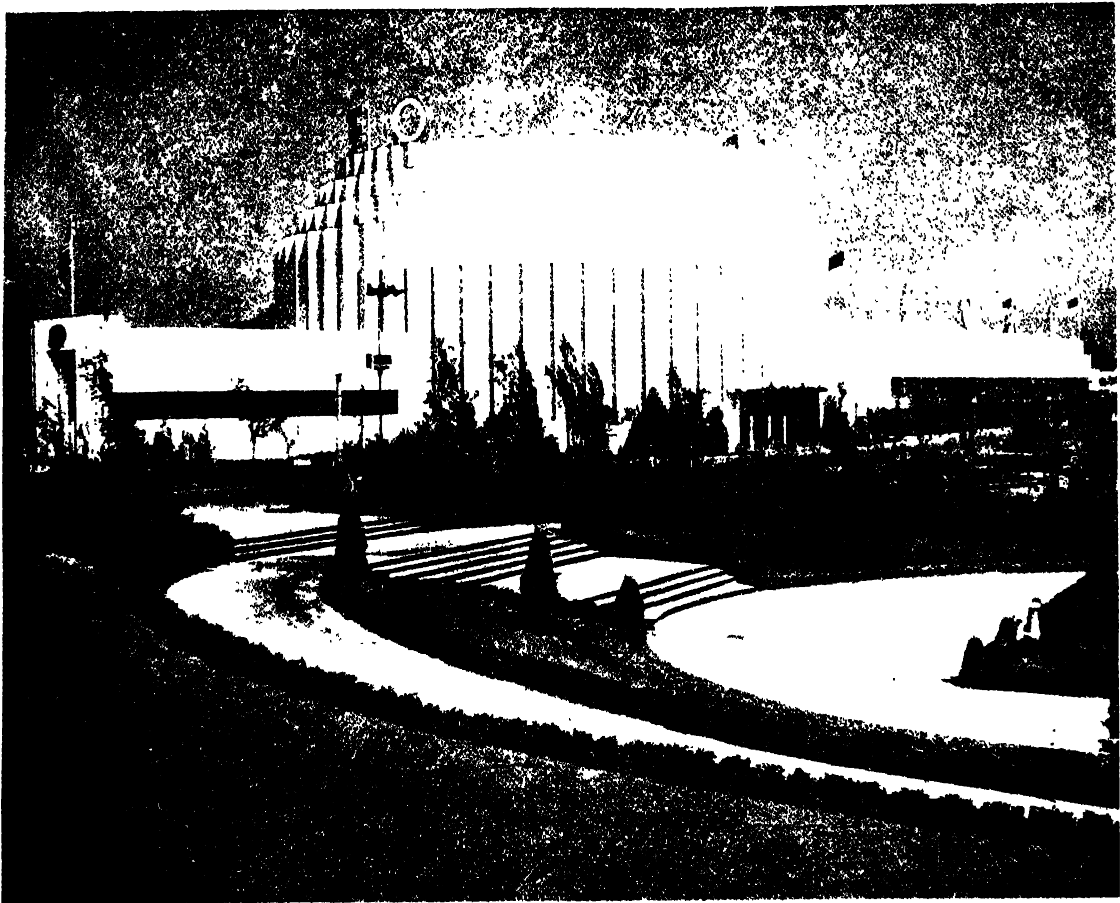
THE buildings of the World's Fair at Chicago are probably more interesting than any exhibit they house. They present the new, the unusual, and are a complete departure from anything we have known. They seem unfinished but progress is unfinished growth. The architects, given new materials and new methods, combined with freedom in their use, have brought forth a modern architecture symbolical of progress.

For two thousand years mankind (Europe and America) has imitated the Greeks in designing its buildings. They studied their predecessors in Egypt and Babylonia and produced a beauty so rare, that all are impressed by it. The Greeks built walls by laying one stone upon another and supported the roofs by columns. In a modern world in unthinkingly copying this procedure we have become a little ridiculous.

Today steel and other building materials are manufactured. Time has out-lawed this slow painstaking method. Speed is an important factor. Great buildings are not built as they were two thousand years ago. They are now made of steel frames and brick or stone-faced blocks or other manufactured materials are fitted securely in, and section by section are raised to towering heights.

The arts, painting, sculpture, music, dancing, the drama, prose, poetry and oratory have changed. The subject-matter has changed and is constantly changing to meet the needs of our time. *Building material* is the *"subject matter"* of Architecture. It is reasonable to expect change in this art also.

The architects of the World's Fair are not pretending to build of stone. They are making structures of steel and broad slabs.



Ford building, biggest new individual exhibit at the World's Fair of 1934 in Chicago. Here the Ford Motor Co., and more than twenty companies supplying materials and parts for the Ford car built a display representing an expenditure of more than $ 2,000,000.

And all over the world men are studying the strange buildings.

Are these buildings beautiful ?

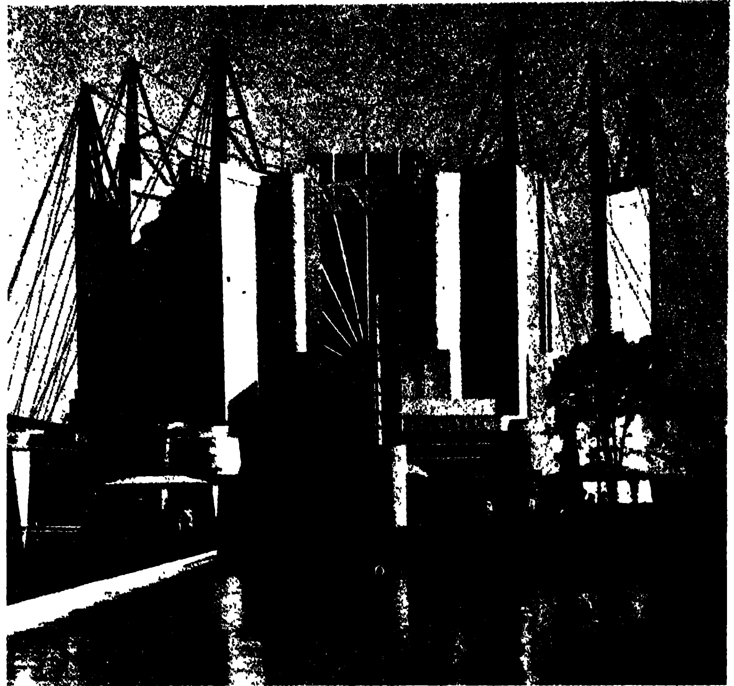
There is a difference of opinion everywhere. Some say the buildings are *not* beautiful because they are unlike anything we have seen. Others that the buildings are shocking us into a recognition of a beauty that is an outgrowth of our time. At least this much-discussed architecture belongs wholly to this age. It is not an imitation of anybody or anything.

What is the meaning of the word beautiful ?

The most concrete definition we can find for the word beautiful is, "excelling in form or grace : complete and harmonious."

We cannot say the buildings excel in form or grace. The question arises : Excel what ? We learn by comparison, since there is nothing to compare we do not set anywhere with that definition as we know it. We take the remainder of the definition, "complete and harmonious." "Here we stray far from beauty, for these buildings that fill the World's Fair and complete a unit of modernity, resemble nothing so much as broken wooden beads strung along the sky line. Those who watched the final building of the Fair, never felt that these windowless, boxlike structures were ever quite complete. We might become accustomed to seeing the moon and stars through rectangular frames as we gaze skyward along a ragged horizon. This is

different? We have known the soft lovliness of curves. All was unusual and irregular as we rode over the Fair by plane and looked down into the tops of the square fort-like buildings. We felt that some strange world was beneath us, and that a giant child at play with huge blocks had been frightened away and had left them strewn about in disorder. If we must use old definitions to define new things, then modern architecture is *not* beautiful.



Travel and Transport building, at the World's Fair in Chicago, in bright new dress for the 1934 exposition. This is the largest dome in the world without inside supporting pillars. The roof rises and falls with chang temperature and it is called "The building that breathes."

Throughout the grounds one is brought face to face with these strange boxlike designs. The Model Homes with furnishings, the lamps that light the streets, the Great Hall of Science; the Administration Building, in fact, all the buildings follow the lines of modern architecture.

Of course the buildings are practical and fill a modern need. The design favours the speed of today's construction, and the world might come to find new values, and to see real beauty in the clean-cut utilitarian lines.

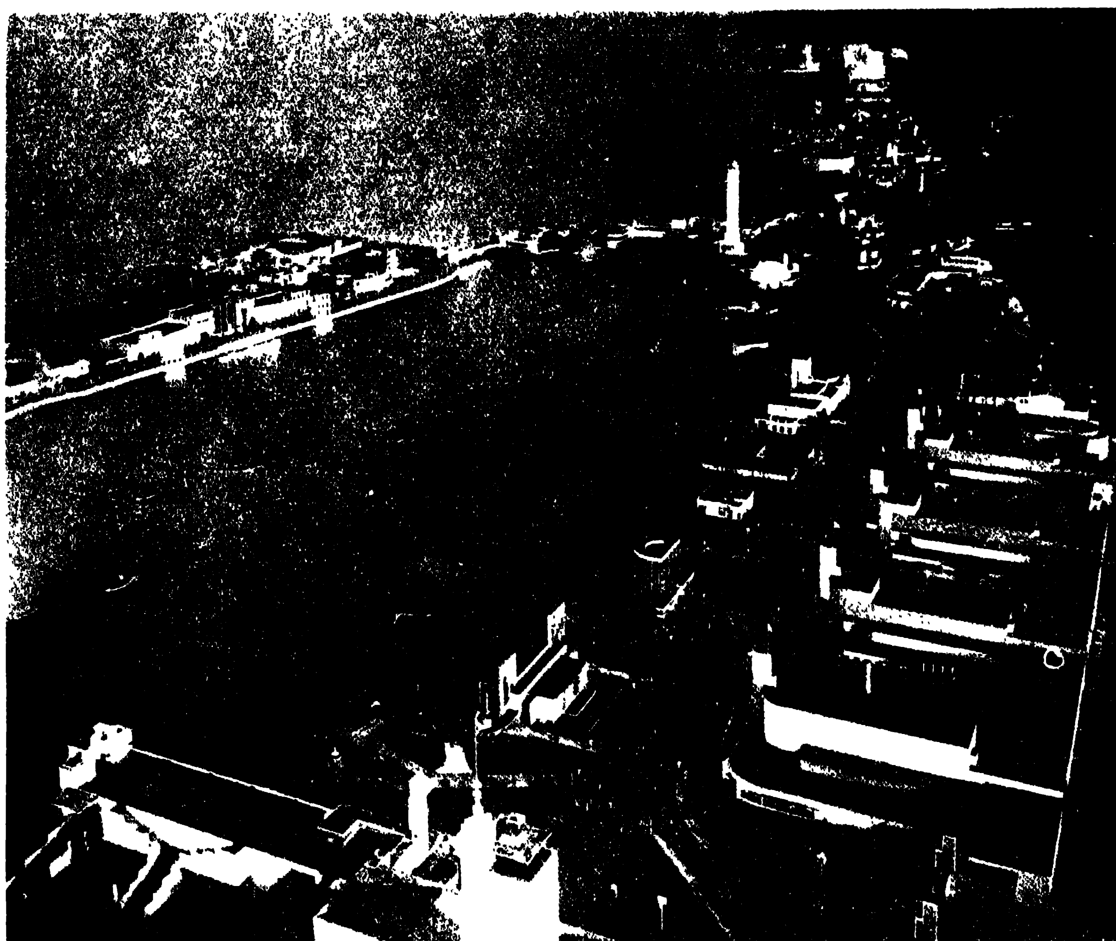
But, will America accept this architecture ?

America has already accepted it. The new design is springing up in every part of the country. There are two kinds of architecture now, Greek and Modern. The Century of Progress Exposition is influencing not only America, but the world.

This Exposition was conceived to meet varied tastes. People are here from every land, from every walk in life. On one hand science beckons; on the other fun and the carnival spirit. Religious exhibits and things of the inner spirit offer opportunity for quiet contemplation. Industry depicts its story of progress and power. Art and music hold sway. Truly each person can find more than he can mentally absorb. What a world of knowledge for children ? There is a magic island built purposely for them. It is estimated that one day in 1934, 500,000 children attended the World's Fair.

The interest of the world is focussed on this site. The grounds a short time ago was Lake Michigan, now an island containing 424 acres. It is a colourful shimmering jewel by day, and a glorified dream by night. Joseph Urban, famous architect and stage designer, sought to achieve a harmony of colour, that might also express the Exposition's deeper purpose. Here in this land of enchantment, colour is decorative in a practical way, planned to fit the architectural scheme, and to play a part in the festival.

As one mingles with the crowds at night, he stands in one of the greatest floods of coloured light ever produced. The colour lighting is done by gas tubes. This new light is produced by introducing rare gas into a tube from which the air has been pumped. The tube is sealed and electricity is passed through. The colour radiated is determined by the



South view of grounds of A Century of Progress Exposition, 1934, from Hall of Science. Right : the four Pavilions of General Exhibits Group. Left : Time and Fortune building, Cactus garden, Christian Science Monitor building, Hall of Religion. On the Island : the Horticultural building, the Mexican village, Hollywood, and the Casino.

element the tube contains, and by the colour of the tube.

The *Theme* of the Exposition is *Science*. It is with us at every turn.

The lighting of the Fair is of great interest. Forty years ago in America, people marvelled that President Grover Cleveland could press a button in Washington and start wheels turning at the official opening of Columbian Exposition. In 1933 a Century of Progress Exposition was lighted by the rays from Arcturus. Light that left Arcturus forty years ago, racing toward the Earth at a speed of 186,284 miles a second, lighted the Fair. Science caught the feeble beam when it arrived on Earth, and as it struck the great Telescope at Yerkes Observatory in Wisconsin, it was transformed into electric energy by means of photoelectric cell, amplified it by the methods of radio, speeding it on to Chicago, where it lighted the Century of Progress Exposition.

Science has come far. One day this would have been called a miracle. Today we call it Progress.

Too much ! Too much ! One is lost in a great sea of knowledge. What a responsibility ?

DRAMA IN MODERN TURKEY

By A. G. CHAGLA

THE rise of serious drama in Modern Turkey has been phenomenal. Out of humble beginnings has evolved the nation-wide National Theatre Movement, which has influenced the social life of almost every village in the land.

The Turks belong to the orthodox sect of Islam, the Sunnis, according to whose tenets all representational fine arts are not worthy of practice by the "faithful". The argument advanced is that these are "superfluities" tending to detract man from treading the "straight and narrow path". The Persians, who belong to the sect of "dissenters", known as the Shiahs, have a different conception of the teaching of their faith which has been leavened by admixture with the artistic and spiritual heritage of ancient Iran. Like the Roman Catholics, they permit the use of art in the service of religion and quasi-religious observances. Thus, in Persia a whole school of sacred drama has grown up which annually represents for the masses the significance of the tribulation of Hussain, the grandson of the Prophet, who was killed at Kerbela (Iraq) in 680 A.D., under exceptionally tragic circumstances. Sacred drama of this type, practised through the centuries, has eventually crystallized into a national art-form of Moslem Persia. But it is doubtful if it will survive the present almost irrational onslaught of "modernism" that is sweeping over that unhappy land.

In Turkey the reverse has been the case. Till only a few years ago the practice of drama and music remained in the hands of the lowest of the low—the "professional entertainers." In fact these arts were never indulged in or encouraged by the respectable and the really intelligent sections of the people till very recently.

During the days of the Sultans two types of banal stage entertainment were in vogue. Both were relics of the barbaric Middle Ages, the days of the proverbial "Arabian Nights." One was "Turkish" dancing, worse in its meaningless suggestiveness than even the so-called "Egyptian" dancing. So obnoxious and lacking in grace and good taste was this, that the ultra-modern Turkish State thought it fit to penalize it in the new regime by an Act of the National Assembly. The other stage entertainment in vogue was a low type of musical comedy, having the dancing mentioned, and an equally abominable, suggestive melody-making as its necessary and inevitable adjuncts. Since the prohibition of Turkish dancing of the old type by law, this incipient drama has died a natural death. Turkish music, too, has taken a different turn and now seeks inspiration from folk-songs. In 1929 a parliamentary commission was appointed to investigate the sources of Turkish music and to find out ways and means to preserve the national heritage of folk-songs and dances. As a result agreement has been made with a British Gramophone Co., to record folk-songs as interpreted by the oldest living exponents. Modern "staff notation" has also been officially recognized as suitable for the purposes of Turkish music, both vocal and instrumental.

The beginning of modern drama in Turkey can be traced back to the influence of the "Young Turks" early in the present century. During the later days of Sultan Abdul Hamid a small band of intellectuals, both men and women, had formed themselves into a group for the study of foreign literature and drama. They all belonged to the "Young Turk" party of intellectuals who aimed as much at social revolution as at overthrowing the domination of the Sultans. This group definitely attempted to evolve a school of indigenous Turkish drama, on the lines of the serious drama of Northern and North Western Europe. But their work had to be done more or less in secret, for, according to the laws then reigning, woman could not go out into the streets unveiled, much less could she take part in a dramatic performance. As apart from the official interference, they had to contend with the social prejudice of the masses and the classes against drama as such, and against art in general. This was but natural because all stage performances were identified in the popular concept with the low type of musical comedy that was seen being staged by the vilest people in none too reputable surroundings. Fortunately there were at the time not only men of high ideals and culture directing the efforts of this group of stalwarts, but men of ripe experience who had served their apprenticeship in the leading theatres of Vienna, Paris and Berlin. (Turkey at this period was still under the cultural influence of France, though the political tendencies favoured German influence.) More fortunate still, these men had a wonderfully balanced mind and a sense of proportion. Instead of attempting spectacular "shows," then in vogue in Europe, or wasting their time on a type of drama foreign to their own life experience or not in conformity with the social development of the people, they made a very modest beginning, taking each step with precision and care. As Strindberg and a few other intellectuals had done earlier in North Western Europe, they secretly established what was virtually an experimental "chamber" theatre.

Here they experimented with the lesser works of especially French and German dramatists of the "naturalist" school, that preceded the advent of Ibsen. Attempts were also made to write some original plays on Turkish themes to suit the hitherto undeveloped talent of the wholly non-professional staff and actors. It is interesting to note that some of these budding dramatists were ladies of culture, who have made a mark in the post-revolution era, both as original dramatists and as translators of foreign works. This continued, under very difficult circumsances, for a good few years and thus a sound foundation for future work was laid.

Just when the preparatory work was done and arrangements were being made to launch a more ambitous scheme, came the Turkish reverses in the Balkan, which, as future showed, were a definite turning point in Turkish history. The immediate effect was a tragic demoralization on the one hand and a grim determination on the other, on the part of the younger generation, to free the country from the yoke of the tyrant and tradition. Before the people could regain self-confidence, the nation was again plunged into the world-war of 1914-18 by the Sultan and his advisers. But all these reverses proved a blessing in disguise: they were a severe test of the spirit of the nation. After the war came the revolution of 1919-20 and the consequent freedom of the people from the age-long yoke of the sultans and the thraldom of the clergy. Social conditions, *which had already begun to change*, were completely altered by the beneficent tyranny of legislation. Most significant of all, the freedom of women became a fact overnight.

This psychological as well as political phenomenon proved to be the decisive factor in re-shaping drama in post-revolution Turkey.

The psychological condition of the people immediately after the revolution was intriguing. They had all along wanted to throw off the shackles and to be free. But now that political freedom had been attained they felt all the more dissatisfied with life. They had not yet understood the full implication of freedom and found the responsibility most trying and novel. Except a few stalwarts the majority could not help fighting shy of the innovations that were being introduced almost every minute. True, these innovations were the natural and inevitable result of freer conditions, but the people were not in a mood to see that yet. Frankly, they were at first bewildered to see the social consequences of "This Freedom". Even radicals admit this today. The legislators could only coerce the people into outward submission, and no more. The human mind can evolve through a laborious and painful process alone. The people realize today, more than ten years after the revolution, that though they are politically and physically free, they yet have their inner bonds to contend with. These bonds are the result of centuries of thraldom at the hands of a tenacious priestcraft and lack of understanding and brutal cruelty on the part of their old rulers and self-centred leaders.

It is at such a period of national re-valuation of ideas and ideals that all art and especially drama—at a higher cultural level, music—help a people to understand their national mind. The *Polonaise* and the *Mazurka* of Chopin, the later Symphonies of Beethoven, the works of Ibsen, to mention only a few great works, were the result of similiar periods of introspection in the histories of their respective countries. Art undoubtedly helps a nation, as it does an individual, to discover and to reveal the innermost convictions. Thus it helps to crystallize ideas into ideals, resulting in a far-seeing and rational outlook.

Judged by this standard, the Turkish National Theatre has more than justified its existnce in the difficult post-revolution era. Thus the work of the pioneers has borne ample fruit.

As has been mentioned, the abolition of the veil brought about a complete change in social conditions. These were very favourable to the growth of serious drama. The Turks now found that the social and domestic problems that confronted them were almost identical with the problems that faced the Scandinavians fifty years ago. This was the period when Ibsen wrote *Pillars of Society* and *Doll's House*. Norwegians in particular, and people of the rest of North Western Europe were then just making a bid for a freer social life. Turks today were similiarly situated. So instead of groping for a new form to express their newly found inner urge for social honesty, the plays of Henrik Ibsen were taken hold of and adapted for the Turkish stage, as correctly interpreting the new impulse in the Turkish national and social life. Indeed, it speaks very highly of the forethought of Turkish men of letters that this impulse has been recognized so soon. Today conscientious efforts are being made to nurture and to foster it.

Of the old "Young Turk" group many had perished by now, either in the war or in the revolution. A few that remained saw the wonderful opportunity that now offered itself to forge ahead. They however saw that nothing could be done without powerful support. Some of them had risen to be office-bearers in the new people's own government. With patience and tact they ultimately succeeded in gaining support of some political leaders of note, and of the great Ghazi. A ramshackle theatre was hired and under the patronage of some leaders of new thought in Turkey the first public performance of a serious play was given in which men and women of high social standing took part. The already bewildered people were more bewildered still! But the far-sighted men of culture grimly continued in their terribly uphill

task. It would not be incorrect to say that the efforts of the Turkish National Theatre at this period substantially helped the people in the struggle with the past. Small groups were trained and sent all over the country and it was soon realized by those in power what a tremendous cultural and psychological influence drama of the right sort possessed and how very vital this influence could be in the corporate life of a community.

Soon a time came, however, when the leaders of this successful cultural movement felt that they had reached the end of their resources and nothing more could be done without active government support. The matter was taken to the Grand National Assembly. As a result the *Istanbul Sheheremaneti Darulbedayi* (The Istanbul Municipal Theatre) was formed The old cultural group was formed into a semi-professional company and placed in charge of this theatre, *under municipal control* It is from this centre that trained artistes are sent to every nook and corner of the country, not only to entertain, but to educate and to stimulate thought

It would be interesting to consider the work of this National Theatre during one season. The programme of 1929-30, the period immediately preceding the world depression, is of especial interest as showing not only the range of subjects selected but also the high tone of each production The plays presented are purposely kept above the level of riff-raff. Thus they are instrumental in stimulating thought and disscussion on the various problems presented on the stage. There are usually nine performances a week, including two *matinees* and the theatre is invariably crowded with the intellectuals, as a play is not repeated after it is withdrawn during the season

1929-30 (Winter) programme consisted of seven plays—three original works and four translations. The method of translation and adaptation is interesting. The original settings and characters are retained absolutely intact but colloquial phrases and exclamations are given (as far as possible) their Turkish equivalents. Thus the exclamation "Christ !" in a play where the characters are all Christians is rendered "Khuda !" in Turkish This method allows the audience to feel the characters as their own. The minimum of stage scenery and the latest type of hidden lighting is used and there is usually no music between the acts of a serious play.

Here is the list for 1929-30:

1. HAYDUTLAR, a translation of *The Robbers* of Schiller, done by Hassan Cemil, a rising author.
2. NORA (*Bebegin Evi*). This is a masterful rendering of Ibsen's *The Doll's House*, done by Holdun Zihni. The popularity of this frank and socially advanced play shows the way wind is blowing in modern Turkey.
3. YABAN ORDEGI, *The Wild Duck* of Ibsen, very successfully translated by a woman dramatist Shezye Berin.
4. KATIL, a translation of a well known work of the German dramatist Richard Voss (born 1858). This is a very powerful and thought-provoking play.
5. KAES ARKASINDA, *Behind the Trellis*, is a comedy in five acts by Mustapha Jelal dealing with the delicate subject of the happenings "behind the trellis" in the bad old days.
6. HAYVAN, FIKRI YEDI, that is, (freely rendered,) *Capable of Eating and of Thinking—yet Animals!* This is a serious "advanced" play by Vedat Nedim.
7. TERSINE AKAN NEHIR, *Against the Current*, a serious play by Cevdet Kudret.

Among modern Turkish actors of note may be mentioned Erjument Bey, Hazim Bey, Galip Bey, Ertugral Muhsin Bey and Kemal Bey. Among the actresses Ney Neyir Hanim, Sheziye Hanim and Melahat Hanim may be noted. The least that could be said about these artistes is that they not only love and respect their art, but they love their people. It is this which inspires them to perform the daily miracle of transporting thousands of their countrymen and country-women from the realm of the mundane to that of the ideal Indeed, the histrionic ability of these Turkish artistes compares favourably with masters of the craft in North Western Europe, as any one who has seen one of their performances at Istanbul will confidently affirm.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the work of the *Istanbul Sehremaneti Darulbedayi* is vitally affecting the life of the young Turkish Republic. How very vital this effect is only future can tell.*

* This Article is the result of a study-tour of the Near and the Middle-East.



BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE BASIC CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM: *Adhar Chandra Mookerjee Lectures, 1932. By Professor Vidhusekhar Bhattacharyya of Santiniketan. Published by the Calcutta University, 1934. Pp. x + 103.*

This book contains two lectures delivered by the learned Professor at the Calcutta University in 1932, the first forming the Introductory Chapter and the second dealing with the Main Problem. In this book the author attempts at first to give us a bird's-eye view of the religious and philosopical speculations in India that preceded the advent of the Buddha and then he tries to give his own idea of how the Buddha himself solved the problem before him, *viz.*, cessation of sufferings, by advocating the doctrine of *anātman*. The term *anātman* is really a difficult one, as it may be interpreted in various ways. It is not very easy to ascertain what kind of *ātman* was denied by the Buddha. The ultimate *tattva* or *satya* (truth) according to the Buddhists is *anātmā*. But the philosophical predecessors of the Buddha, specially of the Brahmanic school, held the view that it is only the realization of the ātman that leads to deliverance from misery. The Buddha, however, arrived at a different conclusion, because he failed to realize the existence of such an *ātman* or *jīva* which is eternal and absolute. He rather discovered that such a *jīva* could not be a *dravya-sat* (real thing), but it could only be a *prajnapti-sat* (a mere idea) and it was nothing but a unique combination of the five *skandhas* leading to consciousness as we experience in life. The Buddha not only denied *pudgala-nairātmya* (subjective nothingness) but also *dharma-nairātmya* (objective nothingness). So according to the Buddhists *Sunyatā* (voidness) was the ultimate reality (*dharmatā*). Hence *tathatā* (ultimate reality) and *Sunyatā* (voidness) are identical. This divergence from the formerly promulgated view of the previous philosophers may be regarded as a very bold and novel path discovered by the Buddha, along which the world should move for reaching its destination. The author of the book has very lucidly explained the Buddhistic view by means of apt quotations from various Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic texts. The whole book is an interesting reading from the beginning to the end. Even those who are not philosophy-minded will be able to understand easily the different view-points on the great problems of ultimate reality and the cessation of misery. Some will, however, wish the book should have been a little more scientifically written. The wreathing of the flowers of quotations rather appears here and there to be somewhat loose. But the importance of the publication cannot be minimized.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

THE PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS OF FEDERAL FINANCE: *By B. P. Adarkar, B.A., (Cantab). With a Foreword by Sir Cecil H. Kisch, C.B. Published by P. S. King and Son, Ltd., London. 12s. 6d. net.*

Ever since the adoption of the federal basis by the First Round Table Conference for the future constitution of India, the problems of federalism have begun to attract the increasing attention of Indian students and scholars. The book under review is an instance in point.

Professor Adarkar has made a thorough study of the financial systems of the important federations and unions and has deduced from their working certain useful principles and conclusions. He has discussed the various complicated problems of the theory and practice constitutional, legal, administrative, budgetary, economic—of federal finance, with full knowledge of facts and with great discernment and ability. He has shown firm grasp of essentials and has refused to be drawn into the discussion of irrelevant and minor issues. He has followed a rigorous method and his book is free from padding and looseness of thought and expression.

A number of distinguished economists had made important contributions to the subject of Public Finance but the special problems of federal finance had received very little attention at their hands.

The practical problems of finance in the various federal countries had no doubt been discussed but a comprehensive treatment of the principles and problems of Federal Finance as such had not been attempted before in the English language. This has now been done by Professor Adarkar—to use the words of Sir Cecil Kisch—"with conspicuous success".

Professor Adarkar divides his book into three parts. Part I deals with "Constitutional Foundations"; Part II describes the financial systems of leading federations, including those of the Union of South Africa and India; and Part III is headed "Principles and Problems". Parts I and II are introductory—they are done well. The only criticism I have to offer is, that a comparative treatment of the financial problems of various federations would have been more in accord with the plan of the book than separate descriptions of the financial systems of the leading federations.

Part III is the constructive portion of the book. In it Professor Adarkar begins by discussing the leading principles of Public Finance. He has done well to emphasize that "the main plank of public finance is the theory of transferences" and in supporting Wagner's "socio-political" theory against Seligman's more "fiscal" view of public finance. He is also right in pointing out that "there is not one ideal method or *optimum* for taxation and another for expenditure, but there is one single *optimum* for the whole scheme of public finance if any. The best way in which a given amount of money could be spent can only be devised when it is known what are the relative post taxation positions of the tax-payers Similarly, the ideal manner of distributing the burden of taxation with respect to a particular revenue cannot be imagined so long as the distribution of the compensating element of expenditure among the tax-payers is not known, as there is always the possibility of the latter multifying the *optimum* of the former distribution." But from a practical standpoint it is also important to know separately the principles on which revenue is to be raised and public expenditure incurred. In discussing the principles and problems of Federal Finance Professor Adarkar has shown both scientific outlook and regard for practical considerations; but in his treatment he has been at places too brief. It is also a matter for regret that Mr. Adarkar was not able to extend the scope of the book to deal with the Indian financial problem more comprehensively than he has done in the brief section on India in Part II.

Nevertheless Professor Adarkar's "*The Principles and Problems of Federal Finance*" is a book of outstanding value and deserves to be read by all students of Public Finance and Federations.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

CARLYLE: *Emery Neff. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. 10s. 6d. net.*

There is a marked tendency in modern times to profess hero-worship in all departments of life, and an attempt to interpret the life and writings of Thomas Carlyle whose favourite doctrine it was, is certainly welcome. The author has spared no pains in making the book as thorough as possible, visiting the places in England and Scotland connected with his work, and tapping all available resources where he could gain any new information on the subject, and putting down his materials in course of less than three hundred pages, in course of which he has described the life and struggles of Carlyle, the moods of his mind, his influence winding up the whole with an index, notes and bibliography, which will make the book an agreeable reading. Carlyle's message was lost on his contemporaries, the Victorians, but judging by his popularity on the Continent, specially in Italy and Germany, it is fairly reasonable to state that the world has learnt to its cost to value his message which will not be overlooked or neglected in the midst of post-War turmoils and national recriminations usual in the war-time. Mr. Neff has a grip on his subject, and he writes with discrimination.

PURDAH: THE STATUS OF INDIAN WOMEN. *F. Hauswrith (Mrs. S. Das). Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d. net.*

The question of Indian women and their present position had been pushed to the forefront by the notorious publication of Miss Mayo's *Mother India*: it was followed by a number of angry rejoinders like *Uncle Sam* and *Father India*, which were successful no doubt but which did not present a sober case for India's Womanhood. Mrs. Das's book presents historically the changes in the status of Indian women from the Vedic period up to modern times. She had been to India as the wife of a middle class Hindu graduate, and her stay in the country for eight years in intimate touch with Indian womenfolk in the different provinces and in different grades of society as one of them has made her fully qualified to be a representative of the class. Instead of throwing mud on other countries (and the United States of America in particular) she realizes the complexity of her problem and traces the position of Indian women from the freedom of the Vedic period till the abasement of present-day times, and ruthlessly exposes whatever social abuses she may have noticed. But while she judges, she shows sympathy and understanding. It is pleasant to come across a passage like this: "Though she stands today degraded, amidst clashing influences, old and new, from East and West, the Indian woman's fate and future, while stimulated by the recent influx of ideas and customs from the Occident, does not depend on that, but is deep-rooted, traceable, and predictable in the light of Indian history alone. More than in the case of any other people, the Indian woman's development has its roots in, is now feeling after, and will continue to express itself within, the currents of the ancient, exalted, religious and ethical conceptions of her race." (P. 13.)

There are a few obvious misprints, beside which it may be pointed out that 'Vidiasagara' (Iswarchandra Vidyasagar) did not belong to Madras (p. 193) but to Bengal, that 'Brahmacharya's are not the proper form for 'Brahmachari's (p. 212), that it is rather vague and wild to say that the Konarak temple is of 'Tantric origin' (p. 215), that the *Stree Bharata Mandal* (p. 221) is a wrong name for *Bharat Stree Mahamandal*.

RIALLARO: THE ARCHIPELAGO OF EXILES. *Godfrey Sweven. Second Edition. Oxford University Press, London. 7s. 6d. net.*

LIMANORA: *Godfrey Sweven. Second Edition. Oxford University Press, London. 7s. 6d. net.*

These books appeared originally in the fag-end of the nineteenth century, and it is curious that the second edition had not come out earlier, because its

qualities are such as specially suit the age. The speculative interest in the future of man is bound to increase with the progress of Science, and the novelist, who appears under a pseudonym but who really is Mr. J. Macmillan Brown, sometime chancellor of the University of New Zealand, finds here an avenue for a criticism of the world as it is, where comedy and seriousness blend agreeably and there is the requisite strangeness to make the compound romantic and interesting. To describe some land "untainted by the vices of Europe" has been the author's aim and purpose and incidentally we are treated to a satiric vein condemning the polished and artificial ways of life that obtain in the present society, *e. g*, where he says: "To tell the truth in clear and unambiguous language is the mark of barbarity." Another charateristic trait is the capacity for coining strangely sweet names, *e.g.*, Vulpia, Meddla, Kloriole, etc.

UP FROM POVERTY: *D. Spencer Hatch, B. Sc., M. Sc. in Agr., Ph. D. Directing Rural Demonstration, Travancore and Cochin District. Oxford University Press.*

Dr. Hatch has been connected with Rural Uplift work even since 1916 and the book contains the result of his experiences in the line. The word 'poverty' is here used in a comprehensive sense, and the integral value of its sense is emphasized again and again by the writer. His Excellency the Earl of Willingdon has contributed an introduction where the main obstacle to moral progress is stated to be "the psychology of the rural worker himself, owing to the custom and habit of caste and tradition that has governed his life and actions for generations." This seems to be an undue stressing of what no doubt is an "obstacle," what is remiss here is however remedied in the author's preface where the different disadvantages are named in detail against which the worker has to wage a grim fight.

The way out, Dr. Hatch remarks truly, is through 'self-help with intimate, expert counsel', and it is this 'intimate, expert counsel' which he sets forward to give, as best as he can, and as far as he knows from his experience of rural life in India. Co-operation is indispensable, but let it be co-operation in its unorganized forms, as too much organization wearies the workers and reduces his efficiency. Superior production and co-operative marketing arrangement necessarily go together and failure to see this has ruined many of the Indian Co-operative Societies. The subject of cottage vocations crops up here, and spinning, weaving and gardening come up for discussion. Mahatma Gandhi's advocacy of the *charkha* is criticized here as elsewhere and Dr. Hatch observes: "No one process can be a panacea for India's troubles." Such observation is due entirely to a wrong reading of the emphasis intended by Mahatmaji on an item of a practicable programme, specially when Mahatmaji intends the spinning wheel to be a symbol, rather than a mere device.

What has been recently stated by Mahatmaji (which Dr. Hatch had certainly no opportunity of knowing at the time of writing his book) regarding the efficacy of the All-India Spinner's Association is an eye-opener in this connection. The Association has been working in 5,000 villages and maintaining 2,20,000 spinners, 20,000 weavers and 20,000 carders, contributing to a 20 per cent increase in their annual income. The proposal mooted by Mahatmaji for an autonomous village industries' Board is also calculated to remove all possibilities of misapprehension regarding the exclusive nature of his programme.

Dr. Hatch gives an encouraging glimpse of the work that is being done in Travancore and Cochin District, specially through the Martandam demonstration, and it shows the soundness of Dr. Hatch's elementary principles, when he, instead of stopping with a mere account of his work, investigates the conditions of leadership—of the moving force that does the work; the result being a handy manual which deserves to be consulted carefully by all interested in village uplift work.

THE CROSS AND INDIAN THOUGHT: *V. Chakkarai, B. A., B. L. Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, Allahabad and Colombo. Price, Re. 1 4 As.*

The author seeks to establish Christianity on a solid basis by reviewing the implications of the Cross in the light of Indian Thought, and by reaffirming their affinities. What is the significance of salvation as Christianity understands it and how is it to be attained? And how to describe the state when it is attained? After discussing various theories of sin he comes to the subject of vicarious punishment and suffering, explaining the cross as a symbol of Christian mysticism; it is, to quote from the author, "the new world-order which, amidst the pain and joy of the world and man, will transform and transmute creation itself." The cross and the atonement are the central mystery of Christianity, which can be solved by a strenuous spiritual quest, rightly directed. The carefulness of the author is evident on every page.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THE SAKTAS: *E. H. Payne, Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta. Pp. 139. Cloth Rs. 3-8. Paper Rs. 2-8.*

This book is the usual propaganda against Hinduism. It is openly militant and though Hinduism has never retaliated, the Rev. author says that his object is to '*combat*' Saktism. The writings and publications of Sir John Woodroffe have evidently caused a flutter of some magnitude. The author has not hesitated to stoop to the tactics of lawyers of a certain type who when they have got a bad case abuse the opponent's attorney. He says that Woodroffe's writings are unintelligible and badly written. Sir John Woodroffe was one of the great judges whose judgments were always terse and lucid and marked by unsurpassed judicial temparament. The writings which came under our author's notice also possess, for the average unbiassed mind, the same characteristics. It is Mr. Payne's misfortune that he finds them otherwise. The author has gone further and says, "The zeal of a convert often runs away with his judgement". If he implies that Woodroffe is a convert then he is grievously in error and his informant is anything but veracious. The statement of the witnesses cited to strengthen his case in his book would not stand cross-examination for five minutes. An American writer (Ewing) for instance is quoted to say that the Saradatilaka Tantra "deals almost entirely with spells and sorcery". This is absolutely wrong. It would occupy too much space to cite all the statement. The author evidently does not know Sanskrit and some of the translations cited by him show that the translators were not in

touch with Indian thought and the translations are the products of mere lexicographic knowledge. The author seeks to make a scientific study of Saktism. He forgets that his own Faith would not stand any scientific examination but for a fair-minded seeker Saktism would. He could learn two things from this great religion without changing his own. The first is never to try to pervert a man's faith and the second is never to speak evil of the religious books of those who do not belong to one's own form of faith. In this book Mr. Payne is so very much pained by Sir John Woodroffe's writings that he has not hesitated to bring in a political significance into what he calls the Sakta *movement*. He attributes terrorism and everything else which is bad in the political movement to Saktism and quotes Lord Ronaldshay and some others to make out a case. None of these people know Sanskrit and understand what Saktism is and it is not a movement but something which belongs to the *soil* and can not be eradicated. The 'educated' Indian is neither a Sakta nor has he any belief in any of the phases of Hinduism. He is claimed by an old and experienced missionary to be the "foster child" of the Christian missionary in this country and if he is an anarchist then the foster parent is responsible.

ATAL B. GHOSH

THE ANNUAL MARKET REVIEW; 1933: *Published by Premchand Roychand and Sons, Bombay. 1934.*

This useful review familiar to everyone interested in the money-market whether as a businessman or a student. Unfortunately it reached us too late to be of any use except for occasional reference. The most useful feature of the book is its long introduction where in course of forty-two most ably written pages we have a bird's-eye view of not only the most important financial events which took place in India during 1933 but also a good summary of the American situation and the World Economic Conference. Particularly useful is the summary of the provisions of the Reserve Bank Bill. After the introduction we have a more detailed survey of the money-market and the exchanges as also of the bullion and the share markets. A useful collection of statistical tables is also appended. For the sake of completeness it is suggested that the future editions should include an analysis of India's foreign trade and of the movement of the principal commodity prices, both in India and abroad.

SAILENDRA NATH SEN GUPTA

KRISHNAMURTI - *The Star Publishing Trust. Madras.*

This is a little pamphlet containing a series of talks on some religious, social and economic problems, by Krishnamurti, who has made the subjects as lucid as possible making one think that there must be a complete reorientation of thought regarding some of the above problems. He takes us with him to a higher and calmer atmosphere above the dust and heat of controversy, though one cannot help feeling while reading this pamphlet that some of his views on religion and after-life are going against the teachings of theosophy of the Adyar School.

BIBHUTI BHUSHAN BANERJI

TWELVE MEDITATIONS: *By Sri Kundakunda Acharya. Translated into English by Jaina Dharma Bhushana Dharma Devakara Brahmachari Sital Prasadji. Published by the Devendra Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd. G. T., Madras, with a preface by C. S. Mallinath.*

The author of the book, Sri Kundakunda Acharya, a Jaina philosopher and theologian, is said to have lived in the first century B.C. and A.D. The book is written in verses, the translator giving translations and explanations. We are bound to say for the sake of truth that both the translator and the preface writer seem to be carried away by the "great veneration" in which the author is held and the great antiquity of the book. Therefore they have not been able to pay much attention to the contents of the book. We do not say that there is nothing good and appreciable in it but its emphasis on other-worldly ideas makes it a misfit in the modern world. Its condemnation of the human body as impure, and of the domestic and social relations as so many impediments in the path of soul's liberation makes it an unwelcome intruder in the human society. The author's cosmology with hills in the lower universe, with the highest heaven as the abode of the liberated souls and the middle containing innumerable continents and oceans will not commend itself to even a school boy. The author's idea of social service is so poor that the highest meretorious act consists in "giving alms to the deserving religious persons", why? The translator explains "to help them in the performance of their austerities leading to liberation." Proper elimination should have been made before the book was published.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

HOW TO EVOLVE A WHITE RACE: Vol. I. *By Sundaresa Iyer, Advocate, Madras, 1934. Pp. iii+116.*

The author thinks that the colour question can be solved if we succeed in evolving a white race all over the world by "scientific means". But so far as we know, the condition of the proletariat in Europe or America is only one shade better than that of the coloured races, so what good would it be even if we actually succeed in making the black races white, so long as Capitalism is there to exploit them all the time?

But apart from that question, the book amply proves how dangerous it is to leave Biology in the hands of those who merely read books and do no experiments and thereby never develop that sense of reality which is essential to the understanding of any of the biological sciences. It is time that professional biologists took up the task of popularizing their subject instead at allowing it to drift into the hand of amateurs.

THE TRAGEDY OF GANDHI: *By Glorney Bolton, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London, 1934. Pp. 326.*

The book under review professes to be a dispassionate study of Mahatma Gandhi's life from an original standpoint. But from a careful perusal of the book it appears that the study is neither dispassionate nor original. Throughout the book, the author displays a strong bias for English culture against that of India, and that has turned him into an apologist for Britishers in India—as well as for

Europeans in general in Africa—rather than into an interpreter of Gandhi.

We miss in the present study all that Gandhi stands for on the positive side, his will to love human beings in spite of utmost provocation and frequent betrayals, his determination to build up a life of simplicity and mutual aid and teach people to defend it even at the cost of life. Instead of it, Gandhi appears on the stage bleating his gospel of pacififm, while, in person, he appears to be a queer sort of fellow stingy and wary at heart, delighting in antics of masochism, eager to take advantage of every opportunity of wielding power—in short, an unworthy person on whom the mantle of prophetship has accidentally descended. This reminds us strongly of a similar description of the prophet of Islam, of whom one European said that his religion was all very well, but the man himself was utterly unworthy of the task which had descended upon him!

The present interpreter of Gandhi could, at least, have done one thing besides reading the *Autobiography* and Mr. Andrew's books on Gandhi together with the delightful interpretations of India by Mr. Edward Thomson; he could have gone through the files of *Young India* or a few more of Mr. Gandhi's own books in the English language, before he ventured to interpret a movement which is so foreign to his own nature. That would, at least, have saved him from certain obvious mistakes as we shall presently see. Mr. Gandhi does not believe in preaching voluntary poverty to those who are suffering from involuntary poverty under British rule; otherwise, there would be no sense in his efforts to change the present regime in India or his persistent endeavour to restore cottage industries in the villages. He has, moreover, no love for suffering for its own sake. When suffering is not due to the vindication of one's rights or when self-suffering is not undertaken with the object of appealing to the heart of the oppressor with a view to his conversion —when it is not informed by love—has never hesitated to condemn it as untrue and, therefore, worthy only of cessation. Our author seems to be utterly ignorant of these phases of Gandhi's life and teachings, and that is why he sees in Gandhi only a tragedy of wrongly-appointed prophetship.

Mr. Gandhi's life may have to be written down as a failure so far as the success of his mission is concerned, for that has been the common fate of all prophets who have allowed their lives to be burnt by the fire of their love for humanity. But there is just one more touch of tragedy in it, that in spite of all his sufferings, the message of Gandhi's life has failed to wean, at least, one Englishman from self-conceit, clouded reason and superiority-complex, and that Englishman happens to be the Oxonian, Mr. Glorney Bolton.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE RIDDLE OF THE WORLD: *By Sri Aurobindo.*

This book is the latest of Sri Aurobinda's contributions to the world regarding his philosophy of the universe. In these pages, although in a desultory way, an attempt has been made to solve the mystery as to the why, how, whence, and whereto of this world. There are side issues which are also dealt with in the book but the main problem remains to be the solution of the riddle—the source, the ultimate end, and developments in the intermediate stages of progress of the Universe.

It appears from the publisher's note that the book is not a systematic study of the problem—which is an age-long enquiry, *viz.* The Riddle of this World, but a mere collection of Sri Aurobinda's writings issued from time to time in dispelling the doubts raised either by his disciples or those interested in Yoga, or sometimes only comments on letters submitted from outside.

The arrangement does not seem to be happy. In vain one would attempt to find a method. It would have been much to the satisfaction of the readers if the arrangement was in accordance with the progressive development of the subject matter rather than with the historical accuracy.

The problem is not a new one, philosophers of different ages and climes offered various solutions, but the curiousity of the spiritual thinkers had never been satisfied. Each new school of thinkers made some departure from the previous schools either by elimination of old or by addition of new ideas.

Sri Aurobinda's solution of this problem or the riddle as he puts it, differs from that of others in that according to him liberation from the earth-consciousness is not the ultimate end. His solution offers a distinct achievement when after the liberation from the earth-consciousness he claims to bring down a divine transformation in this earth consciousness. Amongst the different planes of consciousness earth-consciousness comes to be the lowest while the truth-consciousness the highest. The last level has been described as the Supermind. What Aurobinda lays claim to is the possibility of bringing down the Supermental planes—the divine consciousness—and making it permanently fixed on the earth-consciousness, a state which even the Vedic Rishis did not or could not experience. Individually they might attain to that Supermind but perhaps they could not or did not infuse it into the earth. He has the boldness to say that what was not possible for the Vedic Rishis is possible in his system of Yoga.

SWAMI CHANDRESWARANANDA

A SURVEY OF THE MARKETING OF FRUIT IN POONA *By D. R. Gadgil, M. A., M. Litt. (Cantab) and V. R. Gadgil, B. Ag. (Bom.) M. Sc. (Calif.). Published by Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. (Price Rs. 2-8). Pp. 184.*

Mr. D. R. Gadgil is a well-known writer on Indian Economics and the present work is a novel venture both for the subject it treats and for its manner of direct survey. In our Industries and Agriculture we have always neglected the marketing side of business allowing it to take care of itself; but distribution being as important as, if not more important than, production, our neglect in this respect has been responsible for over-production or mal-distribution even with regard to the monopoly products of the soil, with consequent stagnation and loss to our producers. The last Royal Agricultural Commission very rightly emphasized the need of such market surveys. We are glad to find that the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics undertook a survey of the Fruit Marketing in Poona which is an important centre for fruit and vegetable supply in western India and the work was entrusted to very able hands.

The study comprises the present methods and costs

of sale and distribution of fruits with special reference to marketing machinery and the various stages through which they pass from—orchard to the consumer. The present work is not merely a collection of informations and statistics from official publications but is also the result of direct personal enquiry with the producers, wholesale-dealers, commission agents, retailers and others. The treatment of the subject is systematic and thorough with certain limitations due to ignorance and prejudice of the parties concerned. In view of the growing importance of the marketing problems and the absolute lack of interest of our producers, we commend this book as a pioneer work and wish that some of our scholars on this side of the country would turn their attention to the study of the marketing problems attending the local products. Jute is the golden fibre of our province and is a monopoly commodity but yet its producers are in a precarious condition to-day. Couldn't we expect a survey of the marketing of jute in Bengal by some of our scholars? We are sure if such a book came out, it would read like a romance with a tragic background.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

HAND BOOK OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE: *By A. M. Mathews, M. A., Ed. Dip. (Oxon), A. C. P. (London), and M. C. Mohan, B.A., published by Careers, Mohem Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a handy and useful compendium of information on topics of everyday interest and has been prepared specially with a view to meeting the requirements and demands of examining bodies and particularly for candidates preparing for the I. C. S., Sandhurst, Indian Police, and other Superior Examinations held by the Public Service Commission in India. But it also contains much that is of real value and interest to all teachers and students. The wide range of subjects covered, within such a small scope, does credit to the authors. Though there have crept up certain minor inaccuracies in the book which, we hope, will be rectified in the next edition, yet the important questions of the day have been judiciously chosen and dealt with in an exhaustive manner. We commend this book to everyone who wishes to be adequately posted in all that is going on in the spheres of activity of this country as well as the countries of the west.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

SHABARA-BHUSHYA: *Translated into English: By Mahamohopadhyaya Ganganath Jha, M. A., late Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, published from Oriental Institute, Baroda. 1st Volume pages 720. Price Rs. 16.*

The book contains the English translation of the first three adhyayas of Savara Bhasya, that of other adhyayas to appear later on. The text is not given along with it, nor even appended separately, probably under the idea that editions of the text portion only are availiable in Poona and Benares.

It is needless to say about the importance of the study of Mimamsa in the right understanding of the Vedic religion of India. As logic is an absolute necessity for the right understanding of all the Philosophical doctrines of different schools, so is Mimamsa for correct comprehension of the Vedas and the Vedanta philosophy especially; which is the real basis of Hindu religion and thought. It was the Mimamsaka Kumarila Bhatta, who vanquished the invincible Bhuddhist Philosophers of the seventh century, and it was he only who re-established the Vedic religion in this country at that time. None of the other Philosophical Schools could stand before the Bhuddhists and it was he who paved the way for Sankaracharya to popularize once more the Vedantic culture. The highly critical and analytical acumen of Kumarila got its impetuous impetus from the Shabara Bhashya on the Mimansa Darsana of Jaimini. The fine hair-spliting argumentation of that immortal Nabya Naya of Gangesha was, to a great extent, due to Mimansaka Pravakara, the unique exponent of Shabara Bhashya, the only available commentary on Mimamsa Darsana. To have a real and natural interpretation of the teachings inculcated in our scriptures, as well as in the writings of the ancient rishis and authors, Mimamsa perhaps is the only indispensable means for the purpose. It has ascertained no less than one thousand ways of interpreting any subject. Without going through the Shabara Bhashya with its commentaries no sound scholarship can be acquired in our Philosophy.

This invaluable treasure of our ancestors was so long a sealed book to the public for its antiquated style and technicalities, but is now made accessible to the English knowing public through the munificence of Maharaja Gaikwar of Baroda and the untiring labour of the old venerable man Dr. Ganganath Jha. The translation is unquestionably literal and faithful, as it comes out of the pen of one, who is perhaps the only scholar well versed in both Eastern and Western Philosophies. This old veteran translator has been assisted by his favourite disciple Pandit Kestresha Chandra Chattopadhyaya, M.A., of Allahabad University, who has already earned a name for his research work. This has no doubt enhanced the value of the book in various ways so far as the editing is concerned.

In conlusion, may I suggest to the learned and venerable Pandit Jha, that he would render a real service to his country, if he also issues a Hindi translation of this important work.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES: *Second series. From 1911 to 1933. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Rs. 4. Crown 8 vo. Pp. 914+18 Cloth.*

Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras, have done well to bring out a new volume of Congress Presidential Addresses (Price Rupees Four only). A similar book was published by them many years ago. The Second Series, which is now published, contains the Presidential Addresses from 1911 to 1933. Needless to say that the twenty-four years it covers have been years of momentous changes in the history of the country: and the presidential addresses delivered from the chair of the Indian National Congress serve not merely as a periodic review of the conditions, year after year, but as a running commentary on the administration. The volume opens with Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar's address to the Calcutta Congress, and includes the pronouncements of such leaders as Lord Sinha, Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chari, Dr. Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Moulana Mahomed Ali and Dr. Ansari, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal and Sardar Vallabhai Patel and many others.

The Publishers also announce that the First Series will shortly follow. As these volumes are likely to serve as authentic books of reference advantage has been taken of the issue of the two volumes to supply a comprehensive and exhaustive index to each volume.

They will be useful to journalists and other publicists and all students of Indian politics in general.

C.

DR. BESANT AND INDIA'S RELIGIOUS REVIVAL: *By Hirendra Nath Datta. Adyar Pamphlet No. 182. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is an address delivered at the Theosophical Society Convention of 1933. It gives a vivid account of Dr. Besant's religious activities in India. Even her activities in connection with social reform were, so we are told, definitely religious and in these matters "Dr. Besant was moved to action by the order of Risi Agastya, the Regent Risi of India". (P. 22).

DR. BESANT: WARRIOR: *By G. S. Arundale. Adyar Pamphlet No. 183. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is another lecture on Dr. Besant dealing with another aspect of her character. The story has been nicely told.

DR. BESANT AS A COMRADE AND A LEADER: *By Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Adyar Pamphlet No. 186. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

Here the story of Dr. Besant's life is briefly but vividly told by one who is not a professed Theosophist. Dr. Besant's greatness can be gauged from the simple fact that even those who did not accept her as their spiritual leader, could not resist the influence of her magic personality.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

SANSKRIT

APASTAMBADHARMASUTRAMANJARI: (*A Digest of Apastamba Dharma Sutra*). *By R. N. Suryanarayana, M. A., Maharaja's College, Mysore. (Brahmarshi Gurukulam Series No. I).*

This is quite an interesting little publication. "The *Sutras* [of Apastamba] pertaining to a single subject, but scattered here and there, are all collected and grouped under proper headings in order to present the ideas of the great sage *Apastamba* in the form of paragraphs The *manjari* is quite faithful to the original. But some words have been added wherever necessary to make the sense and context quite clear." Thus within a small compass of about 80 pages one will have the opportunity of getting familiar with the important topics dealt with in one of the oldest and most important works that throw light on the social history of Ancient India. Some of the technical details of procedure which have been retained could as well be cut down and the size of the book further reduced. A brief synopsis of the contents in English and a reference under the sutras to the chapter and verse of the original as also to the changes introduced would have been highly welcome. The glossary which is appended to the work and explains, in general, the more important and peculiar words occuring in the text will be found useful to the readers. We hope the learned compiler will follow up this work with similar digests of some other works of this type.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

RAJA CHHABILARAM BAHADUR: *By Manshankar Pitambardas Mehta. Published in the Sayaji Sahitya Mala, Baroda. Cloth bound: illustrated. Pp. 339. Price Re. 1-14. (1933).*

The Visalnagarā Nagar Brahmins claim that this famous Mogul officer belonged to their caste, the Vadnagara Nagars claim him as of their caste. His biographer makes him out to belong to the latter caste. He flourished (A. D. 1665-1719) during the decline of the Moguls, in the reign of Farrukh-Siyar and was instrumental in getting the Jaziya tax removed and thus getting relief for the Hindus of the Empire. In writing this biography Mr. Manshankar has consulted all available material, and produced a work which is very interesting and full of information. He has used discrimination in the selection of the sources on which he has relied and thereby the book becomes valuable.

JYOTI REKHA, *by Sundarji G. Betai, printed at the Narayan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Illustrated Cover: Thick Card board. Pp. 45+18. Price Re. 1. (1934).*

This is a collection of fine Five (5) Khand Kavyas by a very promising young poet. Its introduction is written by Prof. Narsinhrao B. Divatia, who has very carefully brought out all its good points, specially the graceful way in which he has treated of such appealing topics as the Dream of Siddhartha, the Lochandan of Sulochana, and the disappearance into the sea of the golden Dwarika. That the poems disclose the fact that there is great potentiality of better work in this early stage of Mr. Betai's craftsmanship, no one can dispute, and we extend him our cordial congratulations.

(1) A. S. KUMARI, (2) GHAR DIVDI, *both written by Yashwant S. Pandya, (1) Printed at Narchetan, 10 Pollock Street, Calcutta, (2) at Suryaprakash Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Covers. Pp. 204: 85. Price Re 1: Annas 8: Illustrated.*

Both these are plays, and they bear on social subjects. There is a sort of latent humour and imperceptible satire in them: both so blended that one likes to go through them from cover to cover before putting them down. Those who have read Mr. Pandya's other and characteristic works are struck by the facility with which he can change from one subject to another without sacrificing ability and efficiency.

K. M. J.

THE WATERS OF DESTINY

By SITA DEVI

XVII

THIS job at Mysore had been offered to Sudarshan long ago. But as he was loath to leave Delhi just then, he had not, till then, accepted it finally. Now he wrote definitely accepting the offer, and began to make arrangements for going away. He hesitated to the last to leave his old and invalid father alone, but the old man himself began to press him to join his post without delay and brought over a widowed sister of his from his village home, to look after him.

Before going away, Sudarshan wanted to see Suparnā alone once, but he could not decide whether it would be right. Things were not at all clear to him. She had never told him plainly that she did not love him. Yet she was trying with all her might to thrust him away from her. What could be the meaning of this? If her heart was not inclined towards him, where was the harm in owning it up? Sudarshan was not unworthy of her. If she had no love for him, she could tell him that plainly. Uncertainty gives birth to more unhappiness than anything else in this world. But Sudarshan could not but notice that his presence moved her very much. The poor young man could not decide whether it would be right to disturb her again for his own sake.

But Suparnā decided everything for him. He received a letter in the morning, which bore his name and address, written in a beautiful and feminine hand. Undoubtedly it had come from Suparnā. Sudarshan was not very familiar with her handwriting, still an inner voice seemed to whisper to him, that the letter had come from her. His strong hand trembled with excitement when he opened it. Suparnā had written:

"I hear from uncle that you are soon going away from here to join your new post. I, too, am going away to-morrow to Calcutta, with Amitā's aunt. It is not certain yet, whether I shall ever return to Delhi again. I am but a plaything now in the hand of fate. I do not know where I shall go, nor what is going to become of me. My heart is eager to tell you everything, to make a full confession, but I cannot. Please forget me, that is my last request to you. Perhaps I shall never again meet you in this world. This thought lends me courage to say what I have said. Otherwise, even this would have remained unspoken. I would have considered myself the most fortunate woman on earth, had it been in my power to accept what you offered me. But I have not the right so much as to think about it even. I cannot tell you why. Please accept my *Namaskar*.

Yours faithfully
Suparnā."

Sudarshan stood still for a while with the letter clasped in his hand. His frowning face betrayed the struggle and indecision in his heart. Why was Suparnā creating this veil of mystery? Could not he tear it asunder by force? He was going away the next day. There was no more time. He locked up the letter in his desk and began to pace the room restlessly.

Taran Babu and Amit had come to the station to see off Suparnā and Taran Babu's sister. The train was not crowded, and they got enough accommodation. As there were very few passengers, they were in no hurry to get in. They put in the luggage and stood talking on the platform. Suparnā was looking very grave and pale. A couple of days' illness had changed her appearance completely.

"You should go away for a change of air to some hill station or other, instead of going to Calcutta," Taran Babu was saying. "But let's hear what your father says about it. This is what is wrong with our girls. They never know when to cry halt Education is all right, but you must not neglect your health for that."

"What do you mean, father?" cried out Amitā. "Am I not also studying? But have you ever noticed me to be ill for a day? If Su neglects eating, drinking and sleeping, it is not the fault of education, but the fault of herself."

"But medical students are very hard put to it, you must admit that," said Amitā's aunt.

Just at that moment, Amitā pinched Suparnā hard and whispered, "Look, who is coming".

Suparnā looked up and saw Sudarshan advancing rapidly towards them. Her face became paler than before. Her legs began to tremble, and she sat down rather suddenly on a bench that stood near by.

"Why, what has happened to you again, Su?" asked Amitā rather alarmed. "I am feeling dizzy," replied Suparnā faintly.

Amitā also sat down by her. "Why are you torturing yourself and another innocent person needlessly?" She asked. "What prevents you from speaking plainly?"

Suparnā clasped her arm and cried out hoarsely, "Stop, stop, don't make me give myself away before people. Let me go away with tearless eyes at least."

Amitā was struck dumb with amazement. She had never seen such a thing before. She had no

more doubts in her heart about Suparnā's love for Sudarshan. Everything seemed to point out this fact to her. And Sudarshan's love for Suparnā had become known to one and all. Then why was Suparnā trying to hide it and torturing herself and Sudarshan? Amitā wanted to give Suparnā a good shaking and thus make her see reason.

By this time Sudarshan had arrived by their side. "I was afraid, I might be too late," he said to Taran Babu. "Father became so unwell in the morning, that I was held up by his side for an hour."

"What has happened to him?" asked Taran Babu.

"My aunt has arrived from the village," said Sudarshan. "So his meals have become much more elaborate. He is an old man, and could not bear this change well."

'Are you starting for Mysore in a day or two?" called out Amitā from the bench. "It would have been better, if you too had started today. We could have seen you off too. That would have meant killing two birds with one stone.'

Sudarshan turned to them and said, "We, poor wretches, are never seen off by anyone else, except the porters at the station." Then he looked full at Suparnā and said, "You are not looking at all well. Have you again been ill?

"No," said Suparnā in an indistinct whisper.

"No, indeed," cried out Amitā in protest. "Did not you feel giddy just now, when you sat down?"

"Then you should never have undertaken such a long journey," said Sudarshan rather alarmed.

"She could hardly change her plans at the last moment," said Amitā. "She never complained, while at home, of being unwell."

"Well, there is no help for it now," said Sudarshan. "But you must get into your compartment now and lie down. Otherwise, you might find it full, and then you will have to sit throughout the whole journey."

Suparnā got up in a hurry. Amitā too, got into the compartment with her and began to prepare a bed for Suparnā. "Lie down here," she said, "and cover yourself up to the head. If anyone asks you to get up, say that you have got pox. That would settle everything and no one will dare to approach you again."

Suparnā laid herself down. Sudarshan came and stood by her. "Do not get up again on any account," he said, "but continue like this."

Taran Babu also hurried up. "What is the matter?" he asked anxiously. "Is she again unwell?"

"No, no," said Sudarshan. "She is feeling rather weak, so I have told her to rest awhile."

Taran Babu moved off and began to talk to his sister. A certain wealthy young man had just returned from England and the brother and sister wanted to secure him for Amitā.

Amitā got down from the compartment on a made-up pretext, in order to leave Sudarshan alone with Suparnā for a few moments. Sudarshan began to arrange the ladies' luggage more conveniently and said in a low voice, "I have received your letter. But I did not understand anything clearly from it. There is no more time for me to understand. I had much to say to you in reply, but for that too, there is no time. Only let me tell you this, that I shall never forget, and I shall cherish hope to the last. Wherever I happen to be, I shall hurry to your side, if you deign to call me. There is no more time, there goes the bell. Good-bye!"

Suparnā looked at him, with eyes full of tears. Amitā and Taran Babu came in once more to take their leave. Amitā's aunt too came in with her sons. Taran Babu misunderstood the tears in Suparnā's eyes and patted her on the back consolingly, saying "You are a foolish little woman, my dear. You are coming back within a few days, so why are you crying?"

"There is time yet, if you want to undo the mischief, you have done," whispered Amitā.

But Suparnā did not reply. Amitā and her father got down hurriedly from the train as the last bell went. The train gave a jolt, then began to move forward slowly. Sudarshan paced along by its side, holding on to the window of the compartment in which Suparnā was. "I have written my address on this card," said he, giving a card to Suparnā. "I have secured your address too, from Miss Amitā. May I write to you occasionally?"

Suparnā sat up on the bench. Tears were still streaming from her eyes. "No, don't write," she said hoarsely. "Forget me, that is my last prayer to you."

Sudarshan bit his lips, and released his hold on the window. The train steamed noisily out of the platform.

"Why not come with us, Sudarshan?" said Taran Babu. "There is plenty of room in the car now."

Sudarshan was standing there, very silent and preoccupied. "Very well," he said and turned to them.

They came out of the platform all together. "You let her off too easily," whispered Amitā to him.

Sudarshan smiled sadly and said, "The obstacles were not of a nature that could be tackled by me."

"If you have to back away from every obstacle you meet, you will never do anything in this world," said Amitā.

"There is such a thing as fate, above all," said Sudarshan. "Man's will and prowess cannot achieve everything."

As soon as the train left Delhi station behind Suparnā flung herself down on her bed again. "You have really become very weak, my dear," said Amitā's aunt. "I did not know it before,

else I would never have dared to take you along with me. I wish I could see the end of this journey soon."

"Don't be anxious about me please," said Suparnā. "I shall be all right. I am not ill, only a little weak. Had anything really been the matter with me, I would not have dared myself to come."

"If you feel well enough to stand the journey, then I do not mind," said the aunt. "Since you are going to become a doctor and look after the health of other people, you should learn to take care of your own health first I hope you have sent a wire to your father?"

"Yes", said Suparnā. "I sent it yesterday."

The train rushed along. Passengers got in, and they got out, but Suparnā never noticed anything. She did not even notice the stations, where the trains stopped. Before this, these things always used to interest her so much. She used to devour the whole distance with her eyes. She would not even sleep, lest she should miss some part of the way. She wanted to see and know as much of the world as she could She had planned to tour the whole of India and thus satisfy the cravings of her heart to the full, after the completion of her studies Even her fellow passengers were objects of interest to her. She did not know whence they came, and where they went. Their lives touched hers, only for a few moments Her imagination used to follow these strangers throughout their journey. But this time her mind had become dry and barren like a desert She did not want to look at the world or at the faces of her fellow men Everything was too horrible. What was the use, then, of looking at anything? She looked out only once, like a convict sentenced to life-long imprisonment, taking leave of the fair world outside. Then she turned round and closed her eyes

She never knew how the day and the night passed. There were very few passengers So Suparnā did not have to suffer from any inconvenience She only had a cup of tea and another cup of cocoa during the long journey. Nothing could induce her to take anything else. Many of the lady passengers enquired of Amitā's aunt, what the poor girl was suffering from. The good lady did not know much of Hindi, yet she replied as best as she could. If Suparnā had been in a normal mood, she would have found much cause for merriment. But she had no ear for anything now, she only wanted to pass the time somehow. She looked and looked at her watch, till her eyes ached.

Even at night she could not sleep. The monotonous sound of the carriage wheels sounded like a dirge in her ears. The memory of that day, long ago, when she had first come to Delhi, came back vividly to her mind. With what hope, what joy, and what a sense of wild freedom, had she commenced that journey! She was convinced that she was leaving behind the life of a prisoner for ever. But the wheel of fate had turned, and she was being led back perhaps to that selfsame prison.

She had known the joys of a free existence now, could she again live the life of a slave? Her whole body shuddered at the very thought. She could not murder her inner self, like this. Her father had asked her to decide for herself, but he did not know, how very knotty the problem was. Suparnā had changed entirely, body, mind and soul. She could no longer be merged into that old Subarna, the wife of that tyrant Shribilas. Subarna was dead, dead completely, nothing of her now lived in Suparnā. Was Suparnā to be strangled to death now, so that Subarna might live again? But even if Suparnā died, could the memory she cherished die also? Who would gain by it, if Suparnā died now, and an apparition walked about on the earth, calling herself Subarna? Still must she die?

The long journey ended somehow, at last. The uproar of the Howrah Station reached Suparnā's ears and made her sit up. Amitā's aunt leaned out of the window and said, "There is your father, Suparnā. Thank God, the wire reached him in good time."

Suparnā got down from the train. Her face looked like that of a stone image.

XVIII

Pratulchandra had long ago left the boarding house, with which we are familiar, and had been living in a small house by himself, all these years. Suparnā had visited him twice or thrice, during this period. He had rented this house mainly for her. She had grown up into young womanhood and it was unseemly to bring her over to a men's boarding house. Besides, everyone at the old establishment knew Suparnā's past history. Pratul did not want to have Suparnā's feelings hurt, by any inadvertent allusion to her past.

Suparnā accompanied her father to this new house He had always kept a room for her, furnished suitably The furniture were covered over thickly with dust, though Pratul had ordered the servant to prepare the room for her coming. He had, of course, swept the floor of the room, but as neither he nor his ancestors had ever heard of dusting furniture, he had left the things untouched.

As Suparnā entered the dust-laden room, her bitter mind felt even more bitter. How can a human being live inside this room? "Please call your servant, father," she said in a tired voice, "this room is impossible."

Pratul smiled and called the servant. The poor man was obliged to dust the furniture and cleanse the cobwebs on the wall, thus rendering the clean floor dusty again. He had perforce to sweep it all over. Then Suparnā ordered him out of the room again, and after arranging

all her things, she changed and went to have tea with her father.

"You are not taking anything at all," said Pratul. "And you are looking none too well. Why did you put further strain on yourself by undertaking such a long journey? I wrote to you that I was going over next month."

"I could not endure Delhi for a moment longer, father," said Suparnā. "So I had to come away even in this state of my health. I want to finish all this muddle, once for all. I cannot hide, all my life, like an escaped convict. If I cannot live like a free human being, I need not live at all. I am thoroughly sick of this existence." Her voice choked on the last words.

Though Pratul did not understand all her words fully, yet he understood well that she was suffering terribly. He felt for her very deeply. "You are quite right, my dear," he said, 'a person cannot attain the fulfilment of life in any way, if he or she has to flee before a nameless fear all the time. It is better to see things to a finish, be it good or bad. I shall try to help you to the best of my power, but you know how limited man's power is. As Shribilas has the law on his side, he can cause you a good deal of annoyance. But I don't know whether he intends to do that. From his looks and words, he did not seem to be a finished scoundrel. But it is impossible to say how he will turn out when put to the test. If desperately cornered, he might turn out to be a very rough customer."

"That is very likely, father," said Suparnā, "You do not know him, but unfortunately, I know him only too well. A man does not change very much after he is twenty one."

"That's true," said her father. "But still, one can never tell. He really feared his mother like the very devil. And it was she who tortured you more than he ever did."

Suparnā's face turned red in anger. "That is not a fact, father," she said. "He did all he could to torture me. But most of the time, he was absent in Calcutta. When I think of those times, I can scarcely call him human. To call him an animal is to insult the animals."

"It is no use exciting yourself about past history, now," said her father. "It was fated that you should suffer, else why should your mother fall into such a foolish way of thinking? Now, calm yourself and try to decide what you should do. Shribilas is here, he lives only a short distance away. If he knows that you are here, he will be sure to come in the evening. You can then talk things over with him."

Suparnā remained silent for a while. Then she said, "All right, father, you may inform him about my arrival. Let this be ended, soon" She left the table and went away to her own room. Pratul wrote a note to Shribilas and sent a servant over with it. Suparnā had no wish to eat or drink that day. She bolted herself inside her room and remained there the whole afternoon. Her brain seemed to be on fire. Her mind was full of the deepest hatred and loathing for Shribilas. How was she going to extricate herself from the clutches of this inhuman beast? A few fools had played with her young life long ago. So was her whole existence to become a drama of despair and futility? Shribilas could not drag her away by main force, but he could render her whole life barren as a desert. He was casting his black shadow over her young life, and robbing it of all joy and hope. By degrees, her anger turned into deep pain, and hiding her head in her pillow, she wept tears of agony. Poor exile from an unforgettable paradise, she could never again enter that land. She had only been admitted there once, through mistake. When pain becomes past suffering, one becomes angry with the whole world. Suparnā began to feel angry with Pratul even. Why did he bring her away from that life of suffering? It was not pity but cruelty. Why should a person sentenced to life-long imprisonment be allowed one glimpse of a free life? It only succeeds in making the subsequent darkness more horrible. If she was destined to be sacrified on the altar of social custom, why did her father try to rouse her to a sense of real womanhood? She was fast becoming a clod, he should have left her there to that fate.

The afternoon passed away somehow. Suparnā had to get up and calm herself somehow. She had to meet Shribilas now, and try to get the better of him in verbal warfare. She must not submit to unjust social laws, she must not be carried off her feet by fear or sweet words.

She finished her evening toilette and came out. She was used to wearing white all the time, but her dress always gave evidence of her love for fine things and of her good taste. But today she was getting ready for a fight. She brushed her hair back severely from her forehead and tied it in a tight knot behind. She took off all her bangles from her wrists, leaving only one. She wore the cheapest and plainest *sari* she had and a blouse with full sleeves. Pratul looked at his daughter and became graver than before.

Father and daughter sat down to tea. "Are you going to offer Shribilas tea?" asked Pratul. "In that case we must order some sweetmeats."

"No need, father," said Suparnā roughly. "When a person who should have been near and dear, turns into a foe, he becomes far worse than a stranger. He goes out of the social pale. You need not observe any social rules with him. He must never be allowed to think that he is still regarded as one of the family."

"You must first see him and hear what he has to say. If you grow angry beforehand, you will never be able to do justice to him.

Suparnā bit her lips and became silent. After a while she said, "Father, it is very difficult for me, not to get angry, when I think of him. Not only did he torture me during

my childhood, but is now trying to perpetrate a worse infamy."

Tea was finished. The servant removed the tea things. Suparnā got up and said, "Father, I am going to have a walk on the terrace. When he comes, please inform me,"

"All right," said her father. He turned to the servant and said, "A gentleman will call soon. Show him to the drawing-room and inform me." He retired to his own room and began to read Amiel's Journal

Shribilas came much before his time. He was feeling very much excited, as he knocked at the front door. He did not look up, otherwise he would have seen a pair of large eyes, full of hatred and scorn, gazing down at him. Suparnā's eyes travelled over his immaculate and foppish dress, and her fair face became distorted with scorn. Pratul had informed him of Suparnā's arrival He had come prepared to have a face to face talk with Suparnā.

The servant received him as ordered, and went in to inform his master. Shribilas began to feel a certain hostile element in the atmosphere, which he had not felt on his previous visits. He smiled and thought, "That is due to my lady's instructions, I suppose. She must be very angry. It will take much cajoling to bring her round." Then his thoughts turned to another direction. He was going to see his wife after thirteen years. He wondered what she looked like now. She was extremely pretty at the time of his marriage to her. Afterwards, she lost her looks somewhat, owing to systematic neglect of herself, and constant fighting and bickering. She had a nasty temper even as a child, and was a good match for Shribilas's late lamented mother, the most notable virago of the village. Shribilas wondered whether her temper was as bad now. She was the only child of a rich man and an educated lady. She was a prospective lady doctor too So it was extremely unlikely that he would find her a mild and obedient type. He was ready for a certain amount of hostility. Suparnā had a right to show off some temper, being a rich man's daughter.

Pratul entered the room with a grave face. Shribilas got up in a hurry and bowed down to him. Pratul was not very observant by nature. Still he too noticed that Shribilas was got up very finely today. Pratul had expected better manners from an educated man. He could imagine well the reaction of this silly foppery upon Suparnā's mind.

He asked Shribilas to sit down and drew up a chair for himself. Shribilas was at a loss for words. Pratul thought for a minute or two, then began to speak. "I have already told you. whatever I had to say," he said. "I have not said anything to Suparnā, either for you or against you. She has now become a full-grown woman. She has been well educated, and she is quite capable of knowing her own mind and of judging for herself. If she agrees to go to you now, of her free will, I will not oppose it. But if she is not willing, she must not be coerced. Whatever be the law, know this for certain,"

Shribilas had as vile a temper now as he had in his early youth. The tone of Pratul's words began to make him angry, but being a lawyer he controlled himself. He knew that if he got angry now, he would lose his case. So he said in a calm voice, "I have no intention of coercing her, Sir, I shall try my best to persuade her to come with me willingly."

"Very well," said Pratul, getting up. "Wait here, I shall send her in to you. I shall be in the next room so that you might talk quite candidly to each other. If you need me, you may call me."

Pratul Chandra went out. Shribilas laughed to himself and thought, "He is quite willing. Otherwise he would never have given me such opportunities. Now it all depends on the state of my lady's temper."

After a few minutes, Suparnā entered the room with firm steps. Shribilas got up with a start. He did not realize for a few moments that it was really Suparnā It was a completely different woman, who stood in front of him. She did not bear the slightest resemblance to Subarna, whom he remembered. But, almost immediately he knew, that it was Suparnā. He was dreaming of a lovely fairy-like creature all this while, when this austere nun-like figure entered, shattering his dream to pieces. But even in this severe garb, how wonderfully beautiful she was He began to feel ashamed of his fine dress now.

As Suparnā approached him, he sat down again. He must say something to her, but he did not know what to say. "Sit down Subarna, I hope you are all right," he said at last rather foolishly.

The name Subarna stung Suparnā like a scorpion's sting Everyone had forgotten Subarna, except this person He wanted to drag back poor, tortured Subarna here, from the dead past. Could she not prevent him by some means or other? She was wondering at her own calmness in his hated presence. She was not feeling excited in the least. She was like a spectator, looking at the drama of life of another person. She sat down and answered, "I am all right, thank you."

Shribilas collected his thoughts in a few minutes and began, "You must have heard from your father, why I am here. My mother is dead. My sister is, of course, in the house now, but she too contemplates going away to Baneres very soon. I did not arrange to bring you back to me, all this while, not because, I did not want it, but because I saw no way to do it. If I took you back, you would have had to live in the same house with mother, which would not have

suited you at all. She had become old, so I could not do anything against her wish. I have begun to practise as a lawyer here, but I do not earn enough to set up an establishment here. But now that mother is dead, there is nothing to prevent you from living in my village home. My sister will know how to behave."

Suparnā felt an irresistible impulse to laugh outright. Shribilas was taking it quite for granted that Suparnā was going back with him. It only needed to settle where she was to live. His words sounded innocent enough, but they did not ring sincere at all. He seemed to be repeating words, that he had got by heart. He did not dare to say what he really felt. Suparnā's hatred and distrust of him increased tenfold. Human beings fear a wolf but if it appears in a lamb's skin, it becomes an object of mirth also. Suparnā knew Shribilas and his sister only too well. Circumstances had changed indeed, but people's natures could not change so easily.

"It does not suit me to go at all," said Suparnā at last.

Shribilas seemed to be surprised beyond measure. He raised his eyebrows and asked, 'Why ?"

"That question should be asked by me, more properly," said Suparnā. "Why should I go ?"

Shribilas thought for a moment, then replied, "It is the custom all the world over, from time immemorial. Married people always live together. Otherwise the world will soon come to an end."

"But am I really married to you ?" asked Suparnā. "A child's play was enacted in my childhood. I did not understand a word of it and I did not utter one word of the *mantras* myself. Taking advantage of this silly and meaningless ceremony, you have tortured me and oppressed me as much as you desired. I have managed to free myself somehow and have come to understand what freedom means in a human life. I have chosen my path, and I shall stick to it. You drove me away once with insults. That was final. I am not going again to you. I have chosen my career also. My only request to you is this, don't pester me any more."

Shribilas's temper had risen considerably, but he did not dare to show it. If he tried coercion from the first, he was sure to fail. He must try to persuade her and plead with her first. He knew that he could no longer employ force against her, as he had done in her childhood. He did not want to do it. But about one thing he was determined, he must get her back. She was the only child of a rich father, and was going to inherit everything. Keeping this in mind, Shribilas had never married again, though he had lived a life of dissipation. He believed fully that a Hindu woman's real place was at the feet of her husband, not on his head. He did not believe in the modern foolishness of treating woman as equals of men, even though they were educated. But he knew that, due to adverse circumstances, Suparnā was no longer in his power. To get her back once again meant a lot of trouble in many directions. His father-in-law too was not a good man ; he would never help Shribilas. He would rather let his daughter go astray, than send her back to her husband. Shribilas did not believe that educated women, especially lady doctors, could ever keep their character. He must rescue her somehow.

In answer to Suparnā's words, he said, "You have received good education, yet you speak unreasonable words. All Hindu girls are married in the same way, as you were. They never choose their husbands themselves. But do they cease to be husbands and wives, for all that ? The law recognizes their union, so does society. You were married at the age of eight, after that you spent five years under my roof as my wife. Still do you mean to say that our marriage was no marriage at all ?"

"Yes, I do mean to say it," said Suparnā. "A ceremony in which I had no choice, no voice, no option, does not mean anything to me. Legally, of course, you may call me married. Our Hindu law is such that even if the husband is a tiger or a snake, the girl has no means of escape from it. But the law can at worst punish me, it cannot force me to live as your wife."

Shribilas had not thought that matters would arrive at such a pass. He was not prepared for such determined opposition. He had thought that Suparnā would shed tears or use abusive words, that would be about all. But this was a real declaration of war.

"You are speaking in anger," he said, "and not trying to see beneath the surface. You are justified in being angry, I do not deny that. You did not live a happy life in our home. I myself was a mere boy then, and could not say a word for you. But now things have changed. You shall be the mistress of the household, your word shall be law. My sister is prepared to go away to Benares, after she has seen you settled at home. Then why do you object ?"

Suparnā smiled bitterly. "I object," she said, "because I can never give you the love and respect due to a husband. It is impossible for me to live as your wife."

"You think it impossible now, but your mind may change afterwards," said Shribilas. "Love and respect grow gradually, from living together. Love at first sight is nonsense. You confine it only in English novels. We have no use for it."

"I don't want to live with you," said Suparnā. "I have no intention of staying on here indefinitely, absenting myself from the college. I shall leave for Delhi very soon. I came here simply to settle matters once for all, with you. You know my mind now. I hope you will not pester me again."

Shribilas was not going to give up so easily. He now tried to rouse her pity, and became quite sentimental. "I shall never give up hope till the end of my life," he said. "If I could do so, why have I not married again, all these years ? My mother had told me again and again to marry."

Suparnā's lips bore the trace of a smile again. She repressed it and said. "You may marry with a clean conscience. That would be the best arrangement."

"I am the best judge of that," said Shribilas. "Do you think, you can live alone, like this, all your days ? No woman can ever do that, be she as educated and free, as you like. You cannot marry again, as Hindu law does not sanction divorce. What are you going to do ?"

"That's my business," said Suparnā. Shribilas got up and said, "I shall come again, day after tomorrow. I give you these two days to think things over again."

(*To be continued.*)

ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATION IN INDIA BY FOREIGNERS, AND INDIA'S NEEDS

By "INDIA FIRST"

OUR leaders and politicians are so very busy with the strictly political and economic questions that the cultural side of our national life is very sadly neglected by them. No one seems to understand the implications of the various measures proposed and passed from time to time, no one gives a thought to their ultimate effect on the intellectual life of the country. Decisions which adversely affect the interests of India as a people are allowed to pass unchallenged Certain recent measures in connection with archæological excavation work in India are a case in point.

All civilized governments look upon the proper study and preservation of the archæological antiquities of the country as a most important duty It was owing to the enlightened interest of the late Lord Curzon when he was Viceroy and Governor-General that the Archæological Survey of India was instituted as a department of the Government of India For the last thirty years, this inconspicuous but none the less useful branch of public service has done service of inestimable value in unearthing the records of the past by excavation, and in preserving the ancient monuments of India, which are among our greatest heritages from the past. The department has given us back Taxila and Nalanda, Sarnath and Paharpur, Sravasti and Kusinagara, Bhita and Mahasthan, and scores of other centres of culture in ancient India; it has preserved for humanity Sanchi and Ajanta, Ellora and Mahabalipuram, the Taj Mahal and the Gol Gumbaz ; and it has opened up new vistas in the earliest history of India by giving us Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa, Adittanallur and Nal. It trained a band of European and Indian scholars in excavation and field-work who have raised high the fame of India in antiquarian research—men like Sir John Marshall, Drs. Vogel and Spooner, and Messrs. D. R. Bhandarkar, R. D. Banerji, Dayaram Sahni, Ramaprasad Chanda and others.

The sum allotted to the Department has been so far meagre, and it just enabled it to carry on its essential work somehow. Officers of the Department continued excavations in some of the most important sites, and their labours were made known to the world in monographs. The epigraphical records also continued to be studied and published—and there was ample co-operation from outside scholars in this matter. But from the Great War onwards the cry was 'economy' and 'still more economy'; it meant greater and greater curtailment of the Department's activities, so that at the present moment its most important work is at a standstill.

The Government will not spend any money on excavation work, although scores of most important sites which have in their bosom the secrets of India's past are crying for attention. Its responsibilities in this matter are passed on to others, and on terms and conditions which are sure to make the Indian people great losers. Foreign learned bodies, from the different countries of Europe, from America, and possibly also from Japan in the not distant future will be allowed to do excavation work at suitable sites. The conditions held out for them, which have been approved by the Indian Government, are remarkably liberal. The antiquities discovered by excavation work are to be liberally allowed to be taken away by the foreign explorers, as the Government of India thinks that these foreign explorers should get an adequate return for the money spent by them. Thanks to this beautiful arrangement by

the Indian Government, we shall be selling our birthright for a mess of pottage.

Of the countries interesting or important archæologically, there are Italy, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan, Chinese Turkistan, Egypt, India, Indo-China, Java and China, and Mexico, Central America, Peru and Bolivia. Of these, Italy does not allow any foreign group to do any excavation work ; and Indo-China and Java being under the French and the Dutch respectively, these two powers do the necessary archæological work there, and there is no scope for any other foreign nationals to work there. With Italy, it is a matter of conscious pride with which they do their excavation work, and they now jealously guard their antiquarian treasures. France and Holland have done archæological work most efficiently and have conserved the antiquities of Indo-China and Indonesia in a most admirable manner: and for this we in India have reason to feel grateful to them, for they have given back to the world the Greater India of Indo-China and Indonesia! The other countries—Greece, Turkey, Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan, China, and Egypt, as well as Mexico and the other American countries, have allowed one or more foreign bodies—French, English, German, Italian and American—to do archæological excavation work. **Of these, while Iraq, Persia and Egypt and Mexico have been particularly careful in the matter of the conditions under which foreign institutions are allowed to work, Greece and Turkey do not allow any antiquities to go out of the country.**

Even in mandated territories like Syria and Palestine, which, being under the administrative control of the French and the British respectively, are more liberal in their Antiquities Laws than independent or semi-independent nations, the right of the Government to claim all objects required for the scientific completeness of the museums of the country or for the illustration of art and history is unequivocally safeguarded.

The Government of India, on the other hand, in throwing open for the first time the field of exploration to outsiders, seem more anxious to allay the fears of foreign financiers of archaeological expeditions than to ensure the development of the national collections in the country.

We are to remember that the foreign nationals coming to do archæological excavation work in Indian soil do not find themselves, unlike the earlier group of archæological workers in Egypt, Greece, Turkey and elsewhere, among a people whose intellectual or educated classes do not understand or do not care for the antiquities and past history of their country. It was possible, perhaps allowable, to take away antiquities from Egypt and Turkey, and Greece, as well as Central Asia, in those days as neither did the Turkish and the Chinese Governments care, nor was there any indigenous study of the antiquities of their land among the Arabs of Egypt and Syria, Palestine and Iraq, and among the Greeks, and the Turki people of Central Asia ; and there were ignorance and fanaticism which took pleasure in destroying what was not understood. But in India the question is entirely different. There is native Indian scholarship, and there is native Indian pride in the ancient history and culture of India. Merely because the Government has not the money, we should not issue a *carte blanche* to foreign nationals. We should be at least as strict as Greece, Turkey and Egypt.

The tendency everywhere is—to prohibit the foreign excavators from taking away any antiquity discovered in the course of their labours unless they are strict duplicates, and are allowed to be taken away by a national board of antiquarians and historians. The question of the expenses incurred by these foreign bodies is quite beside the point. The objects found are national heirlooms, and they must be treated as such, and except for strict duplicates, they must remain with the nation.

The foreign group, of course, has the prior right of publication on their discoveries and on their finds, and that in itself is or ought to be, the main reward.

The task of making a proper selection and equitable distribution of antiquities and the granting of permits for export of antiquities is in all countries assigned to the head of the Antiquities or Archæology Department, who is in some countries assisted by an Archæological Advisory Board, on which the principal cultural and antiquarian interests of the land are represented. For a country of the size of India, it would certainly be more essential to have a similar Board than to entrust on a single individual the sole responsibility on such vital matters as the retention and export of national heirlooms. In Siam, for instance, not a single object of ancient art and craft is permitted to leave the country unless it is inspected and allowed to be done so by the Archæological Department of the country which affixes its seal on the article, to be inspected at the frontier.

It is understood that an oriental society from America have got permission to excavate a site near Mohen-jo-Daro. We should be circumspect from now. Countries like Iraq and Egypt, Mexico and Peru were careless in the matter as there were no indigenous scholarship to take charge of these things. Now they are taking to these studies and they are tightening up the screw: no more free field for foreign excavators. There

are Indological Institutions in plenty in India, and it should be considered their work primarily to excavate the old sites. Money must be found for that.

The conditions under which foreign institutions are to be allowed licences to excavate in the soil of India should not be more lenient than those under which Greece, Egypt and other lands allow such excavations.

In the interests of India, the following conditions should be rigidly insisted upon:

(1) All excavation work should be controlled by the Government of India directly. A competent and well-qualified official of the Indian Government must be always present at the site where foreign excavators are working. This official will check all the work when in progress and keep an inventory of all finds. This is done in Greece and some other countries.

(2) Objects found by excavation are not to be taken out of the country. Only duplicates, approved by a Board of Experts consisting of Representatives of the Archaeological Survey and the Universities and select Antiquarian and Historical Societies, can be taken away by the foreign bodies undertaking excavation work. The foreign excavating body will have the right to publish first the result of their work together with representations of the objects, but this must be done within a stated time, say, two years.

(3) A small number of junior officials or probationers nominated and deputed by the Archæological Survey of India (in consultation with the Universities, if necessary) are to be given every facility for training in excavation work in the sites where foreign institutes are doing archæological excavation. Such junior officials or probationers are to be treated as scholars and officials, and their pay or stipends are to be paid from Indian sources, either from government or from other bodies, such as the Universities, Research Societies, etc.

Further, the Government should encourage the various Universities to undertake with the help of their professors and scholars archæological work at select sites, a thing which is done in other countries, Egypt included.

Indigenous Societies should always receive preference from the Government in the matter of licences for excavation this is the declared policy of the Government. But mere preference will not do. There is to be active encouragement and support, and even inducement. In India, there will be no lack of workers, there are plentiful first-rate scholars in history, and professors of ancient Indian history should be induced to take up the work of excavation as a part of their training.

All the above points are vital. The importance of the 1st and the 2nd points are apparent. Because we cannot find the money now, we need not barter away our most precious national heritage for all time to come. Actual personal observation or watching from a responsible officer will be necessary, to prevent as far as possible unwarranted removal of antiquities. The 3rd point is also exceedingly important for the future of Indian scholarship and trained field-work in archæology. **The Government has curtailed all excavation work. Foreign learned bodies will now increasingly take the place of the Government in this matter. If these do not afford Indian scholars opportunity for field-work and practical training, it will mean that in a decade or so there will not be a single Indian within the Archaeological Survey or outside it who will be able to claim any training or active participation in excavation and field work.**

This is something which all those who have a vision of India's growing requirements in learning and science cannot view with equanimity.

Of late the Government of India has neglected the training of young Indian scholars as practical field archæologists. With the exception of a few scholars like Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Mr. M. S. Vats and Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the Department has no other practical field-workers, and there is none in training. Mr. H. Hargreaves, when he was Director-General of Archæology, appointed four young Indian scholars as archæological apprentices—Messrs. K. G. Goswami, L. Narasimhachari, M. Rahim and S. S. Sarkar. They were actually learning excavation work in various sites. It is be regretted that Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, when he came to office in 1931 as Director-General, dismissed these young scholars on grounds of economy. **The result has been that since then, no Indian scholar is getting any training for field-work in the future.**

And this will mean that for years and years to come, until some new arrangement is made to train Indians in the line, excellent work, such as that done by Mr. N. G. Majumdar in exploring some twenty previously unknown pre-historic sites of Sindh (which forms the subject of a recently published monograph), will be beyond the scope of Indian scholarship, although the country is full of such pre-historic and historic sites.

It is not yet too late. We urge upon the Government to weigh the objections to its present decision with regard to the very liberal terms, explicit and implicit, granted to foreign bodies doing excavation work, objections which have been noted above. Will not our Assembly Members be a little wide-awake, and bring about the proper legislative remedy?

DR. TARAKNATH DAS IN WASHINGTON

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

I think readers of *The Modern Review* will be glad to learn that Dr. Taraknath Das has been assigned an important position in the Faculty of Washington University, in our national capital city.



Dr. Taraknath Das, A. M., Ph. D., Lecturer on Oriental Politics, Department of Politics, Washington University, Washington, D. C.

This picture was taken in the University campus while Dr. Das was out from his class-room.

Dr. Das came to this country from India as a student, and has carried on his studies in two or three of our universities, obtaining the degrees of B. A., and Ph. D. He has written much for periodicals in America, Germany, Japan and India, and is the author of three valuable books, namely, "Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes", "Ideals of Rabindranath Tagore" and "Great Britain in World Politics",--the latter published in the German language as well as in English.

During the past three or four years he has travelled and studied in Germany, France and Italy, where he has done much to secure the establishment of scholarships in the universities of those countries for Indian students; and in other ways to promote cultural relations between the people of Germany, Italy and France and the people of India.

Dr. Das has now returned with his family to America, where he expects again to make his residence. His Chair in the Faculty of Washington University is that of Lecturer on Oriental Politics,--a position which will enable him to exert much influence in university circles, and also much with national officials and the general public

I have before me as I write reports of two public lectures recently delivered by him. *The Washington Herald* says of him editorially, "Our Washington University has designated Professor Taraknath Das, a man of wide practical and theoretical experience in world affairs, to be instructor in Far Eastern affairs. The choice is an excellent one." *The Washington Daily News* says of Dr. Das's appointment: "If the United States is interested in the Open Door in China and Manchukuo, it is equally interested in the Open Door in India. Dr. Das says, Indian Nationalists are against imperial preference, and want all nations treated on a basis of equality in Indian commerce. India should have her own representatives in Washington, just as Ireland and Canada have."

There are few Indian scholars and thinkers

in America or Europe who are doing so much for their country,—to make known her great past, the value of her civilization and culture and the justice of her struggle for freedom —as Dr. Taraknath Das.

October 20, 1934.

AN INDIAN EXPERT IN COLOURED WOOD-CUT PRINTING

It is now nearly thirty-five years since the Modern School of Indian Art was founded by Abanindranath Tagore. After the school had been at work for more than a decade, it was felt that printing for the purpose of reproduction of the happiest specimens of art was very much needed. The first attempts at such reproduction were made through halftone printing, which, however, in those days was too crude to retain any of the strength and delicacy of the original paintings. The meagre value of such executions from the artistic point of view set the pioneers to look beyond the eastern seas for the reproduction of paintings. It was increasingly being realized that the art of printing should be developed in India. Four years back Mr. Biswarup Bose of Santiniketan, the son of Mr. Nandalal Bose, was sent on to Japan with the express object of learning artistic coloured wood-cut printing (chromoxylograph). He has now returned to India after having completed his course of training under the eminent artists of Japan.

A word now about the nature and course of training which Mr. Bose has gone through. The Kokka Publishing Company is well known throughout the world for the distinct contribution it has made to art by elevating coloured wood-cut printing to a level of excellence. Mr. Bose was attached to this institution for three years. He studied during his stay in Japan the arts of wood-cut and colour painting and the result has been splendid. The artist has to be congratulated on his achievement.

Coloured wood-cut printing is a process involving three distinct hands—the designer or the artist, the engraver or wood-cutter and the printer. Mr. Bose has done well in combining in himself all the three persons involved in completing the cycle of the designer, the block-cutter and the printer. He is conversant with the technique and the skill of all the three. The artist under whom Mr. Bose had the privilege of working is J. Murayama. He was also trained by U. Hirachka in modern wood-cutting. So far as designing is concerned Mr. Bose had the singular honour of coming into contact with no less an artist than Arai Kampo, who took a kindly interest in him.

Besides, there are certain other crafts which are not in any way connected with wood-cut printing, which he has taken great pains to learn. Brushmaking is important inasmuch as the excellence of the painting depends very much on the quality of the brush, which Japan



Mr. Biswarup Bose

has improved to a very high degree, and India does not supply good brushes. Picture-mounting is no less important as much of the beauty of paintings is lost owing to the inartistic and crude mounting of them. S. Ibachi has taught him brushmaking and I. Khato picture mounting. The system of Japanese roll-mounting (Kakemono) has a great future in India inasmuch as the artists and art-lovers find it very easy and convenient by this means to preserve paintings in a very good condition.

This last circumstance brings us right into the significance and importance of coloured wood-cut printing in India. The original paintings of the eminent artists of modern India are too expensive for the general run of admirers to possess. Reproductions which by their artistic qualities retain the rare effects of the originals are certainly a great boon to the nation. Art, moreover, confined to the appreciation and possession of the few, can never have that character of universality and inspiration about it which alone can make it a power, making for the highest realization of self. Art, confined to a few, is destined to wither and decay.



Advertisers from :—a reproduction by: Mr. Biswarup Bose

In view of these considerations Mr. Bose, with the help of his father Mr. Nandalal Bose, has decided to organize a school of training on the lines in which he has himself been trained. The centre of his activities is at present Santiniketan where, in an atmosphere of artistic creations, he has already been working quietly ever since he came back in September, 1933. He has already turned out two important prints, one of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore and the other of Mr. Nandalal Bose. His programme of work will consist in taking in a number of students at Santiniketan and seeing them through a definite course. It is expected that students of art will not miss the opportunity of availing themselves of this new development in the line of art, which is so full of possibilities

COMMENTS AND CRITICISM

"Bengali Quotations in Nagri Type"

THE EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

Sir,

Allow me to lodge my humble but none the less strong protest against your discarding the Bengali in favour of the Debnagri script in printing Bengali words in the articles in *The Modern Review*, while the *Prabasi*, also owned and edited by you, is printed, and properly so, in Bengali characters. I do not know if the majority of the readers of *The Modern Review* are more familiar with the Debnagri than with the Bengali alphabet; it is not likely, I suppose.

In the article "An Aspect of Mahatma Gandhi's Greatness" in the November issue of *The Modern Review* the quotations from Chaitanya Charitamrita, Maddhyalila and Chaitanya Bhagabat, Adikanda are printed in Debnagri, but the names of the two books as well as of Bhagabat Puran are transliterated and printed in Italics. If the names of the Bengali books can be transliterated why not the quotations from them ? And transliteration, to be intelligible to those not knowing how written Bengali words are actually pronounced, must be phonetic.

I may add that in the article the Bengali letter CHA is transliterated by CH in some places and by C in others.

136 Cornwallis St., Calcutta. B. Ganguli
18-11-34.

EDITOR'S NOTE : The quotations referred to were given in Nagari types as non-Bengali Indian readers of *The Modern Review* exceed Bengali readers in number. But it is admitted that transliteration in Roman script would have been convenient to *all* readers of this journal, Indian and non-Indian, as they all know this script.—*Ed.*, M. R.

Did Firdausi Write a Poem on Yusuf & Zuleikha ?

Mr. Mam Chand Sandilya writes :

"In the last sentence of your note on Firdausi you say he was also the author of Yusuf and Zuleikha. This is incorrect."

In reply we refer the writer to Chambers's Encyclopaedia, new edition, 1924, vol. iv, p. 658, article Firdausi, where it is written : "He was the first, apparently, to compose a poem on the wife of Potiphar and Joseph, under the title of *Yusuf u Zulaykha*, a subject which has been a great favourite with many later poets, Turkish as well as Persian."

In the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edition, also, vol. x, p. 398, article Firdausi, it is stated :

"Firdousi composed another poem of 9000 couplets on the theme borrowed from the Koran of the loves of Joseph and Potiphar's wife—*Yusuf and Zuleikha*. This poem, though rare and little known, is still in existence -the Royal Asiatic Society possessing a copy."—*Editor*, M. R.



From a woodblock reproduction by Mr. Biswarup Bose

PLAYMATES
By Nandalal Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Mrs. Kamala H. Jamkhandi, B. A., B. T., T. D. (Dub) of Karnatak took her Training course in the University of London Institute of Education both in theory and practice. She passed the Practical Examination of the Teachers Syndicate of the Cambridge University and also got the Higher Diploma in Education of the Dublin University She took the short course of the Montessorie Method in London under Madame Montessorie's personal supervision. She was the Honorary Secretary of the Women's health Union in Bijapur, a member of the working committee of the Karnatak Teachers Association, and also a member of the working committee of the All-India Teachers Association.



Mrs. Kamala H. Jamkhandi

Rani Phulkunwari of Sherkot presided over the eighth annual session of the Oudh Women's Conference, held at Lucknow, recently.



Rani Phulkunwari of Sherkot

A few months back a group of twenty women students and teachers went on an educational tour in Europe. Their programme was almost complete with all its sight-seeing, pleasure trips, visits to university centres and other diverse places ranging the League of Nations Headquarters to the Vatican, from Oberammergan and the Passion Play to Strat-ford-on-Avon, from Versailles to the slums of London. In its social aspect the tour included interviews with world-famous personages like the Pope and Signor Mussolini.

The group toured in Italy for over a fort-night. They have said on their return that the priceless treasures of art in her churches and museums transported them to a land of dreams as it were—so great was their spell. Of their interview with Mussolini they have said :

"He spoke to us in English, not very fluently but extremely cordially, said he had made some study of India's great past, of her philosophy and thought and of her wonderful civilization. To-day he was watching with close interest her progress and aspirations. He had had an

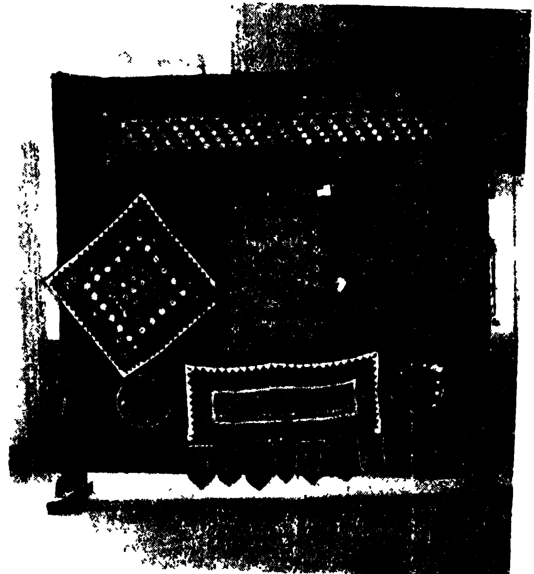
The Indian lady students received by Mussolini

opportunity of meeting Indian students at the Oriental Students' Conference in Rome last Christmas, and now he was very pleased to welcome a party of Indian women to his country.

"A short informal response was made to his speech. Meanwhile the photographer in the corner was ready with his camera focussed, so Signor Mussolini asked, 'Is it your wish that you make a photograph with me?' and laughed heartily at the chorus of 'Yes' and 'Most certainly.' He seemed to enjoy having the girls push about to group around him. That photograph will remain one of the cherished souvenirs of our tour."

From the 19th to the 26th of October last there was held in the Bombay Town Hall a Women's Swadeshi Exhibition of Fine Arts and Handicrafts, organized by the Gujerati Stree Sahakari Mandal. Mrs. Hansa Mehta, the chairman of the Art Committee of this body, writes in her foreword to the Catalogue of the Exhibition :

"Women are by nature artists and good craftsmen, So far they have flirted with arts and taken only amateurish interest in them. It is time women realized that arts and crafts can also be a good means of earning their liveli-

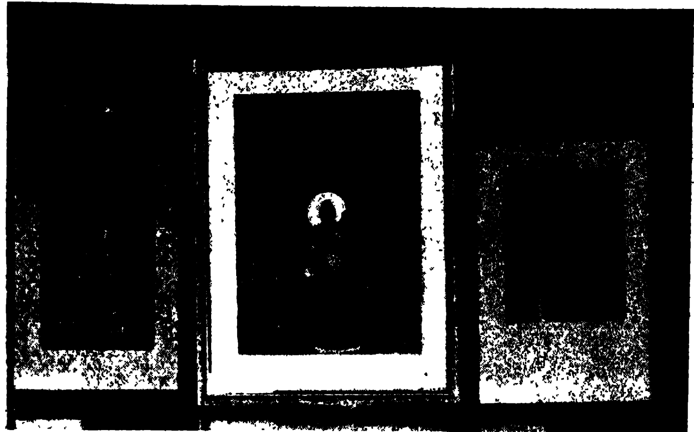


Needle work -Kutch embroidery

hood, more especially so when life economically is becoming more and more complex and more women are driven to earn their own living or to supplement their small family income.

"It was with the object of helping those women who have made arts and crafts their occupation in life, by securing a market for their work, and to show the possibilities of making arts and crafts a means of a new career for women that the Gujarati Stree Sahakari Mandal have organized this Exhibition."

The Exhibits were divided into four main sections of Pictures, Photography as Pictorial Art, Sculpture, Needlework and Handicraft and many sub-sections.



Left : Virahini—Miss Siodia, *centre* : Buddha—Miss Chouher *right* : The Dancer -Miss Suman Divecha

Sir Chunilal Mehta and the members of the Committee at the opening ceremony of Women's Swadeshi Exhibition, Bombay

The editor of *The Mode Re* saw the exhibits during his recent visit to Bombay and found them interesting and instructive. Some of the old specimens of handicrafts were simply excellent.



Photography : Kashmiri Girl—Miss Monorama Desai



Sculpture : Dipavali—Mrs. Jamuna Raote

Mrs. A. Latifi presided over the Panjab Women's Educational Conference held at Lahore, on Saturday, Nov. 3.



Handicrafts: **Painting on wood—Bhagni Samaj**



Mrs. A. Latifi

LONDON LETTER :

Parliament and India, Up And Up And Up, Government Defeats, Conservative Municipal Defeats, Labour's Municipal Triumphs, Warning, What We Should Do, The Loom of Youth, What the Official Figures Show, The Same Disease In Other Countries, Britain's Similar Plight, The Lie of Over-population

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

PARLIAMENT AND INDIA

PARLIAMENT met at the end of October after a three months' summer recess, and is to be prorogued at the end of next week. The Government is finding difficulty in getting all its work through in the time, and one imagines that it would have been better to cut a fortnight off the summer holidays rather than waste so much time on futile all-night sittings.

Even the House of Lords is becoming democratized by the presence of Labour peers. Their sittings are frequently more or less formal only lasting a few minutes and seldom more than two or three hours. This week however the Lords had a 12-hour sitting and their House did not rise till after 4 a. m.—a record for them.

The new session of Parliament will be opened by the King on 20th November when the chief business will be the Bill for India's new constitution. The Report of the Joint Select Committee should be presented to Parliament and published simultaneously in India about 21st November. But Mr. Baldwin promised that there would be no discussion of this Report in Parliament until it had been considered by the Tory Party Organization. This comes strangely from a Party that has constantly twitted the Parliamentary Labour Party with "dictation" from the Trades Union Congress.

The Council of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations meets on December 4th to hear Mr. Baldwin and to discuss the India Joint Select Committee's Report. It is expected that this meeting will last most of the day. On the same evening Mr. Baldwin is to address a political school for Conservatives on India. This school is part of the organization of the Conservative Central Office in preparation for the next General Election.

As I have said before, one can expect little from the Report of the Joint Select Committee. It is possible to predict further that their Report, from the point of view of India, will be even more reactionary than the Government's White Paper that they have had under consideration for the best part of two years.

The Government of India Bill cannot now be introduced into the House of Commons before next year, and it is doubtful whether it will reach the House of Lords in time for them to begin consideration of it before the autumn of 1935. As plans are at present laid, it is intended to have a General Election in this country certainly not more than a month or two after this Bill has been passed into law.

UP AND UP AND UP

Politicians have a way of coining unfortunate phrases that are apt to be used against them for a long time afterwards. Mr. Asquith's "Wait and See" is not yet forgotten. And our present Prime Minister, at a luncheon last week at which it was expected he would sketch in some detail the Government's policy and intentions, had nothing more definite to say than that the Government intended to go "on and on and on and up and up and up." Guy Fawkes day is just over and Guy Fawkes ought to be honoured by the present Prime Minister as one who endeavoured to send the Government of his day "up and up and up"! That inimitable cartoonist, Low, published a cartoon in the London Press showing the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, and Sir John Simon, in an aeroplane ready to go up and up and up. But the trouble was, as Low pointed out, that the machine had not got started yet.

GOVERNMENT DEFEATS

Members of the Government who are in office seem to have formed themselves into a Mutual Admiration Society and are so busy extolling to one another the virtues of the "National" Government that they do not seem to realize that these virtues do not exist outside of their own imaginations. The parliamentary by-elections are going against them. They lost two seats to Labour during last month—at Swindon and North Lambeth. In the latter constituency the Labour candidate won the seat with the highest Labour vote ever polled in that constituency. For every two votes caste for the "National" Government candidate, 11 votes were recorded against him. At Swindon there was a heavy poll. The Government put up a Rugby football international as their candidate. The electors were appealed to separately by Mr

Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Baldwin and Sir John Simon to return their candidate. And instead they sent back the Labour nominee, Dr. Christopher Addison. It is now being conceded that instead of its present 58 or 59 M. Ps. Labour may have 260 representatives in the next Parliament. If Labour opponents are willing to admit that figure, the probability is that it will be considerably exceeded.

Conservative Municipal Defeats

But it is not merely in parliamentary elections that the Conservatives are being badly beaten. The results of the recent municipal elections are nothing less than a rout of the Government's supporters. Labour now holds more municipal seats than ever before in history. By the spring of this year the electors had had an opportunity of seeing what so-called "National" Government really meant. In the London County Council elections in March Labour had a net gain of 34 seats and for the first time secured a majority in the Council At the same time, in the other County Council elections, Labour had a net gain of 112 seats and lost only 28.

Labour's Municipal Triumphs

At the Borough Council elections last week Labour gained over 750 seats in London and the Provinces. There are now Labour majorities in 20 County Boroughs, 17 non-County Boroughs, and 15 London Boroughs—which all looks as if the National Government instead of going on and on and on will go out and out and out.

The Scottish elections take place about a week later than the English ones. But there again the results are no less emphatic.

In Glasgow, Labour, with six gains, has now a clear majority of 14 on the Town Council. Motherwell, with three gains, has now its first Labour Town Council. Dundee records four gains for Labour, Aberdeen three, and Edinburgh one. In all Labour gained 36 seats in Scotland and gained absolute majorities in eight more towns.

The only people who do not see the significance of these results are the members of the so-called National Government.

Warning

In the hour of triumph wise men have always looked for portents of defeat. And it is well that in this moment of triumph in the local elections we should be careful of all that this new responsibility throws upon us as a Party. Labour's appeal to the electors in these local elections has contained many promises the fulfilment of which is bound to increase the rates. If within the next eighteen months as a result of the fulfilment of pledges Labour Councils send up the rate charges all over the country, then the National Government will have something with which to scare the country at a General Election. It would be a tactical blunder of the first magnitude if the Labour forces in the local authorities do not make the best of the situation that now faces them. A rise in rates is inevitable; and this, if not faced, will give the Tory Party and the so-called "Nationals" all they want in order to impeach Labour Governments.

What We Should Do

There should be an immediate National Conference called of all the Rating Authorities and the problem of rates should be the one subject for discussion. The Labour Councils should demand an entire change in the rating system—the extinction of this present system which levies rates upon the houses of the people and upon the improvements in every city. Instead, we should substitute a system of rating of the values of land.

With Labour's power now entrenched in local authorities, such a resolution could easily be carried. The next step is for the Labour Councils to promote immediately on the conclusion of this Conference a Bill calling for parliamentary powers to derate all houses and improvements and impose the local levies on the values of land created by the community.

I have no hesitation in saying that such a move would have the support of thousands outside the ranks of the Labour Party.

No doubt this Government might refuse to pass this Bill into law. In that event Labour can impeach the present Government with having refused to bring in such a change as would have relieved the dead weight of increased rates on all local authorities. It would place the Labour Party in an advantageous tactical position at the forthcoming General Election and place the Government in an invidious situation.

This cannot be too strongly emphasized, for clearly it is the purpose of the present administration to make the fullest use of the rating question and what they will be pleased to term "Socialist prodigality" at the next General Election.

The Labour Councillors would be well advised to discuss these propositions and to come to some conclusions as to immediate action.

The Loom of Youth

The most pathetic part of the present economic problem is the outlook for young boys and girls. The whole tendency of modern invention is to intensify production and at the same time to eliminate, as far as possible, the necessity of the human labour factor. This would be a great blessing if the enormous wealth produced by modern invention was justly diffused through the whole community. It would mean increasing the hours of leisure and reducing to a minimum

the necessary hours of labour. But under our present system the fruits of science and art are turned to the profit-making of the few, with no regard whatever to the spiritual and economic well-being of the greater part of human society.

The opportunities for the rising generation to find employment are becoming ever more and more restricted. And, added to that, machinery and invention are taking the place of the old crafts which necessitated the craft training that did so much to build the mind and character of the artisans.

This means that such opportunities as are open for our boys and girls to find employment are to be found in blind alley occupations, occupations in which no craft is to be mastered and no technical skill is acquired.

Other elements of the present economic problem of poverty are perhaps more menacing to men and women. But this particular problem of unemployed youth is at once the most tragic and most destructive that faces the country.

What the Official Figures Show

Take the figures in answer to a question in the House of Commons on the 1st November, 1934. The Minister of Labour, Mr. Oliver Stanley, stated that on the 24th September 1934, the latest date for which figures are available, there were 65,339 unemployed boys and 51,146 unemployed girls between 14 and 18 years of age registered at the Unemployment Exchange and Juvenile Unemployment Bureaus in Great Britain.

How any Government can calmly accept these figures and accept the situation as inevitable exposes to the full light of day the incompetence and futility of modern statesmanship.

In the *Times* of Tuesday, 6th November, there is a glowing account of the great development that is taking place in Germany as the result of opening up agricultural colleges and new land colonies for the training of youth. The remarkable change in the physique and technical adaptability of these young people has given the greatest satisfaction to those who are responsible for this innovation. But here in Great Britain we are hoping that opportunities will open for this increasing army of young people to be absorbed in industry. And at the same time the Government is pursuing a policy of restriction of production in order to keep up prices!

The Minister of Labour is looking for jobs for the unemployed while Mr. Runciman and Mr. Walter Elliot are doing everything they can to check new opportunities from being created. Were it not for the tragedy involved in these political manoeuvres one might be tempted to use them as the basis of the greatest pantomime ever written.

The Same Disease in Other Countries

Bankrupt statesmanship is characteristic of every country in the world. We have heard the apologists for Japan stating that her expansion in Manchuria and Korea is necessary in order to absorb her great population. But what are the facts?

For 250 years prior to 1850 the population of Japan remained constant at about 6,0[illegible] Since then it has grown to 65,000,000. [illegible] these figures it is argued that exp[illegible] is necessary. But modern teachnique in agriculture and industry has greatly increased the productivity of the earth and the people and moreover greater density of population increases productive efficiency, as Henry George pointed out long ago.

Dr. Nitobe states that Japan has still 4,000,000 acres in Hokkaido where 2,000,000 more could be settled and 3,000,000 more acres of land in the interior of the island for a million more people.

These lands are not developed for reasons which are obvious. Japan, like Britain, is hoping for a greater expansion on her purely industrial side. She is leaving her internal resources undeveloped and thus causing unemployment. At the same time she is expanding on to new territories at the risk of international war, under the plea that her pressure of population makes it absolutely necessary so to act.

Britain's Similar Plight

Seeking new territory will end in nothing but war and trouble. Other countries do not want immigrants. Mr. Stanley Baldwin, in 1925, appealed to Canada and Australia to solve our over-population problem by accepting 2,000,000 unemployed Englishmen as immigrants. The next day the Canadian Minister of Labour told Mr. Baldwin that he was sorry England had a population problem but that Canada had one also. Immediately after this pronouncement the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress supported the Minister's declaration by saying: "The fact that the Labour Department Records show a surplus of coal miners already in Canada should definitely give the quietus to those who seek to exploit the misery of British miners by trying to induce them to emigrate to Canada."

The Lie of Over-population

The statement that Japan and Canada are over-populated is just as true as when it is made with regard to Great Britain. We know that millions of acres of land in this country produce no wealth and thousands of them are retained for sports and estate display. We further know that if the land of England alone was opened up so that men could produce their own food, build their own houses, and make those things which generally gratify human desires, there need not be one unemployed man in the country.

Unemployment is due to causes which are inherent in every country and no manipulation of external relationships will solve this internal problem. Over-population is a lie and exploited by the vested interests in every country. But it is the success of this lie which leads one nation after another into the vortex of armaments, nationalist policies, and tariffs. And this finally can only lead to War.

8th November, 1934.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Censorship

H. J. Whittick, Editor of *The Wolverhampton Express and Star*, in his presidential address at the conference of the Institute of Journalists, quoted in part in *The Inquirer*, London, says:

To know that two-thirds of the world's people are under the iron rule of censorship must arouse in this free country the gravest misgiving. The position baffles description, and it is unquestionably a throw-back to the ages when men nursed their fears, trembled before oppression, and were afraid even of the thoughts which, by a divine dispensation, are given to each and all as the elemental function of humanity's progress and welfare.

The Press of the world must be entirely free. Official versions handed out to a muzzled Press become a dope. evil in its effects, leaving the victims a pitiable spectacle, because those in whom freedom of conscience has been implanted are left in a condition worse than that of the slave enchained.

We are suspicious of any system which admits of the persecution of opinion, the suppression of free discussion of affairs, or the dissemination of current news.

A World where Death is Welcome

The following editorial occurs in *The Christian Century*:

For years it has been the fashion to discuss whether another war would bring the collapse of civilization. As we view the Hungarian miners who imprisoned themselves for five days, holding death preferable to the attempt to keep alive on less than $2 a week, isn't it time to awake to the possibility that the war we have already fought may have destroyed civilization? Consider the picture: Twelve hundred men, working in a coal mine in Hungary to make profits for British and Austrian owners, reach such depths of despair that they say farewell to their wives and children, descend to the bottom of the mine, and announce that they intend to die there. For five days they remain, awaiting death in the darkness. Food sent by their families is refused. Negotiations attempted by the government are spurned. To the world the miners send this message: "We have decided deliberately to commit suicide if our demands are not met. Suicide by starvation in the heart of the earth is no worse than slow death by starvation if we continue to accept less than $2 a week. We are Hungarians. As such we hope that our countrymen may hear our cry of pity from the depths of the mine and from the depths of our hearts." At the last possible moment the company granted most of the wage demands and the men returned to life. But a world in which such an incident can occur is a world whose civilization is perilously near collapse.

Twentieth Century, the Age of Violence

It is no use deploring wars, revolutions and political assassinations unless we are honest enough to face the root causes of these evils. So the editor of *The Inquirer* proceeds:

Mr. H. L. Beales has told us that "the makers of history books have a way of describing past periods of human life by short descriptive terms," such as the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution, and he adds that unless things alter and alter quickly, the future historian will probably call our own age the Age of Violence. World war, national revolutions, political assassinations, and a fierce, insurgent revival of militarism in its darkest aspects in every so-called civilized community, fill the observant mind with a horrifying dread of what the morrow may have in store.

Thirty-four years ago, at the turn of the century it was confidently expected that the Twentieth Century would prove to be an age of steady social progress. The emergence of a spirit of humanitarianism, and opportunities for world commerce and travel had so vastly increased in the preceding decade, that there seemed no doubt that the coming years would see a rapid development of all the forces making for world order and peace. An ironical prophecy as seen in retrospect ! To quote Mr. Beales: "It is doubtful whether save in the rather similar period between 1815 and 1850, there was ever such a time when wars and revolutions were so frequent as in our day. At bottom, the same forces were at work a century ago as now. Wars and revolutions are not accidents, nor merely just outbreaks of bad temper. Ours is an age of violence because people are so moved by ambition, or so oppressed by what they feel to be tyranny or injustice, or so determined to control the things which spoil their lives, that they will defy the forces of law and order, face discomfort and even death, for causes they feel sacred."

It is no use our deploring such tragedies—it is, indeed, unworthy of us to deplore them—unless we are honest enough to face the background of social bitterness and conflict for which in some measure we are all responsible. Wars and revolutions would be very infrequent affairs were our world as well ordered as we know it ought to be. Our civilization is defective, and its machinery is not working properly, and the ugly, brutal deeds which again and again appal us are to be rightly regarded as symptomatic of diseases to be erradicated at their roots.

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India's Aspirations in the World

A meeting of the Committee of Delegates of the Confederation of Oriental Students was organized in Milan on May 5, in which Italian students were also present. Amongst others, Prof. Wadia spoke on the above subject, the

concluding portion of which is quoted below from the *Young Asia* of Rome :

The India of tomorrow is an India full of potentialities. In the past, India has welcomed and absorbed and even assimilated multitudes of races and peoples, even as your own Italy welcomed and absorbed Etruscans and Sabines, Lombards and Goths. Yours is the land of the palm and the olive and the vine ; ours is a vaster agricultural country, rich in minerals, fertilized by the smiles of the gods who have given us rivers and forests and rains. Left to itself, free to follow out its own genius, it can become to an increasing extent the market place of the world for the free exchange of commodities on a co-operative basis:—much more it can be the market place for spiritual intercourse, where the gifts of the spirit, unlike the gifts of material goods, can grow by being shared. Gandhi and Tagore, like your own Virgil and Dante, belong to the world. Europe has nothing to fear, everything to hope for, from a free and prosperous India. Imperial preference is a passing show—the accident of our British connections. On the bases of a free and equitable exchange, India has such an abundance of raw materials of all kinds, that she can part with them without becoming impoverished. But whilst we talk in terms of material welfare and prosperity, let us also remember that even matter and material prosperity ultimately rest on imponderables, whether we call them protons and electrons, or love and trust and mutual respect. Where these are wanting, the very sources of life get dried up, making for ruin and destruction. Our freedom we may be able to win for ourselves—but this freedom will not be worth possessing, if it is not accompanied by the good will and co-operation of the rest of the world. Italy has well been proud of its past, its sense of discipline, its gifts into the world of law and organization, and its heritage of art in its highest expression Your Duce only recently spoke of the civilization of the Mediterranean centred in Rome and resting on a basis of universalism linking East to West. Can I, in concluding, hope that the India of tomorrow, loyal to its old culture and traditions, may become also the meeting place of the East and the West, returning to Europe hundred-fold in the gifts of the spirit what it may have received, making possible once again on earth the city that is sit on the hills—the (civitas dei) ?

EAST and West

Mr. R. Nagaraja Sarma in a review article in *The Indo-Malayan Review* says :

"If East and West are to enter into a real partnership," observes Dr. Kenneth Saunders in his latest book ("The Ideals of East and West" by Kenneth Saunders D. Litt., Cambridge University Press. 10sh 6d.) "these great teachers must be understood by men of good-will to-day", referring to Buddha, Confucius, Krishna and others who have from time to time appeared during grave crisis in the life of communities and nations and preached the gospel of virile moral and ethical dynamism. Dedicated to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and to the author's own students Eastern and Western, this volume of Dr. Kenneth Saunders contains a brief yet illuminating survey of "The Ethics of India". "Ethics" of the Chinese", The Ethics of the Japanese", "The Ethics of the Greeks", "Ethics of the Hebrews" and "Christian Ethics" together with an anthology in prose and verse dealing with those systems. which being subjected to the control of the selective interest is made to reflect not merely the comparatively low level of ethical advancement at which the masses have often remained and become fossilized as it were, but also the exalted heights of moral and spiritual progress reached by the masters of thought. Greek and Hebrew systems form fountain-source from which Christian Ethics has been derived. Even so, the Ethical system of the Japanese has been derived from the Indian and Chinese systems. The author has thus attempted brief statement of the essentials of the Ethical systems of the Greeks and Hebrews, and of the Christian Ethics derived from them, of the systems of Indians and the Chinese, and of the Japanese system derived from the latter.

In the first chapter an account of "The Ethics of India" is attempted, the evolution of ethical theory and practice being marked off into three epochs, pre-Buddhist, the Buddhist, and the post-Buddhist. He believes that the Gita contains the finest exposition of the ideals of morality and religion prevalent in post-Buddhist India. Under three periods, the ethical evolution of the Chinese is summed up in the second chapter. Following Dr. Hu Shih, the Sinitic Age the Buddhist Era, and the Chinese Renaissance distinguished by the spread of the influence of Neo-Confucianism are the three landmarks which the author emphasizes. That Japanese Ethics has been moulded largely by a blend of Buddhism and Confucianism is made clear in the third chapter. After a survey of the Ethics of the Greeks in the fourth chapter, Dr. Saunders concludes that "Devotion to mean and to moderation led too often to mediocrity and monotony." "Hebrew religion and ethics " writes Dr. Saunders in the course of the fifth chapter, "rise to great heights and fall to great depths, and progress follows a zigzag path." Dr. Saunders has written the concluding chapter on "Christian Ethics" *Con amore*.

Broadcasting for Rural India

Lieutenant-Colonel H. R. Hardinge is of opinion that whatever be her political future, rural India badly requires some sort of enlightenment, so that the ignorance and isolation of the peasants may be minimized to a certain extent. He suggests in *The Asiatic Review* :

Wireless, a miracle of the West, can be of even greater service in the East, where scattered village communities live isolated, drab lives, and illiteracy predominates.

Whatever may be the political future of India, the rural population of that vast country is in urgent need of enlightenment, so that their lives can be made less drab and hard, and so that they can take their true position in the economic structure of the world. For the peasant is the backbone of India. He is the chief source and creator of India's wealth and greatness. And yet the life of the peasant is a precarious existence of primitive poverty, handicapped in all directions by ignorance and superstition. This state of affairs has long been appreciated, and the problems of rural reconstruction figure prominently in the records of administration in India. Much has been done, but certain handicaps have seemed insuperable.

Enlightenment has to be brought to so many people, speaking entirely disassociated languages, living in villages so widely separated that a large proportion

of the time given to a tour of instruction is eaten up by travelling from one place to the next. And these people are almost all entirely illiterate, so that instruction must be oral. Furthermore, instruction must be reiterated at frequent intervals, for by the time a lecturer has moved on to the next village, his lesson tends to be forgotten in the one that he has just left. It is generally agreed that a material advance in the direction of raising the standard of living of the Indian villager could best be achieved by a *daily* programme of instruction, devised by experts on essential matters of rural and individual economy, presented in a manner to appeal to the simple minds of the illiterate, and interspersed with items of general information and entertainment. And the essential factor is the regular, *daily* presentation of that programme.

This programme would seem to be the dream of a visionary, outside the bounds of practicability if only on the score of expense, requiring a colossal staff of trained men and a mammoth organization. But broadcasting that miracle of the West - now offers itself as the medium by means of which daily instruction can be imparted simultaneously to scattered villages in all directions, the voice of one expert carrying the message over an extensive area and penetrating to places where religious barriers or other factors, would ban the personal intrusion of the speaker.

Immigration to Argentina

The question of openings for settlers in the Argentina Republic has been referred to in the 18th session of the International Labour Conference, held this year. Dr. E. Siewers has prepared a study of the question, an extract of which is reproduced below from the *International Labour Review* :

In 1932, for the first time for forty years (leaving out of account the war period), there was an adverse balance of migration in Argentina, the number of departures exceeding the number of arrivals by 12,119. The measures taken by the Government of Argentina to reduce immigration and the restrictive policy of certain emigration countries supply part of the explanation of this phenomenon But the most important factor has undoubtedly been the agricultural depression, for migration movements in Argentina have always been immediately affected by the state of agriculture.

It is indeed difficult to see how a country of 2,797,113 square kilometres, stretching from subtropical almost to subarctic regions and possessing such a varied wealth of resources as Argentina, can be left to depend solely on the natural increase of its population for the development of this vast territory. At the same time, an immigration policy that is not based on a careful study of the real immigration requirements and the best methods of organization might easily prove disastrous both for the economic welfare of the country and for the immigrants themselves. The aim of the present article is to study the possibilities of immigration to Argentina at the present time, and the problem of land settlement as a part of the immigtation problem.

In the past the development of Argentine agriculture has been made possible by a steady influx of men and of capital, which have arrived by different routes and thus have often lacked the co-ordination needed for the efficient and profitable cultivation of the soil. Settlement schemes following a pre-established plan and combining the various factors involved on rational lines have been the exception.

Although the depression has reduced immigration to Argentina in recent years to a level below that of the departures of returning migrants, it seems probable that the country cannot in the future depend entirely on the natural growth of its population to people the rural areas. The Decrees passed in recent years for the restriction of immigration have all made an exception in favour of experienced agriculturists with enough capital to purchase their holdings, which shows that the Argentine Government holds this view. But experience shows that the mere control of immigrants at the frontier does not always ensure their judicious distribution within the country, for on the one hand fraudulent entry is comparatively easy and on the other selection at the frontier is no guarantee that the immigrant will remain in the occupation for which he is selected. The situation is quite different when the immigrant enters the country under a settlement plan in which labour, land, and capital are linked in an organic unity. The most desirable course would therefore seem to be to encourage land settlement as part of a policy of "planned" immigration. To draw up and give effect to such a policy will be quite as important a task for the National Land Settlement Department as turning the tenant farmers already at work in the country into the owners of their holdings.

Salesmen of Mars

Though peace campaigns have been pushed forward everywhere, the works of 'agents of death' are silently going on unperceptibly. The editor of *The Catholic World* throws some light in this direction :

Since we have drifted away from the senatorial investigation to the more stimulating subject of Death Merchants, let us cite a few more instances of their broad-mindedness. Chief of the murder-mongers is Sir Basil Zaharoff. The newspapers call him "Supersalesman of Death" He has or has had interests in Russian, Turkish, English, French and German armament companies. Zaharoff is a Greek (*timeo Danaos*), master of fourteen languages, intimate friend of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Briand and Venizelos in the days of their power. During the War he sold munitions "on both sides of the fence," was knighted in Great Britain, wears the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor of France and is fairly loaded down with decorations from other countries. He rather favours England, has a sentimental regard for Greece and in spite of his opposition to German activity in Spain, he had offered Germany a large private loan. In the story of his life fact runs into legend, and no biographer will ever be able to discover the exact line of demarcation. In his career truth is wilder than fiction more fantastic than legend. ..He has maintained super-regal palaces in half a dozen countries. Perhaps it is only legend that he is served at table from a solid gold service, uses spoons incrusted with jewels and that a fleet of aeroplanes is employed to bring to his kitchen delicacies from all corners of the earth. One newspaper syndicate writer has it that Sir Basil entertained "the colossal dream of forming a Near East Empire in which he could dictate to Europe, play off the Moslem against the Chirstain, control British and French oil, make and unmake world policies and be a hidden power greater than

any king." Be that as it may, it is no dream that the sale of arms and ammunition was the foundation of of his monstrous power and that he made his way to world renown over a hundred times more dead men than Nepoleon ever saw. When he passes on, perhaps a symbolic painting of him will find its proper place beside that of Bonaparte in that chamber of art horrors, the Musee Wierz.

But Zaharoff though supreme is not unique. There are other conspicuous representatives of industrial internationalism. Alfred Nobel, who by some freak of mad logic (or may it be a stroke of saturnine humour ?) has associated his name with the movement for peace, has dynamite factories or agencies in all parts of the world, from Sweden to South Africa, from Japan to South America I have personal reason to remember his association with South America. I happened once to be on a freight ship anchored off a small town in northern Chile when one of Nobel's fleet loaded with explosives came within an ace of crashing into us The boards of directors of the far-flung Nobel companies are composed, with a beautiful regard for international good fellowship (or if you prefer with supreme political sagacity) of Frehchmen, Englishmen, Germans and indeed, nationals of every country in which he operates—and we have seen his protestation that he operates in every one.

The "Merchants of Death" have therefore the only complete and efficient League of Nations. I have read in a newspaper article prepared for the Scripps-Howard syndicate that munitions makers attend the the Peace Conferences at The Hague because they find it a good place to pick up contracts for war material. It is no jest. Salesmen of munitions batten upon war-rumours, and where are war-rumours more rife than at a Peace Conference? A representative from Roumania, for example, is told in confidence that Bulgaria has placed an order for 100,000 rifles. Thereupon, naturally, Roumania places a bigger order. Very simple. And cheap, too, for the salesmen need not travel to every capital when they can find customers from all capitals gathered together in one.

The Majesty of the Law

Mr. Edward Podolsky in *The Commonweal* advances the theory that constant trifling annoyances of misadministration of the law bring about a disregard for it and induces the average man or woman to break it. He goes on to say :

One Of the most impressive laws in biophysics is that which proclaims that if constant irritation is applied to a group of harmless and properly functioning cells dire results are very likely to follow. A mole on the cheek will remain simply a mole on the cheek if it is left alone. But if it is subjected to constant rubbing and irritation it will become something more than a mole on the cheek. It will become a skin cancer with all the fearful potentialities of skin cancers to maim and destroy.

Not only do constant irritation and trifling annoyances lead to disaster in the human body, but very frequently the same thing takes place in the social body It is not alone disease and surroundings that make little criminals out of good people, and big criminals out of little criminals. The constant trifling annoyances of misadministration of the law accomplish the same thing.

It is very seldom one colossal error of the law which brings on the evil results It is the constant irritating effects on the average man and woman of laws concerning trifles that finally bring about disregard for the law. Contempt for the law is brought about by the law making itself ridiculous. And it is contempt for law which induces the average man or woman to break it.

In modern society the law is constantly making so many ill-considered moves that one cannot blame the average man or woman for loathing it. With the ushering in of the motor age almost everyone has been arrested for one traffic violation or another. It is not the traffic violation in itself which is responsible for making a scofflaw out of the average citizen ; it is the interminable waiting to pay the fine, the wholesale dispensing of justice, the cattle-like crowding of traffic courts.

The newspapers mirror faithfully the workings of the law. It marches majestically across their pages. We learn that it is not the dyed-in-the-wool criminal who is the object of cop-wrath and correction by the magistrate and other minor judges. Most frequently it is the law-abiding citizen who finds himself in the clutches of the law.

A Plea for Indignation

Mr. Charles A. Engvall writes in *The Christian Register* :

Before one works himself up into too excited a mood of righteous indignation over Nazi and Fascist tactics, it may be well to take another glimpse at the current American scene. Scarcely a week passes without newspaper mention of a lynching or of some act of racial discrimination, be it in a Washington restaurant frequented by Congressmen or in a Dallas hotel thronged by convention-goers

Before being shocked too severely by the Hitler purge, it may be well to remember that down in Alabama Negro men will probably soon be executed as a result of the infamous Scottsboro trial. Before crying down the doctrine of Aryan purity, it may be in order to examine the anti-Semitic, anti-Oriental, anti-foreigner dispositions that are present in our land of liberty.

Self-appointed vigilantes wrecking centres of "radicalism," as in the San Francisco general strike, are akin to storm-troopers crushing labour unions. Skullduggery abroad naturally provokes indignation and resentment, but these emotions are just so much more adrenalin unless they are directed into useful purposes.

Newspapers and radio commentators reveal little of this true vigilance in their treatment of strikes, which they deem "crimes toward society" or "violations of law and order." If the codes are unjust or unenforced, if newspapers are hostile, what else can the working-men do but strike? Fulminations about foreign agitators and anti-social behaviour do not penetrate to the root difficulty.

If one would be indignant, and there is much cause, let the emotion find piercingly intelligent and productive direction. Instead of dealing always in co-operation and toleration, the liberal church may well deal in indignation.

Democracy Since the War

At a meeting held at Chatham House, Prof. Barkar spoke on the above subject, extracts of which are quoted below from the *International Affairs* :

"Our epoch is not particularly gay, but it is passionately interesting. It is not a heap of ruins, it is a building-yard in which, to the sound of saws and trowels and hammers, a world is being erected."

The words are those of M. Joseph Barthelemy, in a work of the year 1931 on the crisis of contemporary democracy. They are encouraging, and they are true. No old Liberal—a species of which I am—an undesponding specimen—need beat his breast to-day. Much of London has been pulled down, It has all been rebuilt, or is now in the building. Much of the world has gone into liquidation. It will emerge from the receiver's hands A great and convulsive war was fought from 1914 to 1918. Such a war does not end in peace: at any rate it does not end in the peace which is tranquillity. If we said to ourselves, in 1919,

"Fair Quiet, have I found thee here,
And Innocence thy sister dear ?"

the answer we received was a blunt "No." But if we did not find quiet and innocence, we found a building-yard. At first it seemed as if the building was to proceed with an American rapidity of construction. In 1920 we might hope that the war to end war had ended in a League of Nations, and the war to make world safe for democracy had issued in a rich harvest of new democratic constitutions. Three Empires, all more or less autocratic, had perished: there were Republics in Berlin and Vienna, in Prague and Warsaw, in Kovno and Helsingfors. But a change seemed to come in 1922. The building was not yet done: and a new type of construction began to appear. If autocracies had yielded place to republics, democracies now began to disappear before dictatorships. By 1930 there was a serried series of these dictatorships. They were of different forms. One, in Belgrade, was monarchical, and another, in Angora, Presidential. Others, in Madrid and Warsaw, were military. A third form—exemplified, if exemplified very differently, alike in Rome and in Moscow, and exemplified in Moscow even before 1922—was the dictatorship of a party. Differing in the forms which they assumed, these dictatorships also differed in the ends which they sought to achieve. Some were dictatorships of the Right, others were dictatorships of the Left, and one—the dictatorship of Mustapha Kemal, with its mixture of sweeping reform and authoritarian control—might be said to include both the Left and the Right. Since 1930 dictatorship has vanished from Madrid, but it has entered in Berlin and Vienna. Some would even say that it has entered in Washington. But the President of the United States, by the terms of its constitution, is always a potential dictator, and when he is backed by Congress, or the country, or both, the potentiality becomes actuality, legal actuality. *Vixere fortes ante* Franklin Roosevelt. Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson were also dictators in their hey-day.

We seem to be confronted by a great and universal trend which sets against democracy. But we must not be too hasty. Even before we attempt this analysis, there is one thing which for the sake of balance and perspective, ought to be said at once. Whatever may be our opinion of democratic institutions, it would be absurd to maintain that the democratic spirit—the spirit of interest in general community problems, the spirit of general participation in their solution—has really receded in the last dozen years. On the contrary, there has never been a time in human history when, in all countries, the minds of men were more arrested by political problems, or more intent on debating and (if it be possible) solving these problems, than they are today. If the world is a building-yard, it is crowded with busy workers and thinkers. Many as are the "anvils and hammers working," they are not more "than there be pens and heads there sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and fealty, the approaching reformation." If, in a preliminary way, we may assume that democracy is a temper and a habit of free discussion of ideas—of free competition between ideas—when shall we say that there was more of that temper and habit than in these days ?

Prof. Barker concludes with the following statement :

We *may* lose the battle of parliamentary democracy in England for the time being, though that would not be my own prophecy. We *may*, short of that, have to modify the combination of factors which makes up our system of parliamentary democracy, though I see no particular modification which I desire, or even expect, except in matters of detail, such as the composition of the Second Chamber, the procedure of the First Chamber (which is at some points antiquated and cu brous), the methods of voting in elections, and other similar matters. But there is one thing which I believe will never be finally lost, in England or elsewhere, on a long-time view of the nature of political society and the necessary mode of its operation. The thing I mean is government by discussion—government by the free competition of different political ideas, by the process of debate between those ideas, by the method of adjusting competition and debate in a compromise which reconciles differences. No form of government can be true to the process of social thought unless it proceeds on that basis. My fundamental belief is a belief in government by discussion, free, patient, rational discussion. This to me is the highest form of democracy, when a free people, freely thinking its different thoughts, freely expresses them by different parties, freely debates them in a freely elected parliament, and freely reconciles them by the free interplay and co-operation of parties—government and opposition, cabinet and anti-cabinet—in such a parliament. Government by disscussion, by debate, by dialectic,, this to me is the true democracy, and it is a thing which is inevitable when the mind of man, duly educated to his high nature of a rational being, is acting in its true and inevitable mode of operation. You may say that I believe in government by dialectic rather than in government by Demos. I reply that the Demos to which I look forward will necessarilly love dialectic, the grand dialectic of public debate. "Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." So said Milton. I can say nothing better, or as good, and I have nothing more to say.

Beyond Our Senses

The report of the following amazing astronomical discovery by Dr. Abbot has been noticed in *The Commonweal* :

Supplementing the amazing discoveries of recent years that the dark spots in many parts

of the night sky. and particularly in the milky way, are not simply vacant holes in space in which occur no stars but are "dark nebulae" or groups of black stars, is the somewhat terrifying announcement on October 2 by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington that their scientists have discovered the existence of many death-dealing stars. The death rays of these stars would wipe out all life if they could reach the earth. They are prevented from doing this only by a thin layer of ozone high in the stratosphere. These rays would not produce a sensation of light on human organisims. The stars radiating them are literally too hot to be bright, having a temperature of 36,000 degrees Fahrenheit on their surfaces, a heat three times that of the sun. The greater part of their radiation consists of ultra-violet rays of very short wave-length. Virtually all of the blue-coloured stars in the night sky were found to be of the death-dealing type. Rigel, in the left foot of the constellation Orion, is an example. The discoveries came in the course of research last summer at Mount Wilson Observatory, California, by Dr. Charles G. Abbot, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and his assistant, I. B. Aldrich. New astronomical instruments of superhuman sensitiveness measured almost infinitesimal amounts of star radiatioms reaching the earth after years of travelling at more than 186,600 miles a second.

Why Japan has bought the railway

The Christian Century in an editorial observes:

Dispatches from the far east state that Japan and Russia have stopped bickering over the sale of the Chinese Eastern railway. Japan has agreed to pay 170,000,000 yen (about $51,000,000 at present exchange) and Russia has agreed to withdraw all soviet employees within six months after the bills of sale are exchanged. The sale price represents only about a fourth of Russia's first asking price, but it is an advance of 20,000,000 yen over the "last offer" which Japan made in midsummer. Consummation of this sale will help to quiet affairs in the orient, at least for the time being, but the motives which have led Japan to pay such a price for a railway she did not need should not be overlooked. That she did not need the C.E.R. can be demonstrated by a study of any recent map. From the economic standpoint, the C.E.R. has been so blanketed by other railways, rushed to completion since the Japanese occupation, many of them having more direct routes to important ports, that the old Russian line even under complete Japanese control is going to be hard pressed to pay its running expenses. From the political standpoint, troop movements to the border in case of trouble with the soviets will not be affected since the Japanese, in case of an outbreak, would have simply seized what they have now paid for. Then why has the railway been bought? For two reasons. First, the sale, nominally to Manchukuo, involves the virtual recognition of that puppet state by Russia. Second, by clearing the slate of land problems on her Siberian flank, the Japanese empire is now left with a free hand for the impending naval negotiations with Britain and the United States. Purchase of the C.E.R. is but one more indication of the determined spirit in which Japan is entering the naval negotiations and of the drastic demands which she means to present there.

Turkey's Five-years Plan

The following discourse by Mr. Wyatt on Turkey's attempts at economic expansion occurs in the *International Affairs*:

During the past few years so much has happened to absorb our attention in the realm of international relations and in world economic problems, and besides, we have been so concerned with the difficulties of our own country, that perhaps we have rather tended to lose sight of the changes, development, and progress which are taking place in any one foreign country. In any case it is no exaggeration to say that, with the exception of Russia, where the process has been very different, no country has undergone such drastic and fundamental changes as has Turkey during past ten years.

A bare list of them is, in itself, impressive :

The abolition of the Sultanate and the end of the house of Osman, after a rule of over 600 years, in favour of a modern form of government.

The abolition of the Caliphate, with its consequent effect upon Turkey and the whole Moslem world.

The sweeping-away of the Capitulations and with them the end of all religious, legal, commercial, and fiscal privileges for foreigners in Turkey.

The cessation of the international control in Turkey of Turkish revenues by the Ottoman Public Debt Council.

The exchange of populations with Greece, which, although it has involved temporary disadvantages to Turkey in skilled and semi-skilled labour, has brought about national homogenity and is making for national soliderity.

The abolition of the old Moslem laws, established for a thousand years, in favour of modern legal codes based upon the principles of Roman law.

The emancipation of women and the abolition of polygamy.

The adoption of Latin characters for the language, the adoption of the Gregorian calender, the twenty-four hours for time, and the metric system for weights and measures.

All this, and more has been done in a space of time which counts for a day in the life of a nation. It has been accomplished without revolution or bloodshed by a man who imposed his will on the people, as he judged for their good, and by a government which has obtained from Europe complete political, economic, and financial independence for post-War Turkey.

Of all these reforms, perhaps the emancipation of Turkish women is fraught with the most far-reaching potential consequences for Turkey. Let us think what this may mean for the coming generations, when we remember that the indolence and lack of business inclination of certain classes of Turk must have been due largely to their upbringing in secluded harems by women who knew little of the world and who were often illiterate.

To-day the better-class Turkish women are already tending to become more like their foreign sisters, and their influence upon future generations is bound to be very different from the past. Taking the long view, it is probably true to say that the biggest thing the Ghazi did for his country was the grant of freedom to his womenkind, with obligatory education.

Great strides are being made in the education of the people. Already there are nearly three times as many schools and nearly four times as many teachers and pupils as there were in 1913.

Is Dictatorship desirable ?

Prof. Benoyendra Nath Banerjea, M.A., delivered an address on "Political Significance of Modern Dictatorships" at the Presidency College. *The Vidyasagar College Magazine* published a few notes from the speech, from which the following is quoted :

The "closed system" of nationalism reinforced by the insane scope given to attempts to resuscitate 'economic nationalism' under the dictation of 'big business' has ushered in dictatorial rule in many countries. Even in England rule by Orders-in-Council, even to the extent of imposing taxes without the prior concurrence of Parliament, has become the order of day. The Roosevelt experiment again is no slight departure from the Jeffersonian ideals of democracy. "Gods or Bees"? —asks Mr. Leonard Woolf in a recent address. Do we want the rule of the queen-bee in the bee-hive or a society of men exalted in the Kantian sense to that of a super-man ? The political significance of the dictatorships to-day lies in what is likely to be the answer of the 'average man' to this question.

Asked as to whether he had given Athens the best constitution, Solon is reported to have replied—'The best for this city at this time.' But are the dictatorships even the best for their countries to-day ? In an inter-dependent world, the democratic ideal cannot express itself fully, if it is limited in scope within one or a few nations. The onslaught of dictatorships have hit successfully at the *morale* of the League of Nations. Nobody denies that if 'the real function of Parliament, as it is to-day, is to prevent anything being done by endlessly talking about it,' we have to recast it and explore the alternatives to the technique of democracy. It only betokens a rash mental attitude if we go back again to mediævalism in search of a short cut. The fundamental question is not whether democracy can survive, but whether we shall allow the very fabric of the civilization we have inherited to crumble or not.

Use and Abuse of Hospitals

Journal of The Indian Medical Association writes editorially :

Bureaucratic administration of state hospitals and need of the private hospitals for funds led to a number of unforseen results. There developed a system of partial payment by the patient for the hospital services he receives, appointment of so-called honorary medical staff, and indiscriminate medical service to many, who are perhaps able to pay for it.

The general practitioners are thus exposed to very unjust competition by hospitals and particularly the out-patient departments. A large number of general practitioners are, therefore, obliged to consider, if they should co-operate in improving the hospital administration or remain as indifferent as hitherto in order to safe-guard their own position.

More alarming, however, is the question of admission or rejection of a patient at the hospitals. It is a common practice both in State and private hospitals for cases sent by the Visiting Medical Staff and administrative authorities to be held to have a paramount claim for admission and in fact they obtain admission to the exclusion of local out-patients. Admission or rejection of patients at hospitals has thus passed into hands of Visiting Staff and they are not careful to prevent admission of unsuitable cases. The logical and increasing feeling on the part of the the public is, therefore, that the patients sent by the Visiting Staff have a prior claim to admission.

Evils which indiscriminate medical charity is undoubtedly inflicting not only on the medical profession but also on the public, can only be remedied, if provisions, as in the National Health Insurance Act, Hospital Contributory Schemes or Hospital Provident Schemes etc., of England, are made available in India.

We invite the attention of the medical profession in general to the increasingly difficult problems of hospital administration in all its aspects and would welcome general scheme of hospital grouping, construction, administration and policy.

Culture of Bengal

In an important paper on the above subject in *The Calcutta Review* Mr. Dhurjatiprasad Mukherjee, M. A., traces the history of Bengali music as follows:

The history of music in Bengal is interesting. We know that Bengal was not cut off from the main line of Hindustani music which had been repaired and reconstructed by the Moghuls in Northern India. The Kirtan was Bengal's own; we are not so sure about the Bauddha *Dohas*. Judging by the names of melodies affixed to old *padas*, one can surmise that some of them were sung in classical melodies. One possible explanation is that classical music borrowed these terms from folk-music. The alternative explanation is that the names of classical melodies were arbitrarily fixed on the padas. Modern Kirtaniyas, however, are of opinion that the padas were really sung in high style, and that its disapperance is due to the exigencies of chorus-singing. This is of course certain that Kirtans and Dohas are older than the Hindustani style. But we do not know their technique. We have it on the authority of Dr. Prabodh Kumar Bagchi that in a manuscript found in Nepal the names of certain Raginis are given. But, unfortunately, they do not correspond to the known melodies either of the Hindustani style or of Kirtan as sung today. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that the rise of Gaudiya-Vaisnavism, which is supposed to have been responsible for releasing the energies of the people of Bengal pent up since the Pala period, is fairly contemporaneous with the Muslim predominance in Bengal, as well as in Northern India It is equally historical that the music of Northern India started on a fresh and an amended

ease of life under the auspices of the Muslims, the Pathans and Moghuls of Delhi, the Shrikis of Jaunpur, and the princes of Gwalior and Gujerat. The likely conclusion is that the Vaisnavism of Bengal, disruptive and reformative as it was of Bengali society at one and the same time, was not above assimilating the melodies propounded or popularized by the Muslim princes. Even if the affixing of names from the classical style renovated by the Muslims was not an instance of assimilation, it was undoubtedly a courteous recognition of Muslim rule or a neat return for patronage The special point however is the process of assimilation in the mode of singing. The Hindustani classical style uses words primarily as lines to hang airs upon, the Kirtaniya plays chiefly with words and religious emotions. When words and emotions are dominant, the airs lose their purity at first, no doubt, but, later on, words and emotions clothe the airs, and a new style emerges. Its virtue is in the aptness of the fit. It evokes a new *rasa* just as much as two atoms of hydrogen mix with one of oxygen to produce water, a new substance. This merging of duality in the unity of a new *rasa* is the true source of the modern movement in music in Bengal. Yatra-music, folk-music, like Bhatial, Ramprasad and Nidhu Babu's styles down to Rabindranath, Atul Prasad and Quazi Nazrul's form one long series of attempts at the work of producing a new *Rasa*, the *Sangit-rasa*, which is neither the purely musical one of Hindustani tradition nor the mainly verbal one of chants, dohas, or recitations. The marriage of words and notes is a singularly happy illustration of the special feature of Bengal's culture, *viz.*, adaptability, and supports the contention indicated in previous paragraphs.

The History of words

The history of words is a very interesting reading. These extracts are taken from *The Twentieth Century*:

Let us, to begin with, consider the words *idiot* and *dunce*, and we shall discover something of the Greek sense of complete living and social responsibility enshrined in the one word, and something of the conflict of ideals and outlook in the age of the Renaseance reflected in the other. *Idiot* goes back through French and Latin, to the Greek "idiotes", literally 'a private person', from "idios" meaning 'private'. The Greek noun was originally used to characterize one who undertook no public responsibility; but, since participation in public life was to a Greek a necessary part of a complete education, the word came gradually, in Greek itself, to signify an untaught or uneducated person, a layman. Something of these Greek senses of the word survives in the English of the seventeenth century, severl examples being found especially in the works of Jeremy Taylor, who more than once brackets "ideots" with "private persons". But the word is now charged with a frankly derogatory signification; from indicating one whose powers were but undeveloped it has come to denote one actually deficient, a congenital nitwit. And this deterioration is itself instructive. The deterioration of words like *crafty*, *sly*, *cunning*, which originally implied skill and knowledge, illustrates one weakness in man: his proneness to turn his superiority to evil account. The deterioration of *wanton* and *lewd*, which too, at one time, meant no more than 'uneducated' 'unlettered', 'lay', but now connote lasciviousness, illustrates another man's proneness to slip from ignorance to impudicity, from lightness of heart to incontinence of spirit. The sinking in the scale of *idiot*, *silly* (once equivalent, like German "selig", to 'blessed', 'happy'), *simple*, *innocent*, and a number of similar words illustrates a third failing: our tendency to pass from condescension to more or less open contempt in our attitude to those unversed in the ways of the world.

The history of *dunce* is very different but equally informative. The word is, by a strange irony, descended from the name of the Subtle Doctor,—"the wittiest of the school divines," as Hooker called him—Duns Scotus. For, at the Revival of Learning, the Schoolmen and all their works stank in the nostrils of the humanists, and the hair-splitting of the Scottists in particular, who were dominant in the Universities, drew the concentrated fire of humanists and reformers alike. These champions of the old learning, these Dunsmen, as they were derisively named, had only Duns learning, which has mere sophistry; they were perverse obscurantists impervious to the new learning, stupidity was the badge of all their tribe. To the new generation a Dunsman, or a duns was incurably dull-witted; and, thereafter, one needed only the illogical logic of association to 'conclude that every common or garden dullard was a dunce.

I can here only suggest how such words from place-names as *indigo*, *silk*, *copper*, *cashmere*, *calico*, *lawn*, *damask muslin*, *worsted*, *Port*, *sherry*, *madeira burgundy*—I might go on adding to the number—tell of the currents of commerce and trade and industry; how words like *mackintosh*, *macadom*, *hansom*, *nicotine*, *guillotine*, *dahlia*, *fuchsia*, *shrapnel*, *gat* (*ling*), *volt*, *galvinism*, *mesmerism*, bear witness to the devices, inventions, discoveries, and scientific achievements of the past; how *sandwich*, *chesterfield brougham*, *spencer* bespeak, if nothing else, the whims and fancies of the individuals they commemorate and incidentally, the capriciousness of Dame Fortune, who has conferred a species of immortality on four noble lords otherwise worthy of being well and truly forgotten; how the word *derrick*, on the other hand, which is a noted hangman's name transferred to a hoisting apparatus, reveals not only the grim humour of which man is capable but also the democracy of language, which admits to its parliament of words a public executioner as freely as peers of the realm; how, *maudlin*, *tawdry*, *pantaloons*, descended as they are from the honoured names of Mary Magdalene, a popular Enlish saint, St. Audrey, and St, Pantaleone, the patron saint of the Venetians, illustrate the power of more or less accidental associations to give even a saint, so to speak, a bad name. And, of course, there is the lesson of *boycott* a word that has passed into several languages, and the not very different one of *lynch*, another word of international currency, which, whether an appropriation of the name of Charles Lynch, a Virginian Justice of the Peace, or of a locality called Lynche's Creek, belongs here. And if these words are shameful reminders of the passions that often move a mob ("mobile vulgus" indeed !), *gerrymander*, enshrining the name of Elbridge Gerry, Governor of Massachusetts who manipulated electoral divisions with a view to favouring his own party, and *burke* (meaning 'smother', though only metaphorically these days), which basely immortalizes the scoundrel William Burke, who carried on a nefarious trade in dead human bodies, making the corpses he needed by smethering his unfortunate victims, are two of a class of words that equally shamefully, and, one might add, superfluously, remind us of the cupidity and greed that often impel individuals.

The Choice of Text Books

Text Books are generally chosen as carelessly as they are written. Strict rules should be formulated to guide the selection committees in their choice of text books. *The Educational Review* writes editorially:

The great discontent which has existed in the matter of the choice of text books in various parts of the country is a matter well known to the public. Things came to a head recently in the Panjab, where the evils of patronage and canvassing for school text-books had become so serious that the Government had to appoint a committee of enquiry which has just made its recommendations. The committee recommends that an Advisory Board consisting of 27 members, nominated by the Ministry and subject to the veto of the Ministry in all matters should be constituted in place of the existing Text-Book Committee. The committee also recommends that the prices of books should be reduced and this task should be entrusted to a competent committee. In any one subject the number of alternative text-books for any one class or sets of alternative books for any one department of the school, primary or middle, should not exceed five and such books should be sent out for review by the Director of Public Instruction. The Director is expected to maintain a secret panel of competent reviewers for this purpose. These reviews are to be laid by the Director of Public Instruction before the Advisory Board. The committee further recommends that alternative text-books approved should be used in schools from the beginning of the academic year, 1937-38. The process of scrutiny and approval of text-books should be repeated every five years when books already on the list should compete afresh with the new books submitted for approval. It is desirable that these recommendations should be studied in detail by other provinces also, as no amount of care and attention can be too much, in a matter of this kind, affecting the interests of thousands of pupils and their parents.

The Ottawa Agreement

If the tree is known by its fruit, then it may be safely affirmed that the Ottawa Agreement has proved a veritable source of evil: it has neither benefited Great Britain nor the other members of the Commonwealth. Dr. Lanka Sundaram writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

There is only one test which ought to be applied to establish the fact that a trade agreement was beneficial to a country, that it was instrumental in rehabilitating her overseas trade. Judged from this standpoint, the Ottawa Agreement is a miserable failure. In the final balance-sheet of our international trade adjustments for 1932-33 we paid out for the first time during the post-war period. Our vast customary annual favourable balance of trade, which stood at a hundred and fifty-seven crores in 1925-26, was reduced to a *minus* balance of fifteen lakhs of rupees. If final figures are available for 1933-34 it could have, perhaps, been demonstrated that our overseas trade position is slightly better. It must be regretted that the Ottawa Agreement has not offered any real advantage to India. Dr. Meek's report is a depressing document, the main purpose of which was a sort of jugglery with our commercial statistics. When comparable standards of life and living are not obtaining in India today, any dogmatic apprisal of our industry and commerce must be deprecated.

The rehabilitation of our overseas trade particularly on the export side, which means so much for the restoration of the natural position of our national dividend prior to the depression, is our prime concern today. If the Ottawa Agreement has assisted us in regaining this position, all praise must be conceded to it. The whole argument of this article is that the Ottawa Agreement has decidedly not assisted us in regaining this position. When Canada, Australia and even Ceylon have destroyed the Ottawa Agreement, how long can India look up to this superimposed system of commercial dependency without demur?

Mr. Ranald M. Findlay writes in the same journal:

The Agreements with Canada and Australia affect Great Britain most. In each case the Dominions got big advantages. Foreign wheat, maize, meat, butter, cheese, eggs and fruit have all been taxed, to the advantage of Dominion producers. Over £200 millions of imported foodstuffs have become dutiable since the National Government took office and abandoned Free Trade, and the tendency is towards increased restrictions. Cadada and Australia have sacrificed little in return. Increased preferences to British goods have certainly been granted, but for the most part they have been effected by increases in the duties against foreign goods and the duties against British goods remain abnormally high.

In the two years that have passed since the Ottawa Conference there has been but a slight increase in inter-Imperial trade, and so far as Great Britain is concerned it has been secured, as was anticipated by Sir Arthur Salter, at the expense of trade with other countries. While it is rather soon to make a precise estimate of the gains and losses, the gains in inter-Imperial trade would not justify the Agreements ever if they were several times as valuable, for it cannot be doubted that these Agreements spelled the doom of the efforts that were going to be made at the World Conference to bring about reductions in world tariffs.

In another respect the Ottawa Agreements have proved unfortunate. They have stirred up all the latent jealousies existing between Great Britain and her Dominions, and perhaps a good deal of ill-feeling that has never existed before. The recent Lancashire boycott of Australian goods was an example. The amount of British goods affected by the Australian tariff increase was negligible. It was the principle of the thing that counted. A serious tariff war between Great Britain and one of her Dominions must be regarded as a possibility so long as these Agreements remain.

Nation-Building and the Critical Spirit

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has contributed a thought-provoking paper in *The Bombay Chronicle Special Congress number*. Part of it is given here:

In order that people should be able to get rid of some orthodox beliefs and practices, it is necessary that a critical spirit should grow up in our midst. And it is desirable that this spirit should manifest itself within each particular community. When at first it manifested itself among Hindus, some of those who

were critically minded became atheists, agnostics, or positivists, some turned Christians, some Brahmos. But gradually Hindu orthodoxy has lost its power and influence to such an extent that there is among Hindus quite a large number of men whose beliefs and practices are known to be heterodox. Of course, this state of things has been brought about by successive groups of critically-minded men and women bravely facing obloquy and persecution.

We know there are in the Muslim community, too, liberal-minded heterodox men. But they have not yet made up their minds to face obloquy and persecution to any very great extent. At present in the Muslim community, the most influential persons are the Mullahs and Maulanas, who issue *fatwas*.

For the birth, growth, conservation and increase of the critical spirit in our midst, we must look to a really liberal national education. It is only a truly liberal national education—not a sectarian orthodox educarion—which can give us unsectarian, liberal, national and international minds. The education given in our State-recognized institutions is not of an ideal kind; but still it frees the mind from shackles of various sorts. If the "National" institutions of various kinds can do better in this direction, they are welcome. But by "National" education Hindus, for the most part, understand an education with as much of Hindu orthodoxy in it as possible, as is proved by the celebration of the Saraswati Puja and other Pujas in many "National" institutions. Muslims also have their separate "National" "University."

But we shall never have a liberal, rational, national and international mentality unless we can shake off the authority of priests, dogmatists, theologians, etc., as such, in the fields of education and politics

Criticism of Hindu orthodoxy by non-Hindus, of Muslim orthodoxy by non-Muslims, of Christian orthodoxy by non-Christians. etc., is not so fruitful as such criticism by Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc., respectively. Criticism from outside produces greater friction and exasperation. Hence, the growth of the critical spirit within each community itself is necessary and desirable.

It is not in the fields of religion and social polity alone that a critical spirit is nececsary. In politics, economics, industry, and in every other field of national activity the critical spirit is absolutely necessary.

Chew Long Live Long

E. H. Risley, M.D., writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

The question, "What does the chewing of food really accomplish ?" might be answered at this point. First, the food is broken up, as already stated, into fine particles so that the digestive process of chemical character can be easily carried on. One of these latter processes is normally accomplished in the mouth The saliva, which is secreted by several glands located in the walls of the mouth cavity, contains a chemical substance which is called ptyalin. This product acts upon cooked starch, changing it to a sugar by the name of maltose. Starch, as such is not suitable to the body's needs, and must be changed to a sugar called glucose before it can be utilized. The process involved is one of the splitting up the large starch particles into smaller ones. Saliva does not carry the starch to the glucose stage, but it does bring it down to the maltose, which is only one step from the finished product, glucose, finally absorbed into the blood. The final step is brought about by another chemical agent in the small intestines.

When food is swallowed in large chunks or masses and the milling function of the teeth is poorly carried out, very little of the starch content of the food is converted to sugar in the mouth. Since starch is a large constituent of the diet, the whole process of digestion is delayed until the food reaches the intestine, where starch is again attacked by the agents of digestion there found; but the process will probably never be so complete on account of failure to use the milling process which the teeth supply.

Failure to properly chew one's food generally calls for excessive quantities of liquid to wash the large masses into the stomach. This large admixture of fluid dilutes the digestive juices to such an extent as to hinder markedly the digestive process in both the mouth and stomach.

Chewing increases the secretion of saliva, thus aiding the swallowing process, and at the same time gives opportunity for the saliva to act upon the starchy elements of the food, as previously mentioned. The thorough mixing of the saliva with the food will also allow it to act longer upon the starch even after entering the stomach.

Masses of food which are hard and not easily broken up by the digestive work of the stomach and small intestine may pass through the entire tract to the lower bowel, and there undergo unfavourable decomposition under the influence of bacteria which are constantly present in that portion of the digestive apparatus. The proper mastication of food has an influence upon the entire digestive proccss.

The Problem of Marketing

In *The Bengal Co-operative Journal* occurs the following :

In pursuance of the Government of India's Resolution of May 4, 1934, Mr. Livingstone, formerly, Marketing Expert of the British Board of Agriculture, was appointed sometime ago to conduct a 'big drive on the question of marketing.' Recently a *communique* has been issued by the Govenment of India which provides for the appointment of several provincial marketing officers, the inauguration of marketing surveys, the appointment of special committees for staple crops and also for carrying out work on grade standards. The scope of the survey will include the following : grading, market information, special organization for marketing of perishable commodities, planning of production according to quality and demand, regulated markets and produce exchanges, warehouses, transportation and export methods. The basis of study will include (a) crops—(i) cereals, (ii) oilseeds, (iii) fibre crops, (iv) plantation and special crops, (b) animal products -(i) dairy products, (ii) livestock, (iii) live stock products (hides and skins, wool, etc.). As soon as these market surveys are completed, a programme of development will be followed which will include demostration, propaganda and distribution of information, legislation regarding standardization and market regulation and promotion of marketing organizations.

The scheme is an ambitious one and the work ahead stupendous. One misses, however, any mention of the question of the esfablishment of regulated markets, without which the ryot can hardly reap the full benefit of all the preliminary study, spade-work

and propaganda. The Linlithgow Commission, it may be noted, observed that the establishment of regular markets must form an integral part of any plan for agricultural development. Mr. Livingstone has recently made some pronouncements on the subject. The reports of these, published in the press, do not indicate that co-operative marketing is likely to play an important role in his scheme. This seems anomalous in view of the reference to the need for co-operative marketing even in the Government Resolution of May 4. We hope that a study of local conditions will convince Mr. Livingstone that in India the ryot can secure the advantages of orderly marketing only if the co-operative machinary is properly developed and utilized.

Iron pillar of Dhar

The following is taken from *Tisco Review* :

The following is from a note on archæological excavations during 1932-33 by the Director-General of Archæology :

The Iron Pillar at Dhar, Central India, is one of those large-sized products of ancient Indian metal workers which have excited the unstinted admiration of modern metallurgists. It is now broken in three pieces measuring together more than 43 feet in length, and some writers believe that a fourth piece of seven feet in length has been lost sight of. The date and purpose of this interesting monument had remained uncertain, and the pillar had been assigned by some to as early a date as the Gupta period. This controversy is now set at rest by an inscription of the time of the Paramara King Bhoja of Dhar (A. D. 1018-60), fragments of which have been put together in Kamal Maula's mosque at Dhar, which occupies the site of a grammar school established by that king. One of the verses of this inscription refers to the setting up of a pillar to which could be tied the elephant of victory fettered with ropes in the form of the rays of the sharp sword of Bhoja.

The only pillar at Dhar answering this description is the Iron Pillar, and it may have been erected to commemorate Bhoja's victory over the neighbouring powers, including the Chedi ruler Gangeyadeva of Tilangana or Trikalinga. The Hindustani proverb *Kahan Raja Bhoj kahan Ganga Teli* appears to refer to this victory of Bhoja.

The Tata Iron Works

The same paper writes:

The following few facts will help our readers to visualize the magnitude of India's key industry :

(1) The Works of the Company at Jamshedpur are the largest and best equipped in the British Empire.

(2) Sixteen trains steam into the Company's Works *daily* bringing in raw-materials for the manufacture of Iron and Steel.

(3) Eleven trains steam out of Jamshedpur *daily* to distribute the manufactured products of the Steel Works to all parts of India.

(4) Nearly one-third of the total public traffic of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway is provided by the Company.

(5) The capital of the Company is contributed by various provinces of India including Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Burma, Central Provinces Panjab, United Provinces and the Indian States.

(6) Over 20,000 people hailing from all parts of India are employed by the Steel Company.

Early Hindu Colonization in Malay Peninsula

Dr. R. C. Majumdar writes in *The Indian Review*:

Actual remains of early Hindu civilization in the Malay Peninsula are not altogether lacking. Mr. Evans has described the remains of a Hindu temple and a few stone images at Sungai Batu estate at the foot of Gunong Jerai (Kedah Peak). Mr. Evans observes :

"Let us now consider what some of these specimens indicate. They certainly show that some early inhabitants of Sungai Batu were Hindus, and worshippers of Siva or related deities, for we have obtained images of Durga, (?) Ganesa, the Nandi on which he rides, and one of the yoni, always associated with the worship of Siva or with that of deities of the Siva Group."

Unfortunately it is impossible to assign even any approximate date either to the shrine or to the images. But the remains of a brick-built Buddhist shrine discovered in its neighbourhood, at Kedah, may be dated approximately to the fourth or fifth century A.D. on the strength of a Sanskrit inscription found in it. Similarly remnants of pillars which once adorned some Buddhist temples have been found in the northern part of Province Wellesley. These also may be dated to the fourth or fifth century A.D. on the strength of inscriptions engraved on them. Pillars of approximately the same date have been discovered also in the eastern side at Chaya, north of Ligor. Recently a gold ornament bearing the figures of Vishnu on his Garuda has been unearthed at Selinsing (Perak), and, in a hole left by the roots of a fallen tree, a Cornelian Seal engraved with the name of Hindu prince Sri Vishnuvarman, in characters of the 5th century A.D.

More interesting light is thrown upon the Indian colonization in Malay Peninsula by the large number of inscriptions which have been discovered in different parts of the country. These inscriptions are mostly too fragmentary to yield any complete sense, but they lead to very important conclusions. They are written in Sanskrit and in Indian characters of about the fourth or fifth century A.D. Two of them distinctly refer to Buddhist creed and thus prove the spread of Buddhism in the region. As to the distribution of the inscriptions, seven of them were found at Tokoon in the centre of the Province Wellesley, four of them in the northern part of the same province, one at Kedah, one at Takuapa, three at Ligor and one at Chaya, On the whole, therefore, these inscriptions clearly testify to the fact that the Indians had established colonies, in the northern, western and the eastern side of the Malay Peninsnla by at least fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The palaeography of the inscriptions shows that the colonists belonged to both Northern and Southern India.

Aryan Synthesis and Dravidian Culture

Prof. S. V. Venkaleswara writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Aryan talent for synthesis is evidenced by the incorporation of these elements. Baudhayana and Apastamba, among the early givers of sacred laws, relax the rigour of Aryan exogamy and permit cousin

marriage in South India, copying the Dravidian system. They also introduce new kinds of marriage; among them is marriage by capture, which is distinctly Dravidian. Burial was allowed to the Brahmins of Malabar, and was preferred in cases of contagious diseases like the pox. The dog was permitted within the sacred enclosure at the *Vaisadeva* rite. The prejudice against the use of mud pots died away and these found their way into temples and near images. Evidence of a duodecimal reckoning is found in the *Panchavimsa Brahmana*, with multiples carried 32 times. The Aryan and the Dravidian peacefully co-operated in the foreign commerce of India by sea. Some of the Indian exports had Aryan, while others bore the Dravidian, names assigned to them in India. If muslim (*sindhu* in Babylonian) and axe (*parasu*, *pilakku* in Assyria) belong to the former category, the peacock (*tchai*, *tugheim* in Hebrew) and rice (*arisi*, *oryza* in Greek) belong' to the latter. Lastly, the worship of the goddess crystallized into *Durga Puja* and *Sri Vidya*.

Aryan genius for sublimation and transvaluation of values is evidenced by the philosophical and symbolical significance attached to crude conceptions in iconograapy. One principle of Aryan ethics is the extirpation of vice or misfortune, not by combating it but by meditating on the contrary virtue or benevolence. The Dravidian Goddess of the Pox was therefore renamed Sitala (Goddess of Coolness); coolness in contemplation served to mitigate the rigour of the heat and dryness which is felt by the pox-stricken patient. To the Goddess of Divine Wrath, who was Dravidian, was attributed a mild and milky aspect as of the mother who appeased the hunger of Sambandha and Thayumanavar in Aryo-Dravidian hagiology. Aryan emphasis on the spirit and on the transitory nature of the body, relaxed the attention bestowed on the burial, as evident from a contrast of the simple burial of historical times with the meticulous preservation of the corpse in hermetically sealed earthen jars of the prehistoric period. Dravidian festivals were retained, but they were affiliated to the Aryan ones founded on astronomical or planetary mythology. Non-Aryan cults based on the phallus were sublimated into the encyclopædic system of rite, religion and philosophy known as Saivism. Dravidian scripture in the Vernacular (*Nalayira prabandham*) was recognized by Vaishnavism as a mere translation of the essence of the Vedas. The tantric cults were endowed with symbolic content and made to yield high philosophy.

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Education and Indian Life

In a thoughtful paper in *Educational India* Mr. H. N. Mukherjee writes:

The movement for all-round educational progress must, therefore, ally itself with a movement for fundamental changes in our social and economic system and attitudes. There must be a clear-cut social purpose behind our educational movement, for without it nothing worth while can be achieved. Our educationists often specialize in certain aspects of educationl work; their field of action is inevitably circumscribed—which, in most cases, is a good thing. But their vision is limited—which is a danger to be avoided. They would forget the relevance of their work to the wider problem; they would miss their affiliation to the general movement. On the other hand, there are many among our educationists who would pride themselves as practical men; they would check the zealots, the hot-heads, who are prepared to pay the cost of their work even though it may frighten away more timorous souls. But such practical men—and the specialist, as well—would slowly wrench from those in authority only a few niggardly, irritating reforms. They shall not emphasize the claims of the immense majority of our people, which has been curelly and persistently denied, in order that the social hierarchy shall not be disturbed. They shall never enlist under their banner men and women who will work with little thought for the puny interests of themselves and their class, but with the over-mastering desire of helping, in however humble a fashion, the building of a new society where the claims of all are not only abstractly recognized, but actually served. No present-day educationist worth the name would deny, if he was pressed to give a direct answer, that there is generally among teachers in india a miserable lack, even though it is understandable, of educational idealism. We cannot harness the idealism of our people to educational reconstruction if it does not go hand in hand with a radical transformation of our social, economic and political life. There must be, I repeat, a conscious social purpose in any educational movement that hopes to be really successful.

ERRATA

P. 641, l. 1 & 9. *for* Thomas Henry Buckley *read* Henry Thomas Buckle.
Pp. 645-648, *for* Marsailles *read* Marseilles.
P. 652, l. 5 from the bottom, *for* flower *read* flour.
P. 665, i. 47 & 48, *for* curved on bronze *read* carved in bronze.



WHOM WILL JUTE CROP RESTRICTION BENEFIT ?

By BHUPENDRA LAL DUTT

"RESTRICT your cultivation of jute"—this was the piece of advice thrust upon the Bengal cultivators from many a Congress platform during the hot days of non-co-operation. The elders refused to pay any heed to what they took to be inspired dabbling in matters economic by political demagogues. When the political tongue of the Congress was gagged, the economic tongue, too, was silent. But the Bengal agriculturist could hardly enjoy any respite. The Government of Bengal took up the cue where the Bengal branch of the Congress had left it. The agriculturist listened to the counsel of the Government with no better attention. The result has been expressed thus in the *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, Bengal, for the year 193-132* :

> Jute—Inspite of active propaganda, the area and out-turn of the crop were *higher** than in the previous year.

The Bengal Legislative Council was alarmed at the threatening economic crisis and in its sitting of the 21st February, 1932, a resolution to the following effect was passed :

> This council recommends to the Government that a Committee consisting of official and non-official members of the Council and experts be appointed to make a systematic examination of the present economic depression in Bengal and to make suggestions as to what temporary and permanent measures may be taken to alleviate the present distress and ensure a steady economic progress of the people of the Presidency.

Thanks to the Mont-Ford Reforms, the Indian presidencies and provinces are happy families,

> governed, in relation to reserved subjects, by a governor-in-council, and in relation to transferred subjects (save as otherwise provided by this Act) by the governor acting with minister under this Act. †

This resolution concerning 'present economic depression of Bengal' was treated as one concerning a transferred subject and was 'carefully considered' by the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Agriculture), which

> came to the conclusion that the appointment of such a committee to conduct a general enquiry of the nature contemplated in the resolution, viz., "to make a systematic examination of the present" economic depression in Bengal, would serve no useful purpose.

But the Government was not slow to realize that

> the fall in the price of raw and manufactured jute is one of the primary causes responsible for the acute depression of Bengal,

and appointed a committee with the following terms of reference :

> (1) the question of regulation of the production of jute;
> (2) the marketing of jute, including the establishment of regulated markets, and the supply of market informations in a suitable form to the producers;
> (3) The creation of a Jute Committee for the province of Bengal on the lines of the proposed Central Jute Committee and the minimum amount required to finance such a Committee;
> (4) the extent to which other materials have displaced jute and the likelihood of further substitutes being found in the near future;
> (5) the possibilities of making any other economic use of jute to an extent that might relieve the present situation.

The Committee worked for over six months and the Chairman laments :

> From the beginning, it was obvious that there were considerable differences of opinion in respect of the first three terms of reference to the committee, but it was hoped that it would be possible to compose the differences sufficiently to bring the opinions within the compass of a single report.* * *
> Attempts to reconcile these conflicting attitudes having unfortunately failed, it was regretfully decided, after discussion, that the only course open was to write two separate reports, embodying the respective views of the two groups into which the members were divided.

In fact we have three, not two, reports before us, as one of the members refused to join any group and preferred to write a separate one himself. The Committee were originally directed to submit the report by May 1, 1933, but extension was given later on to the 10th August, 1933. After full thirteen months, on the 20th September, 1934, a *communique* was issued by the Government of Bengal, Agriculture and Industries Department. It begins with the following lines :

> The Government of Bengal have for some time viewed with anxiety the serious position to which the low price of jute has largely contributed and amongst the terms of reference to the Jute Enquiry Committee the first was "the question of the regulation of the production of jute" with a view to improving the price paid to the cultivator. The report of the Committee upon this term of reference has now been considered by the Government.

* Italics in this and the following extracts are mine.
† Government of India Act, 1919. Sec. 46.

We confess, we cannot congratulate the Government on these lines. Procrastination is not a virtue, even with the Government. It took thirteen long months for the Government to pronounce their decision on one point of reference out of five. We do not know how many months will elapse before the Government publish their opinion on the other four points. By the way, are these points considered independently of one another ?

(2)

It would be rash to indulge in conjectures on the attitude of the Government when the points of reference were determined and the question of regulation of production was placed first. The *communique* runs :

> With one dissentient the Committee recommended against measures for compulsory restriction of the crop under legislative enactment and *for the crop of 1935* Government accept the opinion of the committee on this point. They also accept the recommendation that the measures adopted during the past two or three years for encouraging a voluntary reduction of cultivation shall be improved and intensified.

These lines, if they mean anything, mean that the Government refuse to accept the almost unanimous opinion of the Committee appointed by them and to abandon the principle of "compulsory restriction of the crop under legislative enactment." The Press Note on the scheme for reduction of the cultivation of jute in 1935 makes the interpretation clear when it says that

> The scheme does not *at present* include legislative enactment to enforce a reduction in the area under jute.

The lines from the *communique* as well as the Press Note sound like a challenge to the Bengal jute-growers that, if they fail to give a satisfactory response to the Government scheme, legislation must follow.

Further, Mr. A. C. Porter, Development Commissioner, Bengal, is reported in newspapers to have said that

> The scheme of compulsory restriction could not be adopted for the next season since *it was not possible to pass the necessary legislation within such a short time.*

Finally, we have it on the authority of the Hon'ble Nawab K. G. M. Faroqui, Minister of Agriculture and Industries, that

> "A restriction by legislation is *neither possible nor practicable at the present moment.*"

Now, with all these before us, will it be very wrong to say that the Government have committed themselves to the principle of "compulsory restriction by legislation" and the voluntary restriction scheme is a mere fore-runner to it ?

(3)

The Press Note claims for the Government that the scheme is

> *a response by the Government to public opinion* which has expressed itself *unanimously in favour* of effective measures for restricting the crop.

To a foreign reader, it would appear as if a plebiscite on the jute question had been held, or at least, an election had been fought on this question and an obliging Government has, in a truly sportsmanlike spirit, submitted to public opinion. Nothing of the kind.

The Jute Enquiry Committee was constituted with thirteen members. The President was a high Government Official. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Jute Mills Association, the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Muslim Chamber of Commerce had each a representative to guard the respective interests. Dr. J. C. Sinha, Professor of Economics, Presidency College, must have been taken in for his technical knowledge. The Minister had three deputies in the Director of Agriculture, the Director of Industries and the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. Thus there were only three seats left. One was allotted to a retired Divisional Commissioner, the second to a lawyer practising in a district which has very little area under jute cultivation. A seat was found for a Doctor of Law practising in the highest judicial court in the Presidency and he was introduced as Vice-President, Bengal Jute Growers Association as if to create an impression that jute-growers were not without their spokesman on the Committee. The questionnaire was distributed to

> the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, and various other organizations connected with the jute trade. Others receiving the questionaire were Commissioners of Divisions, Collectors of Districts, Chairmen of District Boards, prominent members of the Union Boards, Co-operative organizations, employers of labour, leading gentlemen in jute districts, etc.

Thus we see that the questionnaire was not a public document available to any one who might care to express his opinion. Any member of a Union Board or a gentleman in jute district, who had not been favoured with a copy of the questionnaire might be silenced by saying that he was not a 'prominent' or 'leading' man. However,

> Replies were received from 119 persons, and Commercial and public bodies.

The Enquiry Committee spared no pains to be in touch with public opinion. A Sub-Committee was formed and it made a tour

> between the 8th and the 15th April, 1933, in course of which Narayangunge, Dacca, Mymensingh, Serajganj and Rangpur were visited.

We do not desire to place before our readers a railway map and a railway time-table to show how many miles this august body travelled and how much time was occupied in travelling.

The Sub-Committee performed a feat when during these eight days (inclusive of the time spent in travelling) in these five places (all District and Sub-divisional Headquarters and no rural area) they

> examined representatives of mofussil jute agencies, District Board Chairmen, Presidents of Union Boards, dealers in jute and cultivators.

We find no mention of the number of persons of each interest examined in these Mofussil centres, though mention has been made that

> Altogether 32 persons were orally examined in Calcutta.

Are the opinions of the Enquiry Committee constituted as such or of the witnesses requisitioned to appear before them to be recognized as *public* opinion ?

Since the Government took upon themselves the task of suppressing the Civil Disobedience Movement and lavishly used section 144 I. P. C., public meetings have been seldom held, and we have not heard of any public meeting in any part of Bengal, requesting the Government to launch a Scheme of Restriction of Jute Cultivation. Then there are Indian-owned newspapers in Bengal. We are accustomed to hear them described as mouthpiece of the discontented middle class. Correspondence and notes have been noticed in the columns of some of them in support of restriction. Do the Government now hail them as expressions of public opinion ? Lastly, there is the Indian National Congress which first raised the cry of restriction. But much water has flowed down the Ganges since that body first advocated it.

Government have peculiar ways of ascertaining facts and one may think that this official version of the unanimity of public opinion in favour of restriction of the cultivation of jute is as accurate as the official jute forecast.

(4)

The Press Note says that the Government scheme

> aims at the organization of intensive propaganda on a provincial scale *to induce* the cultivator to restrict his sowing of jute *in his own interest.*

We fail to understand why the question of inducement arises at all, if the Government action is a response to the unanimous public demand for restriction. Soon after the publication of the Government *communique*, Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., Publicity Officer to the Government of Bengal, invited representatives of several Calcutta newspapers to a drawing-room conference when Mr. A. C. Porter, Development Commissioner, explained the details of the scheme. Under the sub-heading of "Executive Pressure on Black Sheep," the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Oct. 2, 1934, reports:

> After some minor discussions a representative of the Press opined that any attempt at restriction by propaganda alone will be useless since there are a few "black sheep" in every village who refuse to listen to any good advice and their examples are invariably followed by the rest of the villagers. In reply to this Mr. Porter definitely assured the Press representatives that the executive officers of the Government will never fail to adopt suitable measures in order to check the mischievous activities of the 'black sheep'.

A response to the unanimous public demand requires "suitable measures" to be adopted ! Again, a Bengal peasant, simple and sincere as he always is, understands legislative prevention and accepts it with calm resignation. We do not know how he will accept the "executive pressure".

If October opened with this Press conference, it closed with the conference of the chairmen and representatives of district boards. Before these leading gentlemen of rural Bengal the Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture was pleased to say :

> In the past, sporadic propaganda had been carried on in the villages, and the work had been more or less confined to the distribution of propaganda pamphlets and literature, leaving it entirely to the cultivators as to the quota of individual restriction. It was entirely the choice of the grower to reduce his cultivation by any amount or not at all.

Does the Minister mean to say that the grower will no longer be allowed this liberty of choice ? He proceeds to say that

> if all efforts, official, and non-official, are made to bring home to the growers that their (growers') interests lie in the immediate restriction scheme, there will be very few who will think of disregarding the strong public opinion that it is *attempted to create* in favour of the restriction scheme : and it is in that connection that Government look upon you, chairmen and representatives of district boards, to help the propaganda and utilize all your resources, influence, tact, judgment and knowledge to see that the public opinion becomes effective so that the growers *may not dare to disregard it.*

The Hon'ble Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin, Member of the Executive Council, in the same meeting said :

> If public opinion is *created* that there should be a restriction on the production of jute, it becomes the duty of every one that he does not grow more than his own quota; and if he does, he becomes the black sheep of the village.

The Hon'ble Sir Bijoy Prosad Singh Roy, Minister for Self-Government, addressing the same band of leaders of rural public opinion, said :

> Now, you are expected to *mobilize* public opinion to carry on vigorous propaganda with conviction and courage, and to impress upon the people in the mofussil, and the agriculturists who have not yet learnt to think for themselves, that it is their duty in common interest to reduce the area of jute cultivation as much as they can.

Now, it is for the readers to judge whether the Government action is a response to unanimous public opinion or whether the Government are making vigorous attempts to

create and mobilize public opinion to put into action a principle to which, for reasons best known to them, they stand committed.

(5)

It is no surprise that in a land which is allowed a mere shadow of self-government, the Minister for self-government is of opinion that agriculturists 'have not yet learnt to think for themselves'. But great men do not always think alike. The Minister for Agriculture, who comes from a jute-growing district and had many an occasion to move among the agriculturists before his joining the Governor's cabinet, holds a different view.

> The Bengali cultivator is no fool. He has faced and survived difficulties for countless centuries and and is capable of taking a long-sighted view when the true facts of the situation are placed before him by those whom he trusts.

What is really surprising is that this honourable gentleman who finds himself in the Legislative Council mainly with the votes of the agriculturists—and this proves that they trust him—has preferred to engage himself in creating and mobilizing public opinion 'that the growers may not dare to disregard it' before approaching them direct with the 'true facts of the situation'.

Restriction of cultivation of jute, it has been repeatedly asserted, is to the grower's own interest. In this connection the following excerpt from the leading editorial of a local Anglo-Indian paper will be interesting reading :

> The other menace is the serious competition of foreign jute manufacturers. It is said that in recent years many mills have sprung up, in Central and South-Eastern Europe and in Japan for example. These mills have more modern machinery than Bengal mills, they are hampered by no restriction scheme of their own, and they profit in two ways from the Indian restriction scheme. This scheme tends to keep up the price of Calcutta's manufactured jute exports and therefore to facilitate the foreign millowners in the task of underselling Calcutta. And secondly the restriction scheme is of the one-legged variety only. There is a restriction on output of manufactures but there is none on the growth of the crop. The cultivators grow freely, the Bengal mills, governed by their own restriction scheme, cannot take more than a certain percentage, the rest is flung at the heads of the foreign millowners. It must be sold for what it will fetch, and the export tax is of little avail in keeping up the price when there is a glut. Theoretically in the case of a monopoly the foreigner pays the tax but when Bengal's jute-growers are unorganized and have to compete against one another to get rid of their crop in foreign markets the export tax does not inconvenience the foreigner very much. Japan has no more difficulty in manufacturing Indian jute and underselling Bengal than she has in manufacturing Indian cotton and underselling Bombay. Moreover, although it is recognized by Bengal manufacturers that unregulated growth of jute is an evil both for the cultivator and in the long run for the industry itself, and tends to make it the unhappy hunting-ground of speculators, in practice the manufacturer is often not averse to a situation the immediate result of which is that he gets his raw material cheap. In so far therefore as he does nothing to promote a crop restriction scheme he may be said to be the aider and abetter of his foreign competitor, who fights him with all his looms, and not with a percentage only.*

Here, we believe, a big cat is out of the bag. Here appears a powerful party that requires restriction of jute crop for its own interest.

Reuter is responsible for the following news cabled from London on July 26, 1934 :

> Far-reaching developments in connection with the jute trade of Calcutta and Dundee are pending, according to the *Financial Times*.
>
> Dundee traders have an important scheme, for which they are seeking Calcutta's co-operation, believing that, in the face of foreign competition, the producers of both centres should combine in persuading the British and the Indian Governments to impose an additional export duty on raw jute from India in parts not within the British Empire.
>
> As jute is produced within the Empire, it is contended that Empire manufacturers should have preference over foreign competitors. The unsatisfactory condition of trade both in Dundee and Calcutta has influenced manufacturers in these centres towards co-operation.

Here the bag has let loose another big cat. The Bengal millowners and their compatriots in Dundee are of opinion that none but themselves should have easy entry into the jute market of Bengal. The Dundee traders are moderates and are satisfied if non-British Empire manufacturers are pushed to a disadvantageous position by subjecting them to pay higher export duty, but the Calcutta manufacturers are extremists and do not like the idea of sharing Bengal market with others.

> It is an irony that while the ryot gets no profit from his labour and *looms are idle along the Hooghly other lands reap the benefit.*†

And it is to drive out these "other lands" from the jute market that the restriction is advocated in some quarters, and for this government action is thought necessary.

> That restriction of jute growing is necessary *if the industry is to return to health* and that Government *must* and only Government can insist on this restriction is an article of faith with a large section of the general public.‡

This large section advocates restriction of jute growing with a view to excluding a large section of purchasers. "The Bengali cultivator is no fool" ; he need not be told how this exclusion of his purchasers will further his interest.

(6)

It is far from us to accuse the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Agriculture) of any

* *The Sunday Statesman*, April 29, 1934.

† & ‡ *The Statesman*, Sept. 22, 1934.

complicity with the Bengal Millowners or Dundee traders in propounding their Scheme. Even accepting, for argument's sake, that such a complicity does exist, no grower should reject the restriction scheme for that reason if he is convinced that such a restriction will help, even to a small degree, his economic rehabilitation. The Government *communique* does not hold out any greater hope than that.

> If each cultivator complies with it, there will be grounds for a reasonable expectation of some improvement in the demand for and in the price of fibre.

These are not the words of one who is confident that one's action will bring about the desired result. "Grounds for reasonable expectation" are not, we fear, sufficient reasonable grounds to put "executive pressure" upon the cultivators to restrict the cultivation of their favourite and only money-crop. The Press Note accompanying the *communique* is silent on this important point. Mr. Porter has not explained it before the Press representatives. Even in the district board conference the Minister had no word on it. When this question was raised by Mr. Jitendra Lal Banerjee, Khawaja Sir Nazimuddin is reported to have said :

> This is the most critical point. Amongst all the people in the jute trade, both millowners and dealers and others, who have given their best thoughts to this problem, there is no difference of opinion on this question that by the restriction of production, price will go up. This is not disputed at all by anybody.

There is again the *dohai* (दोहाई) of unanimity of opinion ! The Hon'ble member goes on to say :

> At the present time, the mills in Bengal hold practically a year's supply of jute in their hands. On the other hand, the Dundee mills have practically got no stock in hand. Therefore, if we can reduce the production of jute, there is every chance that price will go up.

Whether the conclusion is justified by the premises the honourable gentleman puts forward is not undisputable but the one thing that appears to be beyond dispute is that it is the Calcutta and Dundee millowners—and none else in this vast world—who should occupy our vision when we are required to think of purchasers of jute.

Is Bengal jute cultivated, or to be cultivated for Calcutta and Dundee millowners alone ? Is the Bengal grower so to restrict his cultivation that there may not be any surplus for any purchaser besides the Calcutta and Dundee millowners ? Granting that he does so, will this restriction raise the price ?

We have been taught that when the supply exceeds the demand, the price goes down. Inverse of a theory is not always true. It would be rash to deduce from this well-established theory that when the price of a commodity goes down, the supply is necessarily in excess of the demand, and, consequently restriction will enhance the price. In the past restriction failed to create that effect.

Year	Area (in thousand acres)	Yield (in thousand bales of 400 lb.)	Calcutta price per bale (in rupees)
1922	1800	5408	87-13-5
1923	2788	8401	68-5-10
1924	2770		75-13-5
1925	3115	8940	119-9-9
1926	3847	12123	98-11-6
1927	3374	10188	76-6-6
1928	3144	9906	75-0-11
1929	3415	10335	71-4-0
1930	3492	11205	50-4-9
1931	1859	5535	37-11-10

This table for ten years contradicts, as far as jute is concerned, the theory—"the less the product, the higher the price". In 1926 with the greatest acreage under cultivation and the biggest yield, the price was as high as Rs. 98-11-6, second only to Rs. 119-9-9 of the previous year. In 1927 and 1928 the fall in the acreage, and consequently in the yield did not increase the price, rather it went down—proving false to the pet theory. Again, in 1931 the acreage was nearly half of, and yield less than half of, that of the previous year, but the price did not increase ; on the other hand, it decreased by nearly 26 per cent.

(7)

For reasons best known to them, the Government of Bengal have thought it fit to reject the Bengal Legislative Council's recommendation to appoint a committee 'to make a systematic examination of the present economic depression in Bengal'. Nor did they institute a public enquiry to discover the causes that led to the fall in the price of raw jute. Nor are we told of any departmental enquiry. But we have a Press Note published in May last which gives the opinion of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. It says :

> There is no question in this case of the depressing action of the principle of economic nationalism, for no country other than India is able to produce jute and even in India 90 per cent of jute is produced in Bengal, the adjacent provinces of Bihar and Assam.
>
> Nor is it a question of synthetic substitutes replacing jute, as they did in the last century in the case of indigo and as they are threatening to do in the present century in case of lac.
>
> * * * *
>
> In the face of the steady increase in the prices in the thirty years from 1900, it seems difficult to maintain that there has been over-production in the past.

Where then lies the cause of the depression ? The Press Note says :

> The real cause of the decline in export of jute is that international trade in agricultural produce has shrunk since the depression and in the absence of commodities to transport there is no

demand for containers. To use a common analogy, if people wrote fewer letters stationers would have fewer envelopes to sell.

We quite appreciate the analogy of the author of the Press Note. But we may be permitted to remind him that fall in the consumption of envelopes may not necessarily bring in the fall in the demand for paper which has a hundred other uses. This analogy does not hold good unless he declares that a container is the only thing for which jute can be utilized. Indeed in some quarters there are persons who think that jute is, or should be, cultivated for making a container only for commodities for transport. Even Dundee manufacturers do not think so. The Dundee Chamber of Commerce published 'A Tree of Jute"—a chart to show the various uses of jute. It cannot be said that the Tree is complete. How many mills, here on the Hooghly or in Dundee, are engaged in manufacturing all these articles ? There is no denying the fact that

For many years now the jute industries have been content to plod along manufacturing their jute into the same articles year after year. *

We are also told that

there are far too many "conservative" firms, which term generally means that they are backward, distrustful and hostile to all progress in business. Progress which appears to all reasonable business men and producers an absolute necessity and a fundamental rule, is regarded by the backward part of the industry as "dashing" or "modern" in the extreme.

It is a sad day for an agriculturist when he is told to restrict his cultivation of raw material because the manufacturer does not like to be "modern" and prefers to remain "conservative", "backward, distrustful and hostile to all progress" and persists in manufacturing "the same articles year after year."

Here, in his own land, the Bengali cultivator is advised to restrict his cultivation of jute as "there is no demand for containers" but in other lands there are already cries for suitable substitutes for jute and paper and other containers are gradually capturing the market.

* *Jute*, 1931.

SCHEME FOR AMELIORATING RURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN BENGAL

By MATISWAR SEN

THE problem of agricultural indebtedness is perhaps one of the most pressing economic questions of India today. In this paper I shall attempt an outline of a general scheme for a possible adjustment in Bengal, with reference to the Government enquiry on debt reconcilation referred to the Economic Board Obviously each of the twenty-six districts of Bengal, with their varying local conditions, would require special study before the scheme could be worked out in detail and put into operation in any particular district, but for the province as a whole I put the following alternative methods for ameliorating the unhappy condition of the agriculturists.

(1) An attempt may be made to improve the existing credit and marketing agencies of the Mahajans.

(2) For the present agencies, we may substitute :

(a) A Credit Agency,

(b) A Commodity Marketing Agency, with storing arrangements in consuming markets to meet consumers' demands,

(c) An Organization for Storing Surplus Commodities in Rural Areas to protect from seasonal slumps in commodity prices.

These credit, commodity marketing and storing agencies should be so planned as to permit their gradual conversion into organizations of co-operative credit, co-operative commodity marketing and co-operative storing.

(3) In place of the suggested Commodity Marketing Agency, but functioning with the proposed Credit Agency and Organization for Storing Surplus Commodities in Rural Areas, a Sales Depôt for handling all salable commodities of the agriculturists may be organized throughout rural Bengal. In this case, as above, a co-operative basis should be the ultimate aim.

THE AMOUNT AND NATURE OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS IN BENGAL

For the present purpose I am basing the following notes on the *Report of the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, published in 1930.

(1) The agricultural indebtedness for the province is estimated at Rs. 100 Crores, of which (a) 44 per cent is accounted for by mortgage

transactions, but according to the Report, 62 per cent represents long-term credit, *i.e.*, including a portion of debt secured by simple bond. (b) co-operative credit accounts for 4·33 per cent. (See Table V of the *Annual Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the Presidency of Bengal, for the year ending 30th June, 1933,* in which the amount due is given as Rs. 4.33 Crores.) (c) The paddy loan and other minor sources are estimated at 7 per cent. (d) The balance of debt may be assumed to be secured by simple bond.

As a result of the prevailing economic crisis, the mortgage percentage of the loan has been increase and we cannot be far wrong in believing that it would show a 10 per cent increasing on the average for the various districts. We may then estimate the different sources of the loan to be: (*i*) mortgage, 54.0 per cent, (*ii*) simple bond, 34.67 per cent, (*iii*) co-operative, 4.33 per cent, (*iv*) paddy loan and other minor sources, 7.0 per cent.

(2) The value of land held by agriculturists in Bengal is estimated by the Bengal Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee at Rs. 690 Crores.

A careful study of available data on the extent of indebtendness of agriculturists in Bengal reveals that there are families having debts up to one year's income, two years' income, three years' income, and in excess of three years' income. Such families may be classed as (a), (b), (c), and (d) respectively, and it has been found that classes (c) and (d) together form more than a third of the indebted families, and classes (b), (c), and (d) more than one half of the total.

For purposes of comparison regarding the alarming growth of indebtedness among agriculturists in proportion to income, we may refer to the observations for Faridpur District, presumably based on figures for 1913 1914 of Mr. O'Malley. (See *Faridpur District Gazetteer*, page 57.) He says: "Only 6 per cent are seriously embarrassed, to the extent that their debts are equal to a year's income or more, and a quarter of these are hopelessly involved."

Unfortunately no definite data are at hand to show the prevailing rate of interest on the outstanding debt, but if we assume it to be as low as 20 per cent per annum, then it follows that classes (c) and (d), with outstanding capital debt up to or in excess of three years' income, must be paying at least 60 per cent of their annual income as interest on their indebtedness, and class (b), with an outstanding capital debt of two years' income, must be paying 40 per cent of its annual income as interest alone.

Since 1928 the fall in prices of commodities has effected a 50 per cent reduction in the income of agriculturists, while expenditure has fallen by 40 per cent. It becomes clear that the degree of indebtedness must be increasing from year to year, and that the Bengal agriculturists are sinking deeper into a morass from which they will never be able to extricate themselves without the assistance of the Government.

Relations of the Mahajans and Agriculturists

Without making any attempt here to discuss problems of freight, final grading of produce in Calcutta, in which millions of pounds sterling are invested, the possible development of Empire and other foreign markets, or the complex subject of exchange, all of which bear on agricultural prosperity, I shall restrict myself to the basic problems of credit and commodity marketing with reference to the local conditions in Bengal. And this means, to begin with, a brief survey of the existing relations between the agriculturists and the mahajans who act both as a credit and a marketing agency.

It is the mahajans who finance production, buy up the crops and market them, and at the same time supply the agriculturists with the necessaries of life. As such, they would appear to play a valuable and indispensable rôle in the economic life of the rural communities. But in view of the excessive interest charged on loans and the unfair compensation exacted for services rendered in marketing the produce, the mahajans must assume part of the burden of responsibility for the wretched position of the agriculturists.

In district towns, subdivisional centres, *bandars* and all other important market places, the mahajans have office godowns, and in jute areas they have jute press premises. They buy and sell the agricultural produce and industrial products of the region, which, after necessary gradings, they export to Calcutta and other large consuming markets. Their places also serve as shops for the piece-goods, salt, kerosene oil and other necessaries required by the people, including raw materials for cottage industries, imported by the mahajans. On the financial side, they advance money to the agriculturists, weavers and artisans on different terms of interest, depending on the urgency of the demand, the purpose for which the loan is taken, the resources of the family concerned and the honesty and efficiency of the borrower. These loans are given against mortgage or simple bond, or are entered in special books against advance sale of crops. For artisans, except those of highest standing, who are given longer terms of credit, loans are usually recorded in small account books, *chitta*, in which weekly transactions are set down. Generally the terms of such loan transactions are that the produce of the cultivators and the products of the artisans shall go to the mahajans, and with these the accounts of interest or of principal shall be partly or wholly settled. Sometimes the mahajans act as agents for rich merchants of Calcutta; sometimes they themselves employ their own agents in Calcutta.

Accepting the figure of Rs. 100 Crores as the probable indebtedness of the agriculturists of

Bengal, and out of this deducting (a) accrued interest on the loan, (b) co-operative credit, and (c) some portion of paddy loan and other items for which agriculturists themselves are responsible, we may roughly take 80 Crores as the capital invested in the form of loans by mahajans among the agriculturists of Bengal. A like sum may be assumed, further, to cover the additional activities of the mahajans in the rural areas. While some of them have very little in loans but a large amount in stores, others reverse this arrangement, and my experience leads me to believe that a 50-50 investment in loans and other activities represents the average. The total investment, therefore, comes to something like Rs. 160 crores. If this sum draws interest or makes a profit of 20 per cent per annum, Rs. 32 crores are transferred annually from the income of agriculturists and artisans to the mahajans, in their capacity of middlemen and financiers, obviously an exorbitant price for the agriculturist to pay for the services rendered. Since under existing conditions this credit and these marketing services are themselves indispensable, however, the question of improving the unhappy lot of the agriculturists resolves itself into the development of some scheme whereby a reasonable rate of interest for loans advanced and a fair compensation for services in delivering commodities to the consuming market will be assured.

First, as already suggested, we may organize and improve the existing agencies of the mahajans, stimulating efficiency, scaling down the indebtedness, and controlling rate of interest and compensation for services rendered in marketing commodities, particularly with regard to those smaller local agencies which customarily lend out money at the highest possible rate of interest and do all they can to depress the price of the village commodities over which they have a monopoly. Secondly, we may replace the existing agencies by developing new agencies, including a credit agency, a commodity marketing agency and an organization for storing surplus commodities in rural areas, through the joint effort of the Government and the people concerned, or through a purely Government organization set up for the purpose of adjusting and co-ordinating rural problems. Or, thirdly, a sales depôt may be organized, as a substitute for the commodity marketing agency, to function in connection with a credit agency and a system of storing surplus commodities to prevent seasonal price slumps.

Reform of the Present Credit and Marketing Agencies

If it is possible to reorganize the existing agencies of the mahajans on a satisfactory basis to meet the requirements of the situation, this method will involve the least drastic change, the least expense, and the least experimenting in new fields. To begin with, then, Government may hold conferences with the mahajans in all important centres in rural Bengal and in Calcutta, showing the urgency and importance of changes in the present methods of working and also indicating alternative methods for the Government to relieve the agriculturists in their present crisis and provide for their greater stability in future. In the event, that the mahajans are willing to undertake reforms, an attempt should be made to persuade them to develop their organizations gradually into co-operative institutions.

As a result of the proposed conferences, we shall know whether the existing agencies can be modified and improved to meet the needs of the situation. Of course the Government must be willing to hear and consider alternative suggestions to its own and to find out if jointly the Government and the mahajans can arrive at a satisfactory solution. The Government may have to make more than one attempt in this direction. But even if success is not complete, the fact that the Government is itself taking an interest in the working of the existing system will act as a check on certain abuses now practised by the mahajans. Thus the mahajans may be brought to realize that it will be better for them to accept the Government proposals, since otherwise they may be compelled to withdraw their present activities from rural areas altogether. If, however, we ultimately fail to develop a satisfactory programme with the mahajans, the second alternative must be considered.

A Credit Agency, a Commodity Marketing Agency and a Storage Organization

In this case the Government in co-operation with the agriculturists will create a long term mortgage and credit agency and an efficient and strong marketing agency, with an organization for storage of surplus commodities in rural areas to protect against seasonal price fluctuations. The marketing agency will be the guide and security for the credit agency, in regard to that portion of the agricultural loan which cannot be covered by mortgage. It will be found that when a commodity is marketed through an organized and efficient agency, the sales records act as an indicator and usually attract voluntary credit. Provided rural families agree to dispose of all salable commodities through the agency, credit can safely be extended to any family without land mortgage, and there should be no serious difficulty in realizing both the interest on loans and yearly part payments of the principal. This point may well be considered by the Government of India, Finance Department, which has recently pointed out the difficulties of extending mortgage credit help to agriculturists on account of complex land rights. Of course, when necessary, the credit agency might take hypothecation of the belongings of the debtor family, including livestock and standing trees.

Co-operative credit is best suited for agri-

culturists. But co-operative activities have so far failed to expand in the most desirable fields. In spite of noble and able efforts the Government co-operative credit department has failed to solve the difficulties and has been compelled to suspend further expansion during the present economic crisis. Since the inception of the co-operative credit organization in India in 1904, a period of more than three decades has elapsed, and yet the credit department has not been able to cover any substantial portion of the total debt of the agriculturists of Bengal, as is evident from the fact that its loans constitute less than 5 per cent of the total outstanding indebtedness.

The recent success of the co-operative organization in the Sunderbun zamindari of Sir Daniel Hamilton is mainly due to the fact that an efficient commodity marketing organization has been developed, including a rice mill for the paddy growers, operated on a co-operative basis, and this organization again is the result of the direct attention and personal interest given by the proprietor. Further, the conditions prevailing in this area differ from those prevailing in the long settled rural areas.

The new co-operative land mortgage credit scheme, based on the Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank Limited, with its very suitable plan and by-laws, now offers the agriculturist facilities of which he should take advantage. Unlike certain other types of co-operative credit, in this only concrete security is dealt with, and hence no time need be wasted in bringing the plan into operation by an attempt to introduce unfamiliar methods of working. This credit scheme will, we hope, make rapid progress, with its comparatively low rate of interest, and will shortly cover a substantial portion of the outstanding mortgage loan in Bengal. At the same time I am afraid that without any substitution of existing marketing agencies by an agency such as that proposed, which will ensure a healthier and freer economic life to the agriculturists, it may not fulfil all the high hopes at present entertained for it.

We shall find, however, if I am not very much mistaken, that an agency or agencies functioning in a twofold capacity both to finance agricultural production and to purchase commodities, as well as to supply the principal necessaries of life to the agriculturists, will rest on a more intimate and friendly relationship than a pure credit agency. Such an agency will act almost as a commodity exchange place for the agriculturists, which is what they want. Because of this service rendered in the past, the mahajans have secured preference for their credit even with a high rate of cash interest as compared with co-operative credit. Undoubtedly the unlimited liability of co-operative credit is a drawback to its acceptance by many agriculturists but the existence of a co-operative commodity marketing agency will bring the co-operative credit agency into direct relation with the life activities of the agriculturists and do away with the present marked separation. Since, however, co-operative commodity marketing on a large scale is not immediately possible with the limited outlook of the agriculturists and their lack of education, it would appear advisable to begin with marketing, storing and credit agencies of a non-co-operative nature, having provision in their constitution for subsequent development along co-operative lines at such time as the community has been sufficiently trained to appreciate the advantages of the new system.

The different sources of the total loan (Rs. 100 crores) have already been explained. Speaking generally, the land held by indebted agriculturists in the different districts is of the same order. In some districts of Bengal the mortgage percentage is as high as 70 per cent or even higher.

A credit agency which could extend credit on the basis of mortgage and also assume responsibility for a large part of the agricultural debt now covered by simple bond or unspecified sources would serve the needs of the agricultural community far more effectively than the present Land Mortgage Bank with its limited operations. With the help and guidance of the proposed community marketing agency, there is no apparent reason why it could not function for the benefit of all concerned, including the Government, which would derive a suitable revenue from its operation.

It should be possible to increase the mortgage percentage of the agricultural loan and decrease the simple bond percentage, thus reducing the risk of extending credit. In the event of the formation and proper functioning of the proposed commodity marketing agency, I suggest as an objective that 67 per cent of the total loan, instead of the present 54 per cent, be based on mortgage, (now 62 per cent long term credit), 11 per cent on co-operative undertakings, instead of 4. 33 per cent and only 19 per cent instead of the persent 34.67 per cent on simple bonds. As stated above, the agriculturists' land, however, is valued at Rs 690 crores.

I propose, then, the organization of a credit agency with a capacity to deal with at least 85 per cent of the total indebtedness of agriculturists in Bengal, or for Rs. 85 crores, for twelve years. This agency will have the following objectives:

(1) To extend long term credit to agriculturists on land mortgage;

(2) To extend long term credit to agriculturists against security of the proposed commodity marketing agency for the portion of the credit required which cannot be covered by land mortgage;

(3) (a) To help to bring the present 54 per cent or as proposed 67 per cent mortgage loan into a co-operative land mortgage credit scheme;

(b) To help to bring the present 34. 67 per cent

or as proposed 19 per cent simple bond loan into a co-operative credit scheme;

(4) To maintain operation by

(a) Compulsory payments of interest from season to season in the year, with an extension allowance of five months;

(b) Compulsory small part payments of principal from season to season in the year, such parts to be fixed from time to time depending on commodity prices and debentures, with an extension allowance of twelve months.

Although a term of twelve years for repayment of loans will be guaranteed to agriculturists, the rate of interest will be subject to change every three or four years, since debentures will be floated for such periods. Thus opportunity will be afforded to change the working plan into one of co-operative credit, or co-operative land mortgage credit.

The question arises whether by bank rules advances can be made against the security of a marketing agency for the 19 per cent simple bond portion of the loan. It is an established fact that banks do advance short term money against hypothecation of pure crops. Since the new scheme will substitute a long term loan, not only the crops but the livestock and other assets of the family can be made to serve as security. Moreover, since the borrower's land will be mortgaged to the same agency, the credit agency will be in a more secure position.

It may be assumed, then, that the Government will authorize a credit agency to finance loans against the security of the marketing agency, when necessary, taking hypothecation of additional assets of the family, until the co-operative basis of the credit agency can be established. If, however, the question of this 19 per cent of the loan cannot immediately be agreed to by the Government, in spite of the fact that failure to provide for the simple bond portion of the loan will weaken the general position of the agencies at the start, we must proceed in any case with the marketing agency and its allied storing organization in rural areas, the completion of which will strengthen the credit agency and place it on a firmer basis.

To ensure an effective flow of co-operative credit, a strong commodity marketing agency under Government control, registered under the Companies Act, must be organized with branches throughout the rural area. It should have the following objectives:

(1) To reduce the prices paid by the consumers and to increase the agriculturists' share in the final price. The agency will have to buy commodities directly from the agriculturists and supply directly to the consumers, stocking same at the consuming market.

(2) To protect agriculturists from seasonal slumps in the prices of commodities. The agency will be required to stock surplus commodities in the rural areas in available godowns or, where unavoidable, to put up temporary buildings to serve as commodity storehouses, and it will also from time to time, when necessary, make part and advance payments through the credit agency, until the commodities are sold at a satisfactory price, when the accounts of advances can be adjusted and the balance handed over to the agriculturists.

(3) To render services required to stimulate production and when advisable control same and introduce new crops.

(4) To develop a special department for leasing available godowns and, where necessary, to build new ones in rural areas, and also for leasing godowns in Calcutta, the consuming market.

(5) To organize a department to store (a) raw materials for cottage industries, (b) salt, (c) cloth, (d) kerosene oil. Such supplies of necessaries easily made accessible to agriculturists will cement the working of the general scheme, since agriculturists prefer to buy their principal necessaries of life from the same place at which they sell or arrange to sell their commodities. Such a centre will serve as a commodity exchange and ultimately will help to establish more pleasant relations between all parties. To avoid risks involved in the fluctuation of prices, articles should be stored only to the extent of thirty days' requirements.

As previously pointed out, all these departmental activities should be so planned as to permit their future development as co-operative commodity marketing and co-operative stores.

It is unnecessary to elaborate here all the details of the financial working of the proposed scheme. As far as the credit agency is concerned it could be launched through arrangement with the Government of India for a sum amounting to 10 per cent of the capacity of the credit agency, at not more than 4 per cent interest. Of this, one quarter or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent might be granted immediately, and the balance secured at subsequent periods. The working capital, guaranteed by the Government, could be floated through debentures issued by the Imperial Bank of India at $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 per cent interest. This rate might be raised, however, as commodity prices rose. The rate of interest charged for agricultural loans should not exceed 6 per cent which is the maximum amount the agriculturists can afford to pay. We may note here that with the existence of a commodity marketing agency and commodity storing in rural areas the establishment cost of the credit agency would be less than that commonly accepted for large scale rural banks. In the event of the formation and proper functioning of the proposed agencies, the bulk of the capital now forming agriculturists' indebtedness in Bengal, when repaid, would reflow to the same borrower through the debentures of the proposed credit agency, and, further, it may be expected that these debentures would be accepted in repayment of loans.

A rough estimate of the required capital investment can be set down as: (a) For establishing a credit agency, Rs. 8·5 crores, (b) For establishing a commodity marketing agency with necessary godowns in rural areas, Rs. 8·5 crores.

Of this total of Rs. 17 crores, 25 per cent. or about Rs. 1·25 crores, may be granted at the start.

With the proposed reorganization of the present credit and marketing agencies and the creation of a suitable storing organization, I estimate that the agriculturists' income can be increased 12 to 36 per cent by proper credit facilities, according to the different "debt classes", 8 per cent by efficient marketing of commodities, 8 per cent by control of seasonal price slumps through storage of surplus commodities. These figures, which are moderate, would thus jointly increase the agriculturist's income by at least 28 per cent.

Substitution of a Sales Depôt for a Commodity Marketing Agency

In case Government do not approve undertaking commodity marketing on a large scale, we must have recourse to a third alternative, which will substitute a sales depôt, with some dozens of sales departments in each district in all the suitable and important places. Since the problem of reducing agricultural indebtedness depends, in the first instance, on a provision for the flow of easy term credit, a credit agency must be established, but instead of working in conjunction with a commodity marketing agency, it will have to operate with the sales depôt.

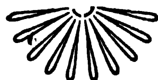
It should be the duties of such a depôt to stimulate and, when necessary, to control production, to introduce new and improved crops, and, above all, to secure for the agriculturists better prices for their commodities. The actual marketing of products to consumers, in this case, will be left to the existing agencies of the mahajans. If nothing more, however, the organization of efficient sales departments for agriculturists througout the rural areas will bring a very desirable change in the whole structure of the existing agencies of the mahajans, and will prevent the present malpractices during the time of assembling the commodities. Competition in buying the commodity at the sales depôt will almost at once increase the income of the agriculturist, 5 to 10 per cent, since at present he suffers not only from the monopoly control of the mahajans but from his own ignorance as to the prevailing commodity prices. A sales depôt will also create a field and atmosphere suitable to co-operative activity, and other joint enterprises can subsequently be developed without great difficulty.

Though the credit agency should at the earliest possible moment be placed on a co-operative basis, this should preferably not be compulsory at the start. It should, however, have a department in connection with its mortgage operations, through which it may either possess godowns or supply the agriculturists with galvanized iron sheets, bolts, nuts, etc, or the equivalent cash, to enable them to build for themselves their little godowns, thus minimizing the cost, and the credit agency or bank could take hypothecation of these when necessary as security for loans. With the help of the village panchayats and chowkidars and with the good feeling engendered in the agriculturist by the assistance rendered him, an arrangement might be made for stocking surplus commodities and advancing from time to time part value of the commodity stocked. When this was finally disposed of through the sales depôt at a satisfactory rate, the account with the bank could be adjusted.

In the event that factors should arise interfering with the development of the required volume of transactions by this system, general legislation might be enacted to sanction compulsory sale of all agricultural commodities through the sales depôt wherever credit is to be extended to an agricultural family without mortgage of real property. In addition, the credit agency could further safeguard its operations by making a valuation of the annual resources of each of the families seeking its help and taking hypothecation of the same. Since a definite relation will be set up between the credit agency and the sales depôt, security will thus be provided to enable the credit agency to extend credit for such portion of any loan as cannot be covered by mortgage.

With the proposed credit facilities we now estimate that the agriculturist's income will be increased, as in the previous case, 12 or 36 per cent, according to debt class, 8 per cent, by the organization for storing commodities in the rural areas, and 5 to 10 per cent through the sale of commodities at the sales depôt. Jointly, we obtain an estimated increase in the agriculturist's income of 25 per cent.

Thus with either of these two schemes, even with existing unfavourable world conditions and low price levels, the agriculturists of Bengal would be able not only to meet their present 10 per cent deficit but to secure a margin of 15 to 18 per cent to meet other dues and possibly obtain for themselves a little ease and comfort.



PLASTIC FORM IN BENGAL CLAY

By G. S. DUTT

THE recent revival of interest on an all-India scale in the resuscitation of the village industries of India has come none too early. It is fortunate that it has come now before the complete extinction, through lack of adequate recognition and business organization, of the hereditary artistic traditions and skill of the village artisans of India. In the efforts that are being made,* however, at present in various quarters for the revival of rural industries, one notices a singular lack of appreciation of the importance of what is perhaps the most important factor that is necessary to secure in order to enable village industries to withstand competition with the factory industries; namely, the conservation of the traditional artistic skill of the village artisans. It is mainly by their inherent artistic quality that village industries will not only hold their own against the factory industries but will capture the most lucrative markets by catering to the demands of the people with taste and discrimination. From this point of view too much stress cannot be laid on the importance of conserving the hereditary artistic genius of the rural artisans of the villages of India and particularly of Bengal which has been for several centuries past sadly neglected owing partly to mis-education of our monied classes and partly to the poverty and want of organization of the artisans themselves. Once this traditional artistic genius is lost it would take many generations to bring about its rebirth, whereas by discriminating encouragement of the traditional skill of the indigenous village artists it is possible to give the products of village industries their peculiar national stamp and thereby a unique market value.



Fig. 1. Mahādeva



Fig. 2. Mother and child

A striking illustration of the survival of the hereditary traditional skill and artistic genius of village artisans, inspite of centuries of neglect, is afforded by the clay images which are even now turned out in many parts of Bengal by the village potters. In the case of the recently discovered Mathurapur monument in the district of Faridpur I had occasion to show how in the sphere of architecture and red terracotta sculpture the village potters of Bengal achieved results which challenge comparison with the famous stone sculptures of Western India. In the present article a few examples are given of clay images by contemporary potters in Eastern and Northern Bengal which exhibit plastic



Fig. 3. Jagaddhātri.



Fig. 4. Saraswati Gauranga

talent of a remarkable character and which demonstrate that among the poor illiterate village potters of Bengal there still survives a precious art tradition inherited from the master artists of medieval Bengal by virtue of which they can produce, out of the humble native clay of Bengal, images which throb with life and movement and exhibit as high a degree of plastic genius as has ever been found in any sculpture wrought out of the more aristrocratic medium of stone or marble.



Fig 5. Krishna and Gopinis

Perhaps the most remarkable of these images which are in my collection and of which reproductions are given here, is the burnt clay image of Mahadeva (*Fig. 1*). This was discovered by me twelve months ago in the village of Mathurapur in the district of Faridpur under the very shadow of the Mathurapur monument. This Mahadeva image is the work of a contemporary potter of the village who is the direct lineal descendant of the master artists who produced the Mathurapur monument. An exquisite plastic quality is shown in the dignity, repose, grace and balance of its pose, in the easy rhythm of its limbs and in the strength, determination and robustness of the stance of its legs. The image is remarkable for the spiritual quality of its form conveying a state of transcendental ease and a supreme detachment from worldliness which is the essence of the Siva



Fig. 6. Two women

Baraiburi solicitously hoping for his success in his endeavour, are specimens collected from the village of Nalia in the district of Faridpur. They all exhibit, although perhaps in a less remarkable degree than in the specimens already dealt with, the village potter's skill in plastic design. The quality of robustness is a typical feature in all these specimens of the village potter's art unlike the usual all-too-neurotic and effeminate products of the urban artists of modern Bengal. The type of lions represented as the mount of the Goddess Jagaddhatri is perhaps a survival of the traditional lion *motif* of ancient India from the time of the Asoka pillar at Sarnath. There is a simplicity and sweetness in the representations of Saraswati and Gouranga which is peculiar to the work of

conception. In the image of the suckling cow and calf (*Fig. 2*) is embodied the eternal mother and child theme in living clay. This remarkable piece of moulded clay was procured by me from the district of Rangpur. The youthfulness, energy and vigour of the calf, the motherly pride, tenderness, protectiveness and affection of the cow have been here brought out by a few bold and simple touches of the artist's fingers without any effort whatever in bringing out any anatomical details, with the result that in the significant sweeps of its lines and in the harmonious rhythm with which the various parts of the design have been welded into one single whole, this image might be described as a masterly creation of form in what appears at first sight to be a formless lump of clay. Indeed, these two images of Mahadeva and the cow and calf may aptly be described as classics in clay.

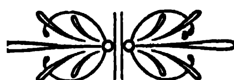
Fig. 3 representing the Goddess Jagaddhatri riding on two lions; *fig. 4* representing Saraswati playing on a Vina and Gouranga; *fig. 5* representing Krishna with a Gopini on each side; *fig. 6* representing two women and *fig. 7* representing Krishna in the act of attempting to regain the love of Radha with the traditional benevolent



Fig. 7. Māna lilā

the village artists of Bengal. The skilful plastic composition in the *mana lila* group and the rhythmic harmony with which the three separate figures as well as the crowning arch with its graceful curve have been welded into a unity and wrought into one single whole reveals the artist's traditional genius for plastic design.

It is by fostering this hereditary artistic skill and the precious art traditions of the village artisans that a value can be conferred on the products of the village industries which will place them above competition from factory products. The examples given here are only a few random instances of the remarkable art tradition that still survives in the villages of Bengal but which, unless duly encouraged forthwith, will before long become extinct beyond recovery.



ENGLAND-AUSTRALIA AIR RACE

THE England-Australia Air Race has been also called the London-Melbourne Air Race and the Mildenhall-Melbourne Air Race. The competitors started from the R. A. F. aerodrome at Meldenhall, Sussex, England. This race is connected with the Melbourne centenary celebrations, in connection with which there will also be a World Press Conference.

According to *The Indian*, Melbourne was founded in 1831 as a village.

> The honours for the first permanent settlement of Melbourne have been divided between Edward Henty and John Batman. Thomas Henty, a Sussex farmer, and his seven sons were settlers in Tasmania, and in 1831 part of this family, led by Edward Henty, crossed to Port Phillip Bay in Victoria. In the following year Batman, inspired by the Hentys, landed at Port Phillip, found the Yarra River, and picked out as his site for a village the site on which Melbourne now stands. None of the other capital cities in Australia stands today on the same site as was originally intended. Batman found some natives, and he entered into an agreement with them whereby he purchased 600,000 acres of land (an area eight times as large as the whole City of London) for the following articles: 40 pairs of blankets, 130 knives, 12 tomahawks, 18 red shirts, 40 mirrors, 62 pairs of scissors, 250 handkerchiefs, 4 flannel coats, 4 suits, and 150lb. of flour.
>
> The news of these settlements spread and by 1836 the population of Melbourne was 236. Today the population is 992,000 and that of Victoria 1,800,000.

The race was divided into two sections: one—a speed contest for a first prize of £10,000 and a gold cup valued at £650, a second prize of £1,500 and a third prize of £500; and a handicap race for prizes of £2,000 and £1,000. The donor of the prizes, totalling £15,000, was Sir MacPherson Robertson, the Melbourne millionaire chocolate manufacturer. All nations could enter the lists, with any type or power of machines. Originally sixty-four entrants wanted to compete; but some of them withdrew from the contest later. It was arranged that, for checking purposes, landings must be made at the control points at Baghdad, Allahabad (air station Bamrauli), Singapore, Darwin and Charleville, and there were other checking stations *en route* for the convenience of competitors. The total distance to be covered was 11,333 miles, divided into hops of 2,554 miles to Bagbdad, 2,299 miles to Allahabad, 2,219 miles to Singapore, 2,084 miles to Darwin, 1,389 miles to Charleville, and 791 miles to Melbourne. A map of the direct route is given here with acknowledgments to *Flight*.

Scott and Black were the first to reach Melbourne, thus becoming entitled to the first prize in the speed race.

FINAL SPEED RESULTS

Melbourne, Nov. 5.

Official placings in Mildenhall-Melbourne handicap race are:

Scott and Black	I
Parmentier	II
Melrose ...	III

HANDICAP RESULT

As Scott is ineligible for the handicap prize money, Parmentier and Melrose take the first and second prizes, respectively.

TIMINGS OF JOURNEY

Melbourne, Nov. 5.

Cathcart Jones and Waller have been awarded third speed prize in the air race according to official results. The second prize goes to Americans Roscoe Turner and Pangborne owing to the decision of Dutchmen Parmentier and Moll to accept first prize for the handicap race instead of second speed prize.

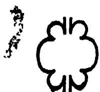
The official times are:

Scott and Black: Whole journey 70 hours 54 minutes 18 seconds. Flying time: 65-24-13. Nett handicap flying time: 68-48-19.

Parmentier and Moll: Whole journey 90-13-36, Flying time: 81-10-36, Nett Handicap flying time: 76-38-12.

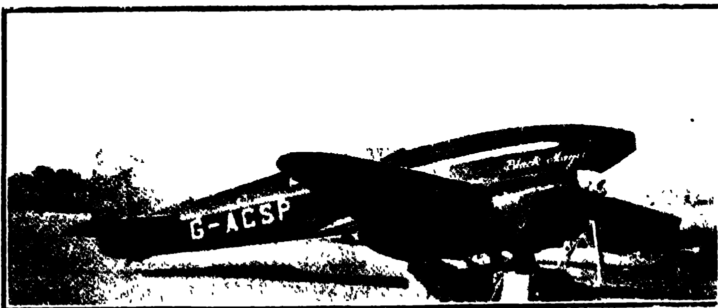
Handicap race flying times are:
Melrose 79-17-55.
Stodart and Stodart 79-32-30.
Macgregor and Walker 82-43-31.
Hewett and Kay 85-12-28.
Hanson 87-15-21.

Apart from questions of national glory and prestige, this air race has strategic, political and commercial importance.

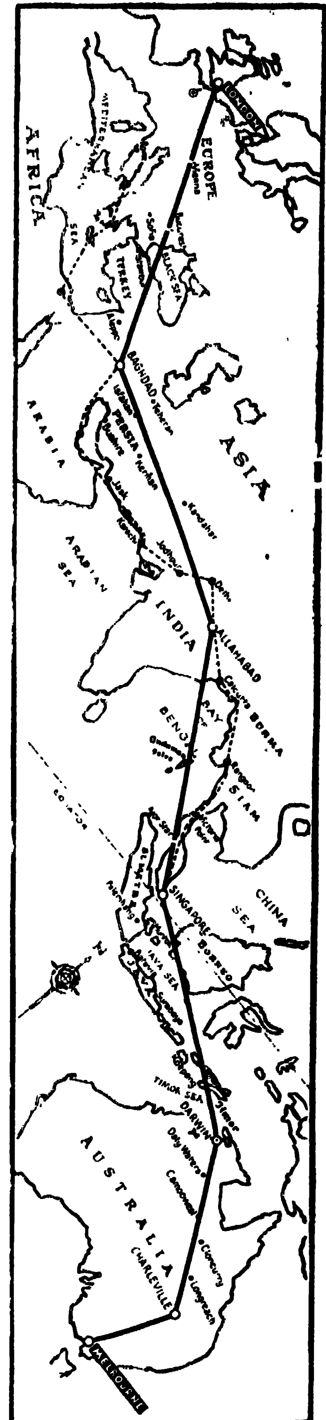












Left : 1. Aerodrome Station at Bamrauli, Allahabad. 2. D. H. Comet, Gipsy six, piloted by Scott and Black being refuelled at Bamrauli. 3. The Mollisons' aeroplane, the 'Black Magic' with one of its engines out of action, at Bamrauli. 4. Pand S4, Wright "Whirlwind" piloted by D. L. Astes and G. J. Geysendorfer, with its engines broken and two of the propellers taken off. (Photos by Mr. Sudhindranath Saha.) *Right* : London-Moulbourne air route.

NOTES

General Condemnation of Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report

From the point of view of the Indian nation—the aggregate of all the races and communities constituting the people of India—the "Report of the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the proposals contained in the White Paper on Indian Constitutional Reforms" deserves very strong condemnation. And such condemnation it has received from all those who have considered it from the national point of view. Though nobody started a competition in the use of strong language in characterizing it, the sense of dissatisfaction and resentment has been so great in our midst that publicists and public men in general appear to have naturally and spontaneously vied with one another as it were in delivering severe verbal attacks on the Report. It may be considered a sufficient condemnation of the Report to say that it is worse than the White Paper.

Mountain in Labour Produces Plague-infected Rat

Old Æsop wrote a fable about a mountain, which was in labour, producing a mouse.

If the bodies of men, of whom the British element formed the dominant and controlling section and had real power, and who were variously styled commission, conference and committee, had after six years of labour really produced a little mouse able to free India from the meshes of subjection by nibbling at them, that is, had given to Indians a self-expanding constitution with the smallest beginnings of automatically developing self-rule—some little real final power, however small, which could have grown automatically—that would have been some satisfaction. But they have not produced even such a mouse—they have not recommended the giving to Indians the smallest modicum of self-expanding final power.

Instead, they have produced a plague-infected rat, a constitution infested with communalism and other disruptive and disintegrating poisons.

Starting with Falsehoods

Falsehoods, explicit or implied, persistently repeated, sometimes come to be accepted or acquiesced in even by those who know their true character. Take, for example, the expression "Indian Round Table Conference." Properly speaking, a round table conference is "a conference between political parties in which each has equal authority, and at which it is agreed that the questions in dispute shall be settled amicably and with the maximum amount of 'give and take' on each side." This makes it clear that the so-called "Indian Round Table Conference" was not a round table conference at all. Hence, we have repeatedly used the word 'so-called' before 'Round Table Conference', when referring to it, though it is rather tiresome to do so. Take next the expression "Communal Award." When Mr. Ramsay MacDonald gave his decision on the Indian communal problem, he did not call it a communal award. He used the words "decision on communal representation." Moreover, the "Proceedings of the fourth meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Round Table Conference, held in the Committee Room in the Viceroy's House, Delhi, at 10-30 a. m. on the 24th February, 1932,"

with His Excellency Lord Willingdon in the chair, show conclusively that it was not an arbitral award. The Chairman brought that meeting to a close by saying that the Prime Minister's offer to arbitrate was not accepted. His Excellency's exact words were: "I am advised that at that time the Prime Minister made an offer as Chairman of the Committee, but that was not accepted." Therefore, the Communal Decision should not be called an Award. It is not binding on anybody. But recently the Director of Public Information has tried to show that it was an award. And now we find the J. P. C. Report calls it the Communal Award in paragraphs 118-120. But no amount of repetition can convert an untruth into a truth.

These two examples will show that persistent repetition of falsehoods may deceive people into believing them to be true.

The first paragraph of the summary of the Report of the Joint Select Committee supplied to the Press runs thus:

> "In presenting their Report to Parliament the Joint Select Committee place on record their appreciation of the help derived from their discussions with the Indian delegates. Particular mention is made of the Joint Memorandum signed by all the British Indian delegates which is stated to have been of great service to the Committee as focussing British Indian views."

The paragraph in the Report (vol. i, part i, p. vii) in which this has been done runs as follows:

> "We desire to place on record our appreciation of the assistance which we have derived from our full and frank discussions with the Delegates, for many of whom so long an absence from their own country must have caused great personal inconvenience and sacrifice. Their advice and co-operation have been of the greatest value to us. Many of them have furnished us with separate memoranda on various points, but we would mention in particular the Joint Memorandum signed by all the British Indian delegates who were still in England, which has been of great service to us as focussing British Indian views and to which we shall have occasion often to refer in the course of our Report."

The Committee know that the Indian gentlemen referred to were only nominees of the British Government. As "delegate" means "elected representative sent to conference" and as these persons were not elected by any group of Indians, large or small, in British India, it is wrong to call them British Indian delegates. Their views cannot be rightly regarded "as focussing British Indian views."

The signatories to the Joint Memorandum were the Aga Khan, Abdur Rahim, Shafaat Ahmed Khan, A. H. Ghuznavi, Zafrullah Khan, Henry Gidney, Phiroze Sethna, Buta Singh, M. R. Jayakar, H. S. Gour, B. R. Ambedkar, and N. M. Joshi. There is no Congressmen among them. The opinions of any body of men none of whom is a Congressman cannot be rightly called Indian views, though they may be called "opinions of some Indians." Only a few years ago the Governor-General of India spoke of the Congress as the most important political organization in India. And today, after the elections to the Assembly, nobody can deny that Congress is by far the largest and most representative organization in India. And yet the views of twelve non-Congressmen are referred to as British Indian views! British perhaps they are. But how far Indian, need not be said.

The Committee profess to attach great value to the Joint Memorandum of these Indian gentlemen. They have considered it so valuable that almost every one of the suggestions contained in it has been rejected!

Why J. P. C. Valued Joint Memorandum

As indicated above, the value which the Joint Select Committee of Parliament attached to the Joint Memorandum which the so-called delegates from British India submitted, is not obvious, for the Committee have rejected almost all their suggestions or proposals. Perhaps the Committee valued the Memorandum for some peculiar reason. Perhaps they thought that even the proposals and suggestions, embodying the irreducible demands of a body of Moderates, contained in them the seeds of India's political and economic freedom, and Indian ingenuity might be able to make these seeds germinate and grow up into mighty trees. Therefore, the Committee's task of preventing the evolution of India's political and economic freedom was made easier by the rejection of those minimum demands. The value of the Joint Memorandum lay in presenting within a brief compass the least which would satisfy even very moderate opinion in

India. By rejecting even these minimum demands, the Committee have been able axiomatically to reject the demand of *Purna Swaraj* made by the Congress.

Superiority of J. P. C. Report over White Paper

Though the recommendations of the J. P. Committee are worse than the White Paper proposals, the J. P. C. Report is in one respect superior to the White Paper—it possesses higher literary merits. But its higher literary value does not make it more acceptable to India.

J. P. Committee's Unwarranted Assumptions and Sophistry

English is a highly developed language, and has been used for centuries for diplomatic and imperialistic purposes. Its ample resources can, therefore, be used for purposes of sophistry and obfuscation.

By unwarranted assumptions, and sophistry, the J. P. Committee have tried to produce the impression that the "safe-guards" are like substitutes for some of the conventions which have grown up in Great Britain's parliamentary procedure and administrative operations, but which are not to be found in that country's written constitution, and that the dictatorial powers recommended by the Committee to be given to the Governor-General and the provincial Governors are like the executive powers possessed, for example, by the President of the United States of America!

No Indian, no body of Indians, possesses at present, the power to counteract the mischievous attempt of the Committee to prevent India from attaining self-rule. But that Committee may rest assured that the Indian intellect has not been and cannot be obfuscated by their Report. Its sophistry and unwarranted assumptions can all be exposed. They will be and are being exposed to a considerable extent, though not fully.

Why Thorough Exposure of J. P. C. Report Is Impracticable and Perhaps Waste of Energy

If there be not a thoroughgoing criticism and exposure of the J. P. C. Report, it will not be because the intellect and the fund of political knowledge and information of politically-minded Indians are not equal to the task. It will be because sufficient time will not be available and cannot be given for its performance. And perhaps to some extent the penal laws and the uncertainty of their interpretation and administration may be some discouragement.

The present long-drawn endeavour to keep Britain's political and economic grip over India unimpaired, of which the J. P. C. Report is the latest manifestation, began some six years ago with the Simon Commission. There were auxiliary committees to assist in its work. The Government of India took a long time to consider its report and give expression to their opinions. Then followed the so-called Round Table Conferences. The Joint Select Committee themselves, during their two sessions in 1932-33 and 1933-34 in the course of eighteen months, have held 159 meetings in all and have examined over 120 witnesses. The two parts of Volume I, Report and Proceedings, contain more than a thousand pages. The three booklets of Records contain more than a hundred pages of small print. We have not yet recieved Volume II, which contains the Records of the Joint Committee [*Session 1933-34*]. The Proceedings, Evidence and Records of the Committee [*Session 1932-33*] are to be found in other parliamentary publications.

To master all the literature produced by the J. P. C. alone in 18 months, not to speak of those produced by other bodies mentioned above, is a task which cannot be performed in the course of a few days or weeks or months. And the Bill, forming the draft of the future Government of India Act, will be before Parliament till July, 1935, after its introduction in January, 1935. Assuming, what is not true, that any Indian criticism can effectively influence the present House of Commons, the time at the disposal of any Indian or any Indian representative body is not sufficient for a thorough examination and exposure of the views of the J. P. C. Such criticism and exposure would require at least as much printed space as the thousand and odd pages of Vol. I. of the J. P. C. Report and Proceedings. No Indian newspaper or

periodical can devote so much space to the task.

But supposing so much space could be given, would it be worth while? The answer must be in the negative. The same practical contempt for and indifference to Indian opinion which characterize the J. P. C. Report are characteristics of the majority of sitting M. P.'s.

Nevertheless, as the majority of politically-minded Indians, including our readers, do not possess the leisure and the opportunities to get acquainted with and to study the facts and arguments at first-hand which newspaper men possess, we shall in succeeding issues, with the help of our kind contributors, present our readers with some detailed criticism of the J. P. C. Report. Of course, this is being done already by the leading newspapers.

Imperial Splendour of the Mogul Empire and the British Empire

Paragraph 6 of the J. P. C. Report records "the British Achievement." Paragraph 7 is devoted to the Mogul Empire. That paragraph contains the words: "The imperial splendour became the measure of the people's poverty." That could be said also of the Czarist regime in Russia.

It cannot be doubted that the British Empire also possesses "imperial splendour." Look at the palaces of the State in New Delhi and the provincial capitals and the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta.

As regards the material condition of the people, only two official statements need be quoted:

(1) The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, signed by Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the then Governor-General, states in section 132 that "the immense masses of the people [of India] are poor, ignorant, and helpless far beyond the standard of Europe."

(2) The J. P. C. Report itself states in paragraph 2 that in India "the average standard of living is low and can scarcely be compared even with that of the more backward countries of Europe."

Whether "imperial splendour" has any universal and necessary connection with "popular squalor" cannot be definitely asserted without examining the condition of the subject people under all empires, past and present. But there appears to be some such connection in some cases at any rate.

"The Educational and Material Progress of India."

It is stated in paragraph 9 of the J. P. C. Report:

> "...it can be claimed with certainty that in the period which has elapsed since 1858, when the Crown assumed supremacy over all the territories of the East India Company, the educational and material progress of India has been greater than it ever was within her power to achieve during any other period of her long and chequered history."

Regarding educational progress, let it be assumed that the claim has been rightly and correctly made. What is the extent of this educational achievement? In the Report itself it is admitted in paragraph 2:

> "Literacy is rare outside urban areas, and even in these the number of literates bears but a small proportion to the total population."

To be exact, only 8 per cent of the population are literate and 92 per cent are illiterate. Among civilized countries India holds the record for illiteracy. Japan began to be "modernized" by her native rulers much later than India was intentionally or unintentionally subjected to "modernization" by her foreign ones. Yet, except among infants, literacy is practically universal in Japan among both sexes, and no country at present surpasses her in literacy. The aboriginal Negroes in Africa were an alphabetless and literatureless people. Those of them who were sold into slavery in America and their descendants could be educated legally only after December 11, 1865, the date of their emancipation. Before that date it was a penal offence to teach them or for them to receive education. Yet in sixty-five years since 1865, education spread among them to such an extent that in 1930 only 16.3 per cent of them were illiterate. In Russia in 1926 the percentage of illiterates was 48.7. At the end of 1930 it was 33. And at the end of 1933 it was only 10.

These statistics show that the authors of the J. P. C. Report should have avoided

referring to educational progress in India. Such progress can and ought to be measured only by the spread of education among the masses, of however rudimentary a character; not by the production of a number of graduates and undergraduates. That being so, perhaps it may be said that there has been little educational *progress* in India worth mentioning so far as the masses are concerned. For the late Mr. Keir Hardie wrote in his work on *India*, page 5:

> "MaxMuller, on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population."

There is not in Bengal even now an educational institution of any kind or grade for every 400 of the population.

Keir Hardie continues:

> "Ludlow in his history of British India says that 'in every Hindoo village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system, as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared'."

Mr. Edward J. Thompson writes in *The Reconstruction of India*, published in 1930, p. 255, that in pre-British India, "there was more literacy, if of a low kind, than until within the last ten years." But even now there is practically literacy only of a low kind among only 8 per cent of the population; and we have adduced evidence above to show that there was more of it before. If there is at present a small class of English-book-learned men, there was formerly a similar small Sanskrit-book-learned or Persian-book-learned class.

Mr. Thompson speaks of the state of things "ten years ago," that is in 1920. Well, in 1921 the percentage of illiteracy in India was 92·9, and in 1931 it had become 92. And even this imperceptible progress is illusory. For whereas in 1921 there were 29,34,31,580 illiterates in the country, the number of illiterates in 1931 had increased to 32,16,28,003.

In the previous note we have given two official statements relating to the material condition of the masses, who form the vast bulk of the people. An indication of the material condition of the people of a country is afforded by their "expectation of life" in years at birth. A table of the "expectation of life" in different countries is reproduced below from the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pages 171-172:—

Country.	Expectation of Life at Birth in Years. Males.	Females
Australia	55·20	58·84
Denmark	54·9	57·9
England	48·53	52·38
France	45·74	49·13
Germany	44·82	48·33
Holland	51·0	53·4
India	22·59	23·31
Italy	44·24	44·83
Japan	43·97	44·85
Norway	54·84	57·72
Sweden	54·53	55·98
Switzerland	49·25	52·15
United States of America	49·32	52·54

What the J. P. C. Report Recommends

It is difficult to state briefly what the J. P. C. Report recommends. Such reports generally give at the end of the chapters or at the end of the volumes the recommendations in collected form. This report does nothing of the kind. By having the introductory matter and the Proposals printed in separate sections the White Paper made it easy for the reader to find out the proposals. In the case of the J. P. C. Report one has to wade through the entire contents of the first part of Volume I to find out what the Committee's recommendations and suggestions are. The summary officially supplied to the Press is necessarily meagre.

In going through the Report proper, the reader will find that the Committee recommends the shadow of self-government to be given instead of the substance. It would be mockery to call it constitutional reform.

Far from recommending the grant of Dominion Status and Responsible Government the Report does not even theoretically accept these as the distant ideal or goal.

It fully maintains the control of the Government of India from Britain.

The future Indian legislature will not be competent to amend the constitution.

Defence, External Affairs, and practically also finance, currency, exchange, etc., will be outside the jurisdiction of the Central Legislature, the Governor-General being expressly or by implication invested with dictatorial powers over these matters.

There is to be no statutory declaration of fundamental rights.

Like the present Government of India and Central Legislature the future Federal Government and Legislature will have no power to accelerate the Indianization of the army, or to reduce the white garrison or to reduce the present extravagant military expenditure.

All national governments possess and, when necessary, exercise powers to promote national industry and commerce by legislative and administrative means. In order to "hang" all such methods of promoting the economic interests of India, the White Paper and the J. P. C. Report give them the "bad name" of "commercial discrimination." In this matter the Committee go further than the White Paper.

> "The Committee accept the White Paper proposal that the Governor-General and Governors should have a special responsibility for the prevention of discrimination, but consider it should be made clear in the Act that this responsibility would extend to the prevention of administrative discrimination in any of the matters in respect of which provision is made against legislative discrimination."

Not the Government of India and its Legislature but a statutory railway authority almost independent of them will have control over state railways. Hence the promotion of Indian industry and commerce and the convenience and comfort of Indian passengers through these railways will be beyond the power of the Indian legislature if the statutory railway authority be not merciful.

There is to be no direct election to the Assembly, but the method of indirect election discarded in 1919 is to be adopted with the additional disadvantage of separate communal election by provincial legislatures.

The Communal Decision of the Prime Minister is accepted in full.

There is no knowing when Federation is to come, and, when it comes, the autocratic rulers of the states and the bureaucracy will have complete power to hold Indian nationalism in check.

> "Federation should not come into existence until the Rulers of States representing not less than half the total population of the States and entitled to not less than half the seats alloted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber have signified their desire to accede." "The accession of a State cannot take place otherwise than by the voluntary act of its Ruler." "There can be no question of compulsion so far as the States are concerned."

The Rulers of the States (and others who have inside knowledge) know that these exalted personages are not exactly free agents. They know that they cannot go against the wishes of the Residents and Political Agents in any important political matter. Therefore, it is clear that it will be possible for the latter to postpone the birth of Federation as long as may be considered necessary by preventing the 'voluntary' accession of a sufficient number of States.

In the meantime there is to be so-called provincial autonomy.

> The Committee endorse the general plan of the White Paper for a statutory delimitation of the respective spheres of government between the Central and Provincial Governments. However carefully the lists of subjects of legislation are drawn up including a list of subjects of concurrent jurisdiction, nevertheless a residue is inevitable. Accepting the White Paper proposal, the Committee agree that the allocation of the residue should be left to the Governor-General.
>
> The White Paper plan to create new Provinces of Sind and Orissa is approved.

These deficit Provinces will be subsidized by the Central Government. Provincial autonomy will be nominal. For the Ministers will be dummies and the Governors will have dictatorial powers. "Safe-guards," "special responsibilities," "Governors' Acts," the power to withold assent to legislation, and so on, are mere cloaks for investing the Governors with such powers. "The Committee agree that for the discharge of his special responsibilities the Governor will need power to secure finance and legislation."

Ministers and the Legislature will have no power over officers of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. Ministers will not be competent to amend Police Acts or even revise Police Regulations without the concurrence of the Governor.

Not only Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces but also Bombay and Madras are to have second chambers.

The Governor-General and Viceroy is to be the Super-dictator. He is to be a greater Dictator than he is now.

Burma is to be separated from India simultaneously with the inauguration of "reforms" in the Indian provinces, the

prevailing Burmese anti-separatist opinion being ignored or brushed aside.

Unity of India Jeopardized

In order that India may be free and remain free it is necessary that she should be united and remain united. One of the reasons why she could be enslaved so often was that she was not united. But the J. P. C. Report divides her into separate units by giving her the semblance of provincial autonomy and relegating the federation of these units with the States to an indefinitely distant future. And even when, if ever, this federation comes, it will be, not a federation, but a sort of confederation, with the foreign autocrats and bureaucrats lording it over the whole of India with the rulers of the States at their beck and call.

British autocratic and bureaucratic rule was, perhaps unintentionally, accelerating the unification of India in various ways. The mock provincial autonomy intended to be given to India will reverse that process and may end in her disruption and disintegration unless the people of India are able to exert all their powers to remain united and become free.

Danger to India of Provincial Autonomy

Provincial autonomy, or rather its semblance, has all along been liked by British Imperialists, as, for example, the following extract from Major B. D. Basu's *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India* will show :

> One of the proposals for the consolidation of the Christian power in India, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was what was euphemistically called "provincial autonomy," but which was really the policy of "Divide and rule." Before the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of the Britishers in India, Major G. Wingate, who appeared as a witness on 13th July, 1858, on being asked, "7771. You speak of the dangers that arise from a central government and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that might be dangerous ?"
>
> answered :
>
> "Yes. I think that, if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested, that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority, than if a question were simply agitated in one division of the empire ; if a question were agitated throughout the length and breadth of the empire, it would surely be much more dangerous to the foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only."
>
> "7772. *Mr. Danby Seymour*—
>
> "Is what you mean this, that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing at the same time ?"
>
> "Yes."

On these questions and answers Major Basu's comments in his book are :

> He (Major G. Wingate) gave expression to the feeling which was uppermost in the minds of the Britishers at that time, not to do anything which might "amalgamate" the different creeds and castes and provinces of India. So everything was being done to prevent the growing up of a community of feelings and interests throughout India which would make the people of India politically a nation. Of course, they have been a nation in a different sense since antiquity.

These extracts may indicate the conscious or sub-conscious feeling which has perhaps led the J. P. Committee to grant the "boon" of so-called provincial autonomy at once to the people of India, relegating federation to an uncertain future.

Disintegration and Re-integration

It has been generally recognized, and that rightly, that Mr. Attlee's Draft Report is statesmanlike and better than the J. P. C. Report. Mr. Attlee writes in his Draft with reference to the disintegration and re-integration involved in provincial autonomy and federation respectively :

> "The Indian Statutory Commission pointed out that the formation of a Federation entailed a double process : that of the creation of autonomous Provinces and their re-integration in a Federation. We have no doubt that the double process must be embodied in the same Statute and that the time lag which may be necessary between the establishment of Provincial autonomy and the creation of the federation should be no longer than that which is absolutely dictated by administrative necessity."

Mr. Attlee evidently knows that without Federation provincial autonomy would destroy the unity and power of India. He, therefore, does not agree that the accession of a sufficient number of States should be a condition precedent to Federation. Says he :

> "The White Paper suggests that a federation which comprised the Provinces and only a small number of the States would hardly be deserving of the name. We are unable to agree. We consider that the forces making for Federation are so strong that it is certain that before long a majority of the States, in numbers and population, will accede."

So far as the feelings of the Rulers themselves of the States are concerned, the last-quoted sentence is most probably correct. But if their masters, the Residents and Political Agents, will otherwise, the result may be different.

Mr. Attlee continues :

"At the same time it is possible that there might be some hesitation at the beginning and we see no reason why the rest of India should wait for a certain number of Rulers of States to change their opinions before enjoying responsibility at the Centre. We would prefer that the Federation should start with a very large proportion of the Indian States included in it, but we believe that in any event a start should be made and that it should be possible to build up a Federation by a gradual accretion of States."

But Mr. Attlee's draft was summarily rejected and the opinions and policy of the would-be disintegrators of India have prevailed.

Does J. P. C. Deliberately Want to Destroy Indian Unity ?

The Joint Parliamentary Committee know that Provincial Autonomy would have a disruptive effect without Federation being brought about. Yet they do not insist upon Federation even half as strongly as on Provincial Autonomy. Why, they do not even really believe in Indian unity while professing to do so ! We quote below a few sentences from their Report in support of our observations

"We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India, but, in transferring so many of the powers of Government to the Provinces, and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent life of their own we have been running the inevitable risk of weakening or even destroying that unity Provincial Autonomy is, in fact an inconceivable policy unless it is accompanied by such an adaptation of the structure of the Central Legislature as will bind these autonomous units together.'

The men who say that unity is the greatest gift of British rule also say the following !

"A completely united Indian polity cannot, it is true, be established either now or, so far as human foresight can extend, at any time."

" a responsible British-India Centre is not a possible solution of the constitutional problem, or would, at most, only be possible at the price of very large deductions from the scope of its responsibility."

Shipping in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report

In the section dealing with commercial and other forms of discrimination, the Joint Committee devote a short paragraph to shipping. Shipping is singled out for the application of the principle of reciprocity, partly because of the special nature of shipping legislation and partly because of the vital importance of shipping to British economic life, not to mention the desire to prevent any legislation like reservation of Indian coastal trade for Indian-owned shipping in future. The principle of reciprocity which is to regulate shipping registered in British India and the United Kingdom is one that cannot bear scrutiny. Reciprocity as a basis of economic relationship between England and India, especially in an industry like shipping, is meaningless because of the disparity between the interests which Indians have or could have in England and the interests which Britishers have and will continue to have in India. Moreover, the divergence in the economic development of the two countries and the fact that British shipping dominates not only the overseas but the coastal trade of India make the plea of reciprocity simply preposterous. The inferiority of Indians, as compared to Britishers, whether in India or in England, rests not on legal principles but on economic facts. It is because Great Britain has nothing to fear from a weak and industrially backward India that she is prepared to concede this formal but unreal reciprocity. As Mr. G. L. Mehta remarked in his article on "Commercial Discrimination," published in this journal in April 1933, "to grant to Indians the right to start steel works in Sheffield or cotton mills in Lancashire or shipping firms in Liverpool in return for the same privilege to Britishers in India is a joke which may be entertaining to its makers but seems cruel to Indians."

The White Paper recommended in paragraph 123 that provision will be made on the same lines for equal treatment on a reciprocal basis of ships registered respectively in British India and the United Kingdom. The Joint Committee in paragraph 354 deal, therefore, with the same point. It will be noticed that "ships registered in the United

Kingdom are not to be subjected by law in British India to any discrimination whatsoever as regards the ship, officers or crew or her passengers or cargo, to which ships registered in British India would not be subjected in the United Kingdom." If, for instance, in order to give effect to the policy of Indianization of marine services and to assist the employment of Indian navigation officers and engineers trained in the "Dufferin" and elsewhere, the Government of India propose to make the employment of Indian technical staff as a condition precedent to plying on the Indian coast or receiving mail subsidy, it will have no power to do so, because no corresponding legislation exists in England. Similarly, if owing to Japanese or other foreign competition or owing to rate-wars between British and Indian shipping companies plying on the coast, the Government want to introduce a licensing system laying down conditions under which ships could be engaged in the maritime trade of India, the Government would be precluded from doing so. Coastal reservation would, of course, be rendered impossible and the Government of India would be deprived in future of the powers which they possess even at present, because in theory, at any rate, there is nothing to prevent the present Legislature passing a measure like the Coastal Reservation Bill. It is a patent argument of British interests that Britain herself does not protect her coastal trade against foreigners. This is absolutely irrelevant, because as stated by Mon. Reny Mausaize in his work on shipping, the real reason for throwing the English coast open to all ships was not a matter of principle but an urgent necessity for domestic industries, especially coal, to be properly served. In fact, however, British shipping is so strong that more than 90% of British coastal trade is carried on by British vessels alone. Nevertheless, even in recent years there have been proposals of reserving the British coastal trade to British shipping and even the inter-Imperial trade to vessels flying the British flag, in which, of course, the shipping of the United Kingdom being the largest would have the lion's share. We are aware of the passion for reciprocity and partnership which has suddenly inspired Whitehall and Delhi, but we are afraid their desire for equality is taking rather ominously fantastic and inequitable forms!

Indirect Election to the Federal Legislature through the Provincial Legislatures

The indirect method of election to the Central Legislature, adopted in the Minto-Morley reforms, was discarded in 1919 and the direct method adopted instead. But the J. P. C. Report reverts to the indirect method. Lord Reading, Lord Ker and Mr. Foot moved an amendment in favour of the direct method. They opposed the indirect method for five main and very weighty reasons. These are stated and elaborated in a long paragraph (pp. 373-375, vol i, part ii). We shall quote only the reasons.

> In the first place it means that the provinces, in effect, will be able to control the Central Legislature and therefore the Ministry. The supreme problem in India is the maintenance of its constitutional unity. The breakdown of its central government is the greatest catastrophe which could overtake the country. Yet to constitute the central legislature by what, in effect, will be provincial delegations, the majority of whom will hold their seats on the nomination, and at times of re-election at the discretion, of the Provincial Governments and the parties which support them in office, would, in our view, aggravate the tendency to provincial separatism which already exists and endanger the unity of India.. In the second place the system inevitably involves the confusion of provincial and all-India issues at times of election with bad results for both central and provincial legislatures....In the third place the system inevitably opens the door to corruption, for it means that each member of the central legislature, which will deal with matters vitally affecting business and finance, will be elected by a number of provincial electors on the average not more than 7 or 8 in number. . . . . Fourthly, the system of electing the central legislature by the provincial legislatures is bound to be extremely intricate and confusing with its combination of electoral colleges elected by enormous constituencies in some provinces with election by the provincial Upper Houses which are themselves elected in part by the Provincial Assemblies, in others. It is likely to be caucus-ridden and it will inevitably make necessary large numbers of provincial bye-elections whenever an election to the central legislature takes place, with possibly unfortunate results on the stability of the provincial ministries. Finally, this form of indirect system involves reversing a system which has already been in operation for the Indian Legislative Assembly not unsuccessfully for thirteen years and which has the support of the great majority of Indian political leaders."

But with their practical contempt for

Indian public opinion the J. P. C. could not possibly be influenced by the fact of the direct system being supported by the great majority of Indian political leaders.

In their first and second reasons Lord Reading and his two colleagues wanted that members of the central legislature should be men of a National, an all-India, outlook, and not of a merely provincial outlook. But such reasoning could not possibly find favour with the majority of the members of the J. P. C., who wanted to destroy Indian Nationhood and establish separatism and parochialism in its stead.

Inconsistencies in J. P. C. Report

There are so many good principles laid down in the J. P. C. Report with recommendations of an opposite character that it would be difficult to enumerate them. Nor have we space to do so. We must rest content with simply mentioning the fact.

Public Opinion Disregarded, though its Existence is Admitted

The J. P. Committee recognize the reality of Indian political aspirations, though in a very grudging spirit. They also admit that in India "a public opinion does exist." Yet their contempt for it is so great that, far from accepting to the smallest extent the opinions of the Congress, which represents the largest number of courageous and self-sacrificing politically-minded citizens, the Committee observe ;

> "Indeed, we recognize that even moderate opinion in India has advocated and hoped for a simpler and more sweeping transfer of power than we have felt able to recommend. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that there is a section of opinion in India with whom the prospect of agreement appears to be remote."

Is it this that the Committee appear to drive at, that, as there is no chance of placating Congressmen, who alone count, there is no need of rallying the Moderates, who do not count? Whatever the answer to this question may be, the J. P. C. console themselves with the discovery of the emergence of "a body of central opinion." Precious discovery!

Professor S. S. Bhatnagar's Self-Sacrifice

We print below a note by Prof. M. N. Saha, F. R.S., on the munificent donation of Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar for the encouragement of chemical research in the Panjab University.



Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar

"The princely donation of the sum of a lakh and a half of rupees by Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar to the Panjab University is a unique event in the history of education in India. For Prof. Bhatnagar is neither a Rajah nor a millionaire, but comes from the hungry middle class ; he had to struggle through early years of comparative want to his present position as Professor of Chemistry at Lahore, which he won through sheer industry and merit, and, like many other Indian Professors in a like position, he has to provide for his family and numerous poor relations and needy students. The sum of a lakh and a half may not be anything to a millionaire, but is a fortune to Bhatnagar ; but with rare largeness of heart, he has handed over the sum to his alma mater for scientific work.

"There is one unique precedent for such a donation by a teacher of science for the promotion of scientific reseach alone, *viz.*, the gift of Sir P. C. Ray to the Calcutta University, whose example, the writer is informed in a private letter, has been the source of inspiration to Bhatnagar.

"India does not lack in rich men though the masses are sunk in abject poverty ; in fact, according to a recent estimate, five of the world's fifteen foremost millionaires are to be found in India. But, besides the gifts of the late Mr. J. N. Tata, Sir T. N. Palit, Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, and Rao Bahadur D. Lakshmi Narayana of C. P., no large endowments from rich men have yet been forthcoming for scientific research. In America, it is considered to be a disgrace to die a millionaire. The millions of Carnegie and Rockefeller are being used for financing a large number of scientific undertakings and are responsible for the recent remarkable contributions of the United States of America to the progress of Science.

"The gift of Bhatnagar should act as an incentive to our millionaires for making further philanthrophic gifts for scientific research. Instead of hoarding money in the form of jewellery, bullion and other frozen material, which will one day be squandered by their successors, they should invest their money in the young generations, for provision for higher education of the coming generation is the best investment for the future. The writer has the experience of half a generation of young men eager to do scientific work and get a name for themselves and their country. They can give as good an account of themselves as any European or American youth, provided they are helped in their work by gifts and organizations like the Carnegie and Rockefeller Trusts of America."

The "Statesman" on Minorities

In its editorial on the above subject of November 15th last *The Statesman* has probably referred to me in the following words : "We hope that the Professor of Economics who lately accused Great Britain of a violation of international law knows more of economics than he does of international law." But the reference is sadly mistaken both in its form and in its contents. I happen to be a Professor of History whose business is to deal with its sources and documents. A special study of these has led me to the following conclusions :

(1) The States-members of the League of Nations (including India and England) have agreed that "the problem of minorities is to be treated as a matter of international concern and not as a domestic concern of any individual sovereign State."

(2) Those Minorities alone are eligible for protection who form "a considerable proportion of the population," at least 20 to 25 per cent of the population.

(3) The protection of Minorities who satisfy the above numerical test is to be strictly confined only to their linguistic, racial, and religious differences and interests.

(4) Minorities should not be protected to a fault and in a manner which is subversive of the State itself.

These conclusions embodied in regular treaties, known as Minorities Guarantee Treaties, rule out separate electorate and communal reservations of representation.

Sir Austen Chamberlain states these conclusions thus: "It was certainly not my intention or of those who had devised this system of Minority protection to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life."

This is echoed thus by another State representative : "We must avoid creating a State within a State. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group, instead of becoming fused in the society in which it lives."

The number of complaints being lodged with the League of Nations by European Minorities lead *The Statesman* to conclude that the system is not working well in Europe. It does not know the fact that the complaints are due to supposed violations of the treaties and not to the treaties themselves or their provisions. But the chief source of the complaints lies in the fact that the treaties are treated as being only one-sided, and as binding on one set of Powers, the vanguished in the Great War, and not on the victorious Powers (including

India and England) who imposed the treaties on the vanquished. The ground of this complaint was admitted both by France and England, who explained that "they have not signed any such Minorities Treaties because they had no Minorities. To find Minorities in France or England, they would have to be created in imagination." Ultimately a compromise was effected by the Victors and the Vanguished by resolving that the States not legally bound by the Minorities Treaties are nevertheless morally bound by their principles in the treatment of their respective Minorities.

The situation was further clenched by Arthur Henderson as President of the League Council by his declaration that "the League's scheme of Minority Protection now forms a part of the Public Law of Europe and of the world."

Perhaps *The Statesman* considers that India is not a part of that world and lies outside the domain of International Law. Perhaps *The Statesman* does not like India to continue as a member of the League with all its cultural burden and international obligations.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

Congress Victory in the General Elections

In the general elections Congress has proved its claim to be by far the predominant representative organization in the country. In the new Assembly Congress Members, of the Congress Parliamentary Board Party and the Congress Nationalist Party combined, will be the largest single political party.

The New Assembly & J. P. C. Report

The strength of the Congress group in the new Assembly is, no doubt, not such as will enable them to carry any of their motions without the help of members of other groups. But nevertheless they will be a powerful body. And so far as the J. P. C. scheme of "reforms" is concerned, they are likely to be joined by some M. L. A.s of other groups either in wholesale or piecemeal condemnation of it. If such a condemnatory motion be carried in the Assembly, or, in any case, if the majority of elected members vote in favour of such a motion, what will the British Government do? Colonel Wedgwood tried to sound Sir Samuel Hoare on the matter, with no satisfactory result, as the following questions and answers show:

LONDON, Nov. 26.

In the House of Commons Col. Wedgwood asked whether official nominated members of the Legislative Assembly will be authorized to vote on the issue of acceptance of the new Federal constitution.

Sir Samuel Hoare replied, Col. Wedgwood will hardly expect an answer to the question without knowing the terms of any resolution which may be moved in the Legislative Assembly on the subject of constitutional reform.

Col. Wedgwood asked: "May we take it that the measure will not come into force unless passed by a majority of the elected members?

Sir Samuel Hoare:—I cannot give an assurance of that kind. You are raising a hypothetical issue.

Col. Wedgwood: Have you not yet considered that position?

Sir Samuel Hoare: I have considered it and many other questions.

Col. Wedgwood: Have you come to any conclusion?

Sir Samuel Hoare did not reply.

The Cabinet held a special meeting yesterday morning and it is understood discussed the business connected with the Select Committee report.—*Reuter.*

Congress Nationalist Victory in Bengal

All the six seats in the Assembly open to Hindus in Bengal have been won by candidates of the Congress Nationalist party. It shows that Bengal Congressmen are for the unequivocal condemnation and rejection of the Prime Minister's communal decision. The Congress bureaucracy should note this fact. While doing so, they should also bear in mind the fact that Bengal Congressmen have not been backward in undergoing suffering and sacrifice for the Congress cause and that members of the Congress Nationalist party are as much Congressmen as others.

Non-inclusion of Any Bengali Congressman in Working Committee

We do not think the non-inclusion of any Bengali Congressman in the Congress Working Committee was due to any deliberate intention to spite or slight Bengal. But the fact is to be deplored nevertheless. Congress has divided India into twenty-one linguistic provinces, but the number of ordinary members of the Working Committee is only 14. Therefore, the non-inclusion in the Committee of the representatives of at least

7 provinces in any year is certain ; and more provinces may be excluded, as generally some provinces have more than one member in it. We have, therefore, urged before, and do so again that the number of C. W. C. members should be raised to 25, or at least to 21. Twenty-five is not a very large number for a large country like India.

The Congress provinces are linguistic provinces. In India the numbers of speakers of the principal languages above two crores are: Hindusthani languages, 121,254,000; Bengali, 53,468,000; Telugu, 26,373,000; Panjabi and Lahnda, 24,660,000 ; Marathi and Konkani, 21,361,000; Tamil, 20,411,000. The language which is spoken by the largest number of persons next to the Hindusthani languages should not go unrepresented in the Congress Working Committee.

A British Periodical's Appreciation of Dr. Sunderland

Town and Country Review, a London illustrated monthly magazine, has published an appreciative character-sketch of the Rev. J. T. Sunderland, who is by birth an Englishman and by naturalization an American. In India he is generally known as the author of "India in Bondage." There are other facts regarding his life and work which are worth knowing and are reproduced below from the above-mentioned British periodical.

> Dr. Jabez T. Sunderland is of particular interest to Englishmen for two especial reasons -he was born in Yorkshire, England, as long ago as 1842, being taken to America by his parents at the age of two years, and as the author of "India in Bondage. . . . . ."
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> Dr. Sunderland was educated at the University of Chicago, from which he was graduated in 1867 with the degree of B.A. He obtained his Master's degree in 1869, and holds the degree of D.D. of Tufts University.
>
> He was ordained to the Baptist Ministry in 1870, and has been pastor at a number of important churches in the United States and Canada. He went to India in 1895 on commission from the British Unitarian Association to study and report upon the educational, social and religious conditions of the Indian people, and has been the non-resident Lecturer on sociology and the religions of India in Theological Schools in Meadsville, Pennsylvania, and Canton, New York. Since his return from India he has been a devoted student of Indian History, Literature, Art, Civilization, and especially Social, Political and Economic Problems.
>
> In 1913-14, he was Billings Lecturer of the American Unitarian Association to India, China and Japan. While in India, was president of the All-India Theistic Conference. Has been President of the India Information Bureau of New York (1918-22); Editor of Young India (New York, 1918-21), and President of the India Society of America (1923-28). Is now Honorary President of "The American League for India's Freedom" and Vice-President of "The All-World Gandhi Fellowship." He contributes extensively to Indian periodicals, and is the author of twenty books, five of which are published in India. . . . . .
>
> In other schools of thought and teaching, Dr. Sunderland has also been active. In his early Ministry, he established, and for twelve years edited "The Unitarian," a monthly magazine which obtained a large circulation among the Unitarian Churches of the United States and also a considerable circulation in England. In this connection he is the author of "What Do Unitarians Believe?" a statement which he wrote and had printed in Ann Arbor, Michigan, for use in connection with his student work there, and 85,000 copies were circulated before the booklet was published by the American Unitarian Association (25, Beacon Street, Boston) who now issue it as No. 11 of their publications, the pamphlet, which has reached a circulation of more than 300,000, being made available through the fund for the distribution of free literature. Copies may therefore be obtained from the American Unitarian Association.
>
> Dr. Sunderland has written profusely since 1878, when he produced "A Rational Faith" and "What is the Bible?" right along up to 1925 when his "Evolution and Religion" was published. His two religious books which are the most popular and have the largest sale are his "Origin and Character of the Bible" and "The Bible and Bible Country.' The former has been translated into the Russian and Bulgarian languages.
>
> As might be expected, Dr. Sunderland has always been deeply interested in Foreign Missions. No other Unitarian has done so much to carry liberal Christian thought to the Orient. During all of his ministry Dr. Sunderland has laboured steadily to bring lovers of religious liberty into sympathy and co-operation. His pulpit exchanges have been not only with Unitarians, but with Universalists, Liberal Jews and to some extent with liberal ministers of orthodox churches.
>
> He has always secured a great following. In Toronto his Sunday evening addresses were such as to give him the unique experience of being visited by the Chief of Police and informed that unless measures were taken to overcome the crowding of his church, the law would be enforced upon him and his congregation!

Lord Zetland on the Communal Decision as Affecting Bengal

It appears from the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee, June 29, 1934, that the Marquess of Zetland (formerly Lord Ronaldshay, ex-Governor of Bengal, moved an amendment to lessen the injustice done to Bengal Hindus—particularly the "caste" Hindus

by the Communal Decision and the Poona Pact combined. Nine members, including Lord Zetland and Lord Lytton (ex-Governors of Bengal), Lord Hardinge (ex-Viceroy) and Sir Reginald Craddock (ex-Governor of the Central Provinces), voted for the amendment. Fourteen members, including two ex-Viceroys, who had no experience of Bengal, voted against it. So the amendment was lost. The amendment and the reasons for it are to be found in the paragraphs, pp. 338-341 of part ii, vol. i of the J. P. C. Report, quoted below. They are long, but will amply repay perusal. It will be seen that Lord Zetland's arguments are in many cases the same as those which we have urged in these columns.

("121. We have found ourselves in some difficulty in dealing with this aspect of the problem, owing to the declaration of the Government, referred to in paragraph 119, that they would entertain no suggestions for the alteration of their Award which had not the support of all the parties affected, and we might well have felt justified in the circumstances in holding that the matter was one which had been placed beyond our purview. This course was rendered difficult however, by the representations of those who desired to give evidence before us, as to its effect upon the development of responsible self-government particularly in the Presidency of Bengal: and by deciding, as we did, that such evidence was admissible, we automatically brought the matter within the scope of our enquiry. The original Award was strongly criticised by more than one witness who appeared before us on the ground that it must operate inequitably in the case of Bengal: and it was urged that the disadvantage at which the caste Hindus would be placed under it would be greatly intensified as a result of the adoption of the Poona Pact. Particular objection was taken to the reservation of seats and the employment of separate communal electorates in a province in which the community in whose interest the reservation is made forms a majority of the population. We cannot but be impressed by the force of this contention and we think it desirable that we should set forth our views as to the purpose for which the reservation of seats and the device of separate electorates should be employed.

"The system was introduced at the time of the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 with a view to safeguarding the interests of minorities and in particular the Moslem Minority; and while, on general grounds, we may deplore the necessity for such a device we have reluctantly come to the conclusion that in existing circumstances in India the necessity persists. We do not, therefore, propose to elaborate the objections which may be urged against the system as a whole. But it is one thing to concede separate communal electorates for the purpose of giving Minorities reasonable representation in the various legislatures; it is an entirely different thing to employ the system for the purpose of conferring upon a majority community in any particular province a permanent majority in the legislature unalterable by any appeal to the electorate. Such a course has never hitherto been adopted. It was considered and rejected by the Statutory Commission, who declared that a claim submitted to them which in Bengal and the Punjab would give to the Moslem community a fixed and unalterable majority in the *general constituency* seats, was one which they could not entertain; 'it would be unfair', they wrote, 'that Muhammadans should retain the very considerable weightage they now enjoy in the six provinces and that there should at the same time be imposed, in face of Hindu and Sikh Opposition, a definite Moslem majority in the Punjab and in Bengal unalterable by any appeal to the electorate.' This is the position which will arise if the distribution of seats proposed in the White Paper for the Legislative Assembly of Bengal, is given effect to. The Legislative Assembly is to consist of 250 seats. Of these 51 are allotted to Special interests, leaving 199 general seats. Of these general seats 119 are to be reserved for Moslems leaving 80 for the Hindus. But under the terms of the Poona Pact 30 of these 80 seats are to be reserved for the so-called depressed classes, hereafter to be known as the Scheduled Castes, and the number of general seats open to the Caste Hindus is thus reduced to 50. It is probable that in the case of the 20 special interest seats which are open to Moslems and Hindus, the great majority will fall to the Hindus; but even if the Caste Hindus were to secure the whole 20 seats they would still be arbitrarily limited by Statute to 70 seats in a Legislative Assembly of 250. To restrict in this way the possible share in the government of the province, of the community which plays a predominant part in its intellectual and political life, seems to us to be both unwise and unfair. Before making our recommendations we have one further comment to make on the effect in Bengal of the Poona Pact. The object of reserving seats for the depressed classes should be in our view, to secure to the real depressed classes—that is to say the Sudras, or outcasts—a voice in the legislature. We believe that in Bengal the number of such people is small: and we fear that the result of extending the list of scheduled castes as proposed in the White Paper, will be to defeat the object in view, for it will not then be members of the real depressed classes who will be returned for the Scheduled Caste Seats, but members of the powerful Namasudra and Rajbansi Castes who experience no difficulty in getting returned to the legislature even now without any reservation of seats at all, and whose interests are as much opposed to those of the untouchables as are the interests of the highest castes themselves.

"We have now to submit our recommendations. With the Moslems in a majority in any particular province, we think that no reservation of seats for them ought to be necessary, and the logical solution of the problem would be to make no provision for a separate Moslem electorate but to throw the whole of the *general* seats open to Moslems and Hindus, so that candidates whether Moslems or Hindus would have to stand on their merits and make their appeal to the electors at large. We realise, however, that in this case that which is desirable is not necessarily expedient and we feel constrained to suggest a less radical alteration. We therefore, recommend as a general principle that in any province in which seats are reserved for a community which constitutes a majority of the population, a decision whether election in the case of the general seats, including

those reserved for the majority community, should be by separate or by joint electorate, should rest with the minority.

"There remains the question of the Poona Pact. We need not recall the circumstances in which the so-called pact was concluded. We do not think that those who were parties to it can be said to have been accredited representatives of the caste Hindus or to have possessed any mandate to effect a settlement. We think that the arrangements for the representation of the depressed classes contained in the original award of His Majesty's Government were preferable and we recommend their adoption. In the appropriate place we give tables setting forth the distribution of seats in the legislatures in accordance with our proposals.

"Apart from the general alteration in the distribution of seats due to a return to the original Communal Award in the case of the Depressed Classes, our proposals involve some further redistribution of the seats in the case of the Legislative Assembly of Bengal and we think it desirable to explain here the reasons for the alteration which we propose. Under the proposals contained in the White Paper the Assembly in Bengal will consist of 250 members. Of these 250 seats 51 will be reserved for the representation of special interests, leaving 199 general territorial constituencies. Of these general seats 119 are to be reserved for Moslems leaving 80 only for the Hindu community including the Depressed Classes. Since the population ratio is approximately 55 per cent. Moslem and 45 per cent. Hindu it follows that so far as the general territorial constituencies are concerned the Moslems are being given ten seats more and the Hindus ten seats less than they would be entitled to on a population basis. It is true that this disparity will almost certainly be lessened as a result of the elections to the special interest seats which will be open to Moslems and Hindus. These number 20 and various estimates of the proportions of them which will be won by Moslems and Hindus respectively were submitted to us in the course of the evidence which was laid before us. We think that the Moslems may be expected to secure six of the 20 seats, which would bring their total representation up to 125 seats as compared with 94 seats in the case of the Caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes taken together. But even supposing that the Moslems were to secure none of the 20 seats they would still fill 119 seats as compared with 110 which is the maximum number of seats open to the Caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes combined under the proposals of the White Paper.

"We have already stated our objections to conferring upon a community by statute a definite majority unalterable by any appeal to the electorate. When the relative position of the two communities in Bengal in everything except actual numbers is taken into account, it will be seen that the reasons against placing the Hindu community in a position of permanent statutory inferiority in the legislature are particularly strong. Under British rule the Hindus have played an enormously predominant part in the intellectual, the cultural, the political, the professional and the commercial life of the province. More than 64 per cent. of those who are literate in Bengal are Hindus; nearly 80 per cent. of the students attending High Schools, nearly 83 per cent. of those in Degree classes, and nearly 86 per cent. of the postgraduate and research students are Hindus. A similar preponderance is found in the case of the professions, and in the case of Banking, Insurance and Exchange. In all previous Constitutions the significance of these facts has been admitted. Under the Lucknow Pact (an agreement between Moslems and Hindus arrived at in 1916) the Moslems in Bengal were allotted no more than 40 per cent. of the seats proposed to be filled by Indians by election; and under the Constitution now in force there are reserved for them only 16 per cent. of the general territorial constituencies.

"In the circumstances set forth above we should have felt justified, had the slate upon which we have to write been a clean one, in recommending that in Bengal all general territorial constituencies should be open to candidates of both communities without reservation of seats or separate electorates (except in the case of the 10 seats reserved for the Depressed Classes). But as we have already pointed out, the slate upon which we have to write is very far from being a clean one, and we have felt obliged to steer a middle course between the claims of the Hindus and the expectations which have been aroused in the minds of the Moslems. Broadly speaking, as will be seen from an examination of the Appendix, the effect of the changes which we proposed in the scheme of the White Paper will be as follows:—

(1) To give to Moslems or to Hindus, whichever is the minority community in any particular province, the right to decide whether election in the case of the general territorial constituencies shall be by separate or by joint electorates;

(2) In the case of Bengal to allot the general territorial seats between Moslems and Hindus on a population basis; and

(3) To give to the Depressed Classes in all provinces the representation given to them by the Government under their original Award before it was modified by the Poona Pact.

There is one other point to which we wish to refer. Under the provisions of the White Paper* no change in the distribution of seats under the Communal Award is to be made during the first ten years during which the Constitution is in operation, and thereafter no proposals for modification will be taken into consideration which do not carry with them the assent of the communities affected. We think that it is unlikely that such assent will be given by a community entrenched in a position of statutory superiority in the legislature; and we recommend, therefore, that it should be open to either community at the expiration of ten years to petition Parliament to modify the Award.")

The only change in the Communal Decision to which the J. P. C. have agreed is contained in the following words of their Report (p. 68, part i, vol. i):

". . . . . . objections to the (Poona) Pact in relation to Bengal have since been strongly urged by caste Hindus from that Province; and if by agreement between the communities concerned, some reduction were made in the number of seats reserved to the Depressed Classes in Bengal, possibly with a compensatory increase in the number of their seats in other Provinces where a small addition

* Paragraph 49 of the Introduction to the White Paper.

in favour of the Depressed Classes would not be likely materially to affect the balance of communities in the Legislature, we are disposed to think that the working of the new Constitution in Bengal would be facilitated."

We may be permitted *now* to quote the following extract from a letter written to us by Mr. C. F. Andrews on September 27, 1934:

"Last year when I left Allahabad I tried my utmost to help in the two matters I mentioned to you—the excess of European seats and the excess of Harijan seats, which reduced the Hindus of Bengal to an insignificant minority compared with the number of seats in the Council. I saw different Europeans about their excessive number of 25, but found very little response. Dr. Ambedkar agreed with me about the excess in Bengal of Harijan seats and was prepared to surrender some of them if other provinces would add to their own numbers . . . As you know, I took up these points purely because of the injustice which was to me so flagrantly apparent in the present position."

It may be added that Mr. Andrews was convinced as regards the injustice after he had listened to our arguments and seen some official papers placed before him by us at Allahabad. It will be noticed that the amendment which the J. P. C are prepared to accept is the same to which Dr. Ambedkar agreed. It is not known whether Sir Samuel Hoare consulted Dr. Ambedkar.

Pandharpur Orphanage and Asylum for Homeless Widows

Pandharpur is a well-known place of pilgrimage in the Bombay presidency. But many widows who, falling victims to seduction, become mothers, go there for a different purpose. Hence many foundlings have to be provided for in that place. Moreover, those widows who are not taken back into their homes by their relatives after delivery have to be given shelter and maintained. The orphanage and asylum at Pandharpur serve these very humane and philanthropic purposes. They require new buildings, for which funds are needed. We cordially associate ourselves with the Appeal issued for the purpose, which will be found printed among advertisements in this issue.

Indian Women's University

If education has made insignificant progress among the population of India in general, its progress among our girls and women is still more unsatisfactory. Hence, whatever differences of opinion there may be as to co-education or separate education for the sexes, the same curricula or partly different curricula for them, and the same universities or different universities for men and women, advantage should be taken of all methods, curricula and institutions. The Indian Women's University of Poona and Bombay, founded by Professor D. K. Karve, who has devoted himself to the cause of women's education during his long life with exemplary self-sacrifice, persistence and industry, is an institution worthy of every support. Owing to the interest of the donation of Rs. 15 lakhs made to it by the late Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey having been withheld, the university has had huge deficits during the last few years. For this reason, public support has become all the more necessary. An appeal for help has been issued signed by many well-known public men. It has our entire support. It will be found printed among the advertisements in this issue.

Professor Dwijadas Datta

Professor Dwijadas Datta of Comilla died last month at the age of 82 years. He was active till the last. After obtaining the degree of M. A. of the Calcutta university he proceeded to England as a State scholar to receive education in agriculture at Cirencester College. On returning to India after finishing his education there, he was appointed a Deputy Collector. Later he became a professor at the Government Engineering College at Sibpur. He was a great friend of the peasants and supported peasant proprietorship of land. He wrote a series of articles on the cultivation of jute in the Bengali monthly *Prabasi*, which were later published in book form, in which, among other things, he showed that the jute crop was not really profitable to the peasants, as they did not generally get more than their wages as labourers and the cost of maintenance

of their plough and cart cattle—sometimes they did not get even that. He wrote from personal knowledge and experience.

He was a great scholar and had a sound knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic. He devoted the last years of his life to showing that there was essential harmony between the Vedic teachings of Hinduism and the teachings of the Koran. He was a man of sterling independence and purity of character.

B. N. Sasmal

It is a tragedy that just when the election of B. N. Sasmal, barrister-at-law, to the Assembly by a large majority of votes was announced he had an attack of apoplexy and passed away after hovering between life and death for six days. His death at the present juncture is a great loss to the public life of the country—particularly to his native district of Midnapur in Bengal, for which he worked so hard and suffered so much, including imprisonment. His leadership in his own district during Non-co-operation days was so effective that the district magistrate had to pass an order prohibiting him from entering it.

At public meetings and at a meeting of the Calcutta Corporation eloquent tributes have been paid to his worth. Presiding over a meeting convened by the All-Bengal Radical Party, Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta said in part:

> Birendranath, a born fighter all his life, fought unfailingly in the cause of truth and justice. In the pursuit of truth he had occasionally to alienate his best friends and devoted colleagues. But that did not matter to him. To him truth was far above all the rest.
>
> For the maintenance of the right of his people Sasmal was always in the forefront of the struggle. So long as he realized that to be a true and just cause he never gave it up. Nothing could move him from that. Whenever the oppressed and down-trodden cried for help Birendranath with his indomitable courage stood out against the oppressor. To the afflicted and distressed he lent his helping hand without fail.
>
> His victories were great. Two years ago he had won a remarkable victory in the Corporation election. A few days ago he won another victory.
>
> Birendranath was a great friend of both the Hindus and the Mahommedans. In him there existed no communal feeling. In his death the Mussalmans had lost a true ally.
>
> It was disastrous that we had lost him at such a moment when the country's need for him was the greatest. It seemed our destiny to lose our leaders when their need was the most.
>
> Striking a personal note the president referred to the day when in 1923, after the memorable Assam-Bengal Railway strike she with her illustrious husband was met at the steamer station by Sj. Sasmal. During the non-co-operation movement, when enthusiasm was at its height, in response to a query from Deshapriya whether all those sacrifices would not lead them to the goal Sj. Sasmal decisively replied, "No, we are to go through tremendous sacrifices before we attain Swaraj."
>
> All through his life Birendranath never bowed down to anybody: in death too he kept his head erect.

At the Calcutta Corporation meeting, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, the Mayor, observed in part:

> In party politics many of us, and I am one of them, have exchanged blows with Mr. Sasmal; but he was as great in dealing one as he was generous in enduring another. Mr. Sasmal will be respectfully and affectionately remembered even by his opponents as a kind and sincere friend. His supporters and followers will cherish him as a valiant comrade with whom it was a privilege and pride to work.
>
> In all his actions Mr. Sasmal was unconcerned about being unpopular, whether inside his party and with his fellow-workers or with the outside public, if he felt his cause to be right. He was the last man ever to temporize. And in these circumstances his enormous hold on his supporters, his acquisition of an authoritative position in the political circle, and the respect he commanded from his opponents as well, were truly remarkable. Even in the work of the Corporation we have found that he knew no deviation or compromise, and he used to insist always on his own method. Divergence of opinion and adoption of different methods are inevitable in politics, as in almost every other walk of life, but Mr. Sasmal will be respectfully and affectionately remembered even by his opponents as a kind and sincere friend. His supporters and followers will cherish his memory as a valiant comrade with whom it was a privilege and pride to work.
>
> I think I express the sentiments of you all in saying that the outstanding quality of Mr. Sasmal's character, which, in fact, guided all his actions was that in any matter, big or small, he was absolutely unbending and unflinching, irrespective of any consequence to himself when he knew or believed in its justice or correctness. Such straightforward and unequivocal honesty of purpose, such fearlessness in giving expression to his own opinion, even if it pushed him to the borderline of being disregarded, are not the qualities very frequently to be observed in the public life of the country. In our present conditions particularly, I feel, such plain speaking and straight action according to conviction have become quite imperative. Mr. Sasmal's example, I hope and trust, will bear fruit.

Mr. Sasmal's compatriots of his own district of Midnapur did not yield to any one else in their appreciation and praise of their leader. At a condolence meeting, his worthy rival for the seat in the Assembly, Mr. Manmathanath Das, said:

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY MUSIC CONFERENCE, 1934



President, Judges and the Reception Committee



Girl Competitors



Bhattacharya Family—winners of the Championship Cup

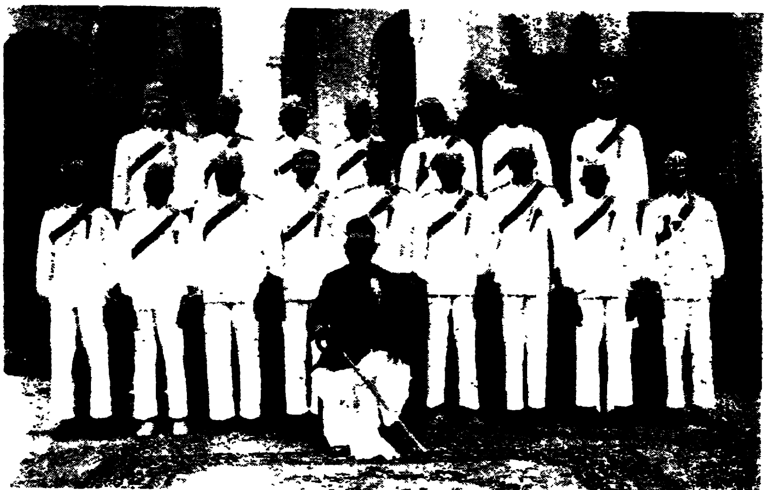


Musicians

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY MUSIC CONFERENCE, 1934



Musicians



Maihar Band Party



Boy Competitors (Senior)



Boy Competitors (Junior)

Sj. Sasmal was Midnapore's guardian angel, always protecting her against all dangers and difficulties. He was Midnapore's trusted friend and leader—one to whom the people of Midnapore could look forward with confidence to give them a helping hand in their troubles and difficulties. Sj. Sasmal had no parallel: He was a type by himself and could be compared to himself alone. What was most striking about him was his indomitable will and grim determination to do what he thought right in the face of all difficulties and obstacles.

Chinese Attack On Mount Everest

SHANGHAI, (By Mail).

Armed with a letter of introduction from the Panchenlama to the Tibetan authorities, four young Chinese explorers have left Peiping for Tibet with the avowed intention of climbing Mount Everest, the highest peak in the world. They expect to be gone for about six months. The youthful explorers intend also to study the customs and modes of living of the people in China's border districts.—*Reuter.*

The example of these four enterprising Chinese young men ought to inspire some Indian young men—particularly those who live nearest to Mount Everest—to do likewise.

No Contribution for Bihar Relief from British Exchequer "Necessary"!

LONDON, Nov. 26.

Questioned by Mr. Morgan Jones (Lab.- Glamorg.) in the House of Commons today, Sir Samuel Hoare (Secretary of State for India) replied that he did not think it necessary to ask the British Exchequer for a contribution towards relief of the victims of the earthquake in North Bihar.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that no request had been made to him in that connection, but, even if it had been made, he would say that it was not necessary to accede to it. He pointed out that, in addition to £690,000 voluntarily subscribed, large sums were being sent to the Government of Bihar and Orissa from the Central India Exchequer and there was no reason to suppose that adequate funds would not be available.—*Reuter.*

British contributions for Bihar relief, including that by His Majesty King George V., have not been commensurate with Britain's wealth or Bihar's sore need. The £690,000 voluntarily subscribed has not come from Britain. That the British Exchequer would not be asked to contribute, and would not contribute even if asked, was known too well to require to be stated. But it is not at all correct to say that adequate funds would be given from the Central Indian Exchequer.

Pandit Tarakeswar Ganguli

By the sudden and untimely death of Pandit Tarakeswar Ganguli the Mayurbhanj State in Orissa has lost a devoted servant and true friend. He worked as confidential adviser to His Highness the present Maharaja and his predecessor. He did much in various ways to enable them to attain a higher status. In their domestic matters, too, his wise advice and exertions could always be counted upon. He was directly instrumental in making known to the public the ancient contribution of Mayurbhanj to Indian architecture and sculpture.

Allahabad University Music Conference

The fifth session of the Allahabad University Music Conference opened formally on the 5th November last at the Senate House. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha presided and Sir J. P. Srivastava, Minister for Education, inaugurated the conference. In concluding his inaugural speech, the Minister observed:

"The present need is propaganda. Such a conference as this annual conference of the Allahabad University does much to popularise the art, and during the five years of its existence it had accomplished a great deal in this direction. I hope that it will go from strength to strength, year by year attracting more musicians to demonstrate their genius." Concluding he paid a tribute to Dr. Bhattacharya.

Mr. Sinha observed in the course of his address:

'Of the importance of music in a system of education the ancient Greeks had no doubt. They divided education into the two branches, of gymnastic and music, and these, they held, should be so balanced and proportioned that the man should become a harmonious whole.'

'You have had for the past several years music classes here, and you hope before long to institute, I understand, a diploma in music. In the West, as you are doubtless aware, several universities award even doctorates in music. It is my fervent hope that, in the fulness of years, here too music will form a subject for a University degree.'

'To Dr. Dakshina Ranjan Bhattacharya, who has so successfully organized these conferences, our thanks are due in special measure and I am sure you all will join me in conveying to him our sense of appreciation of his great work in this matter.'

Before distributing the prizes to the winning competitors Kunwar Jagdish Prasad, the Home Member, made a brief speech, in the course of which he said, among other things:

There were certain things which were lacking for the proper development of music, in this province. The absence of a faculty of music in the University was the one disadvantage.

Another point which the speaker impressed upon the audience was that in their desire to propagate the art of music they should not forget the professional. In the West unless people devoted their whole life to the profession of music, no advance was possible. All that they had to see was that the profession was not only lucrative but honourable.

In conclusion, Kunwar Jagdish Prasad paid a tribute to Dr. Bhattacharya for the labour and care which he had taken in organizing the conference.

As the result of the competitions, the Bhattacharya family was again judged to be the best and was awarded the best musical institution prize, having secured 78 marks. The second and third institution prizes were awarded to the Allahabad University and Crosthwaite Girls' College, which secured 51 and 32 marks respectively. The teachers' first prize was given to Prof. Shankar Rao Tewari (46 marks) and the second prize to Mr. Har Narain (28 marks). —*The Leader.*

The number of competitors who enrolled themselves for competition was over 300, of whom about 100 were declared to be prize winners. Nearly a hundred musicians, amateur and professional, from all parts of India attended the Conference. The following competitors secured over 70 per cent. marks:

Class I. Vocal.

1. Miss Shanti Lata Banerji.
2. Miss Provabati Mittra.
3. Miss Shantana Bhattacharya.

Dancing.

1. Miss Shantana Bhattacharya.

Sitar.

1. Miss Usha Devi Govila.

Class II. Violin.

1. Master Samir Kumar Banerji.

Dancing.

1. Master Niranjan Bhattacharya.

Class III. Dancing.

1. Miss Maya Bhattacharya.
2. Miss Shova Bhattacharya.

Sitar.

1. Miss Renuka Saha.

Class IV. Vocal.

1. Master Sudhir Lal Chakravarty.

Harmonium.

1. Master Hem Chandra Joshi.
2. Master Jagdish.

Tabla.

1. Master Phulu Mukerji.
2. Master Hem Chandra Joshi.
3. Master Nishitesh Banerji.

Class V. Vocal.

1. Miss S. Champak Lakshmi.

Class VI. Vocal.

1. Mr. N. R. Bhattacharya.

Tabla.

1. Mr. Suraj Kumar Paul.

Sitar.

1. Mr. N. R. Bhattacharya.

Sarod.

1. Mr. Radhika Mohan Moitra.

Class VII. Vocal.

1. Mr. Chandra Shekhar Pant.

Tabla.

1. Mr. S. R. Bhattacharya.

Class VIII. A. (a) Vocal.

1. Kumari Gouri Rani Ghosh.
2. Miss Binapani Mukerji.

Harmonium.

1. Miss Binapani Mukerji.

Class VIII. A. (b) Vocal.

1. Miss Susama Dey.

Harmonium.

1. Miss Bindubasini Roy.

Class VIII. B. (a) Vocal.

1. Master Devi Prasad Bhattacharya.

Class VIII. B. (b) Vocal.

1. Mr. Rathindra Nath Chatterji.
2. Mr. K. C. Majumdar.
3. Mr. V. J. Joshi.

Pakhawaj.

1. Mr. Pratap Narayan Moitra.

Tabla.

1. Mr. Anath Nath Mukerji.
2. Mr. Gyanada Nath Majumdar.

Baroda Government's Lead

BARODA, Nov. 17.

The Government of Baroda have issued orders asking the public and State servants to show the defects of the working of Government Departments and suggest constructive proposals.

The Government have also issued a notification asking for support of the public to stamp out the evil of Ankfarak Gambling.

The Government, it is understood, propose to enact a Bill for regulation of building of religious institutions in order to ensure complete communal harmony. Orders have also been issued to the person or persons controlling religious funds to submit details of receipts and expenditure to the Government.—(*United Press*).

Government Interference in Jubbulpore Municipal Affairs

NAGPUR, Nov. 17.

The Central Provinces Government has announced to-day that the Jubbulpore Municipality has been excepted from the application of certain provisions of the C. P. Municipalities Act and new rule framed whereby the president of the said committee shall be appointed by the Government. Accordingly Pandit Dwarka Prasad Mishra has been removed from office and Rai Saheb Murli Manohar Prasad Seth, E. A. C., Jubbulpore, has been appointed president of the committee.

This development is the sequel to Pandit Mishra's refusal to carry out Government's order reinstating Mr. Sharma, Secretary to the Municipal Committee, in the place of Mr. N. N. Sil.—(*A. P.*).

JUBBULPORE, Nov. 17.

After a constitutional struggle for the last five days by Mr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra, President of the Jubbulpore Municipality, who refused to carry out the orders of the Local Government reinstating Mr. Chiranjilal Sharma as Secretary while the C. P. Municipal Act existed in its present form, curtain was at last rung down this evening by removal of Mr. Dwarka Prasad Mishra from presidentship.

Interviewed Mr. Mishra stated that it was no occasion to express regret for his removal fro presidentship and Government's action was a confession that whatever he had done was strictly in accordance with the provisions of law.

Mr. Mishra further stated that this ordinance in the shape of Government notification had deprived the local Municipality of the right to elect its chairman. This undoubtedly was Government's admission of the confidence reposed in him by the local taxpayers. (United Press).

Government action in the Central Provinces in this matter has been arbitrary. If the C. P. Government thought that Mr. Mishra had acted against the law, they ought to have asked the Jubbulpore Municipality to elect another president after he had been removed.

Is the Simon Commission Report Free From Mistakes?

The Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms opens with the following statement:

"The conditions of the problem with the examination of which we have been entrusted are brilliantly described in the comprehensive survey which forms Volume I of the Report of the Statutory Commission. We are not aware that the accuracy of this survey has been impeached, and we are content to take it both as the starting point and the text book of our own investigation." [P. 1. Vol. I, Part 1.]

The Simon Commission's two volumes do contain several serious mistakes. Some of them have been noticed in official publications, and many more in non-official criticisms. When the J. P. C. say: "We are not aware &c." challengingly, we poor Indians may take them not to have read even the official documents.

We shall give one or two examples below:

The Simon Commission in Vol. I, Part III, Chapter 6, dealing with "the course of Indian Politics since 1920 in the light of the Reforms,", says with regard to the Central Provinces at p. 260, paragraph 215:

"The Third Central Provinces Council met in January, 1927. A Ministry was appointed, but lasted only a few days. Once more the transfer of subjects was suspended, and all departments were administered by the Governor-in-Council up to February, 1928. Since then there have been two Ministries with an interval, during which dyarchy was again suspended."

This they were penning in London on the 12th May, 1930.

The Chief Secretary to the Central Provinces Government writing on the 12th August 1930, in the Views of the Local Governments on the Recommendations of the Simon Commission, says:

"The statement in paragraph 285 of Volume I of the Commission's report that the ministry appointed in January, 1927, in the Central Provinces lasted only a few days is incorrect. The ministry lasted for nearly two years. It is not necessary to elaborate the matter, but the Commission has missed the *whole point* of the constitutionally interesting Central Provinces experience." [See p. 368, foot-note.]

The italics are mine. What a fine compliment to the Simon Commission after their two years' tour in India!

The Bihar and Orissa Government, in their Views of the Local Governments, &c., at p. 347, say:

"The local Government notice that in the second volume of their Report, the Commission have omitted Angul from the list of backward tracts in this province. This omission must be due to inadvertence, as parts of Angul, particularly the Khondmals, are among the most backward parts of the province."

J. M. DATTA.

Sloyd in Santiniketan

We are glad to learn from *Visva-bharati News* for November that the Sloyd Association of Sweden has sent Miss Jeanson with a full complement of looms, instruments, etc., for running the Sloyd department in Santiniketan. Sloyd is a system of manual training, originally Finnish, which has made great progress in Sweden.

"The Mother of Parliaments"

Englishmen generally think and say that their parliament is the mother of all parliaments elsewhere. But Swedes claim that they had parliamentary institutions before the British parliament came into existence. A note received from the *Swedish International Press Bureau*, dated October 24, 1934, says:

"Sweden could celebrate the thousandth anniversary of parliamentary institutions in the time of Gustav Vasa (400 years ago)," declares Professor Sune Lindqvist in an interview in a Stockholm newspaper.

The Professor has carefully sifted the evidence of archæological research and of old chronicles. He has rejected all conclusions which he considers based on insufficient evidence.

All-Inaia Bengali Cultural Conference

• The annual conference known by the name of "Prabasi Banga-Sahitya Sammelan" is really an all-India Bengali

cultural conference in which Bengalis residing in different provinces in India take part. The proceedings are conducted and addresses delivered, poems recited or read and papers read in Bengali. The conference is non-political and non-sectarian. The subjects of the speeches and papers are Bengali language and literature, science, philosophy, history, arts and crafts, music, pedagogy, journalism, economics and industry, Bengali settlers outside Bengal, etc.

This year the conference will be held in Calcutta on the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th of the current month of December. Sir Lal Gopal Mukherji, retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court, will preside. Besides the general president, there are sectional presidents. The sectional presidents so far selected are: Literature, Mr. Kedarnath Banerji, novelist and story-writer; Science, Professor Dr. Biman Bihari Dey, Presidency College, Madras; Economics, Professor Dr. Bhanubhushan Das Gupta, Lecturer, Colombo University, and Secretary, Ceylon Banking Commission; Arts and Crafts, Mr. Devi Prasad Roy Chaudhuri, Principal, Madras Government School of Arts; Journalism, Mr. Suresh Chandra Bhattacharjee, Editor, *The Rangoon Mail*, Rangoon; Pedagogy, Professor Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, Head of the Department of History, Patna University; History, Professor Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, Meerut College; Philosophy, Professor Nishi Kanta Sen, Registrar, Delhi University; Ladies Section, Srimati Sailabala Devi (Mrs. J. K. Sen), New Delhi.

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore will open the conference, which will be held in the Calcutta Town Hall. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee has been chosen chairman of the reception committee.

The League of Nations' System of Minorities Protection

The Statesman in its leader of the 15th November last referred to what the Polish delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations "recently" said at Geneva with regard to the League's system of minorities protection. We reproduce below the whole passage in the League of Nations' *News for Overseas*, September, 1934, devoted to the subject of Minorities discussed in the recent fifteenth Assembly of the League:

> The question of universalising the system of minorities protection provoked considerable discussion at the Assembly. A proposal to this effect was submitted by the Polish delegation, which argued that it was unfair that this system should apply only to certain States and added that until other countries accepted similar obligations the Polish Government would not co-operate in the application of the minorities treaties. This led to statements by the British, French and Italian delegates, who pointed out that the minorities treaties were concluded between Poland and certain other countries at the Peace Conference and that these countries could not admit the right of unilateral repudiation. Repudiation was not, however, they added, a construction that need necessarily be put upon the Polish statement.
>
> In the subsequent discussion, the Polish representative said he would not press for a vote on the universalisation of the minorities system or even its extension to the whole of Europe, because it was clear that although there was considerable support for the proposal there was also a good deal of opposition.

Explorations in Sind

We welcome the publication of *Explorations in Sind* by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, being No. 48 of Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India. Ever since the discovery, as a pre-historic site, of Mohen-jo-Daro and its excavation by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, following the excavation of and unearthing of finds in Harappa by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, the "Indus Valley Civilization," as it has been called, has excited great curiosity. Since then explorations and excavations have been made in Sind and Baluchistan by several archæologists, Indian and European. The work of the Indian officers of the department has not been less important than that of the European archæologists. We are here concerned with Mr. N. G. Majumdar's work. Without intending to anticipate the views of what qualified reviewers will say of his achievement in our pages, we may be allowed to observe that he has shown great capacity for spotting, exploring and excavating sites. His labours have yielded splendid results, as set forth in the very well got-up and fully illustrated volume before us.

Considering the work done by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, Rai Bahadur Daya Ram

Sahni, Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Mr. N. G. Majumdar and others, we do not see any reason for the Government of India's giving licences to foreign archæologists to explore and excavate sites and carry away precious finds out of India. Our archæologists in India are quite competent to do such work. The expense, too, is not at all prohibitive. In fact, considering the value and importance of archæological work, the expense is insignificant.

Our universities should train every year a few postgraduate students in archæological work. Some Indian States have archæological departments of their own, and no State of even moderate size should be without one. It is satisfactory, therefore, to note that Baroda has added an archæological department to its existing educational, historical and cultural departments.

Does Homage to Soviet Flag Amount to Sedition?

On the 24th of November last Mr. Sukumar Sen, I. C. S., Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, acquitted Mr. Niharendu Dutta-Majumdar, Bar-at-Law, and four other labour leaders of the charge of conspiracy to commit sedition and class hatred for their having hoisted the Soviet Russian Flag at the last annual conference of the Port and Dock Workers' Union held on April 29 on a plot of land off Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta, and for having extolled the flag with salutes and shouts of revolutionary slogans. The Magistrate delivered an important and lengthy judgment, in the course of which he ovserved :

> "Great stress has been laid by the prosecution on the hoisting of the Soviet Flag and the homage paid to it. This is said to amount to sedition. I fail to see how this is so. Soviet Russia is a country at peace with His Majesty's Government and extollation of the Soviet Union or its flag cannot be said to be any more objectionable than the extollation of, say, the Nazi regime in Germany or the Fascist regime in Italy or the Republican system of Government in France or the United States of America. I do not agree that such extollation gives rise to any implication of contempt or hatred of the existing system of Government in India."

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose Not Permitted to Return

On account of the very serious illness of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's father, his (Mr. Subhas Bose's) mother had asked Government to permit him to return to India to enable him to see his father. "The *Associated Press* understands on inquiries made in responsible quarters that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose will not be permitted to return to India at the present moment." Government's decision is to be regretted. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's return and stay in India for a few days would not have injured the State to any extent.

Probable Future Status of Irish Citizens

An Irish Citizenship Bill has been introduced in the Irish Free State Dail. Its passage may be taken to be certain. With reference to such an event *Reuter* has sent the following cable :

> LONDON, Nov. 29.
>
> 'After the Citizenship Bill becomes law, nobody in the Irish Free State will be a British subject', declared Mr. de Valera in the Dail yesterday; "otherwise all the principles agreed upon by previous Imperial Conferences would go by the board."
>
> Continuing, Mr. de Valera said, "It will be impertinence for the British to call Free State nationals British subjects after the Bill becomes law."—*Reuter.*

Bengal Cotton Mills Faced with Crisis

The Bengal National Chamber of Commerce have addressed a lengthy representation to the Government of India, Commerce Department, on the subject of the proposed reduction of import duties on British piecegoods, which concludes thus :

> "The Bengal Mills would be the worst sufferer in case any further reduction is allowed on the duties of British cotton goods. The Bengal Mills drawing their supply of cotton from distant provinces at considerable cost supply the local markets and the proximity of the latter to the Calcutta port dangerously expose the mills in this Province to foreign competition in so far as any reduction in the duties on imported goods must, from the very nature of the case, bear its fullest effects on port markets as well as places within easy reach of ports. While thus a reduction in duty would threaten the Bengal mills with the most intense form of foreign competition the latter are the least equipped to withstand and survive the shock as the cotton industry in this province is not fully developed and must yet take some time to attain its deserved measure of expansion and consolidation."

Madras Women's Conference Support Sarda Act

> MADRAS, Nov. 3.
>
> "Our conference does not engage itself in party politics but deals with all questions relating to the

welfare of women and children. Hence women of all shades of opinion and all parties may find a place in this body," observed Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi addressing the annual conference of the Women of the Madras constituency of the All-India Women's Conference in the Senate House today. The conference passed a resolution expressing its whole-hearted support to the Sarda Act, and pledging itself to ensure its successful operation. At the same time the conference urged it was absolutely essential for the operation of the Act that it should be amended to render its working more effective.

A Course in Journalism

The Indian Express of Madras writes :

At the Senate Meeting of the Madras University, a resolution was moved by Mr. V. Ramanathan asking the Syndicate to take early steps to institute a degree in journalism in consultation with the Academic Council. The idea was warmly supported and the resolution has been referred to the Syndicate for consideration and report.

As was remarked by one speaker, the profession of journalism is bound to be of increasing importance in our country. When literacy spreads, it will be able to absorb annually thousands of gifted young men and women. It is, therefore, but just that the University should make a beginning in the provision of facilities for entering a journalistic career.

Efforts are also being made to introduce courses in journalism in the Calcutta, Bombay and Annamalai Universities.

Legal Disabilities of Women

November 24 last was fixed by the All-India Women's Conference for the observance of an All-India Day for discussing the legal disabilities of women. Meetings were accordingly held at various important centres. The Calcutta meeting was attended by men and women alike. Lady Sircar, wife of Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar, presided. She pointed out that

"Indian women of the present day did not base their claim for the removal of legal disabilities on the great rights and privileges enjoyed by Indian women in the past. It did not matter whether the Sastras sanctioned their claims or not. The women's demand for the removal of the legal disabilities was based upon justice and equity. It was high time that Indian women asserted themselves for the removal of their legal disabilities."

Other speakers followed. A resolution urging the Government to appoint an All-India Commission to enquire into the legal disabilities of women with a view to amending the existing laws was unanimously adopted. Such a commission should be appointed. It is hoped that the ladies who ask for just rights, and quite justly and naturally so, will be prepared to perform the duties attaching thereto and shoulder the domestic and public burdens which are bound up with those rights.

William Carey Centenary

On Saturday the 24th November last a crowded public meeting was held in Overtoun Hall to celebrate the centenary of the death of William Carey, the pioneer Protestant Christian Missionary in Bengal. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee presided. The proceedings began with a hymn of praise in English sung by "children of many lands," appropriately dressed. Principal J. R. Banerjea spoke in English on Carey as a Missionary. Miss Jyotirmayi Ganguli, M. A., paid her homage of respect to Carey as a social reformer. She spoke in Bengali. Mr. Arthur Moore, editor of *The Statesman*, traced the close connexion of his paper with Carey, who was the founder of the *Friend of India*, which was now merged in the *Statesman*. Professor Priya Ranjan Sen, speaking in Bengali, confined himself to describing Carey's contribution to Bengali literature. Carey helped the growth of the Bengali language, said Mr. Sen, not only by his translations but also by writing a Bengali grammar and a Bengali dictionary. Dr. Urquhart dealt with Carey's educational activities, observing that it was his work as a missionary which made him an educationalist. Recalling that Carey was the founder of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, Mr. Percy-Lancaster said that he was mainly instrumental in popularizing the cultivation of European vegetables, such as green-peas, carrots, cauliflowers, cabbages, etc., in this country. Sir Hasan Suhrawardy said that Carey's life held the great message for the India of today that there were many spheres in which men of all races and religions could work in harmony for the progress of the motherland. Principal Angus referred to the genesis of the founding of the Serampore College. Carey established 126 Vernaculer schools with 10,000 pupils.

After describing how Carey and his colleagues founded the college at a cost of £15,000, all contributed by themselves, and how the Royal Charter was obtained by Marsden from the then King of Denmark. Mr. Angus said that when they thought over Carey's educational work what struck them most was his comprehensiveness and the modernness of his views. "Most of all Carey wanted to see run through all his educational work the spirit of religion." concluded the speaker.

The president, speaking in Bengali, said that on reviewing Carey's life, the thought that impressed itself on his mind was that although he came to

a foreign land, he served it wholeheartedly. "If we Indians, each one of us according to his capacity, do our little bit for our country, then we will be paying true tribute to his memory."

He also referred to his great versatility, and pointed out that, just as Carey, the cobbler, was revered, so were many Indian saints of lowly origin revered, nay, worshipped, in this country.

Rev. W. Carey, a great-grandson of Carey, speaking both in Bengali and English, said that if his illustrious ancestor had been present at the meeting, he would have been grateful for the kindly feeling displayed towards him by the audience.

At intervals of speeches there were Bengali songs sung.

Hindu Widows' Home at Puri

The Bihar and Orissa Government have done the right thing by sanctioning a monthly grant of Rs. 50 to the Lady Basanta Kumari Hindu Widows' Home at Puri. Perhaps when financial stringency will be over, that Government will increase the grant.

Congress and the Indian States

In a statement issued by him Babu Rajendra Prasad, the Congress President, has explained the attitude of the Congress towards the Indian States. Says he :

> The position remains unchanged since the Calcutta session of the Congress defined its attitude towards the States in 1928. By the resolution which it passed at that session the Congress urged the ruling Princes in the Indian States to introduce responsible Government, based on representative institutions, in the States and immediately issue proclamations or enact laws guaranteeing the elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship, free speech, free press and security of person and property." It also assured the people of the States of its sympathy with the support to their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible Government in the States.

This is a correct statement of the Congress attitude and policy six years ago. But on account of the possibility of an All-India Federation, autocratic rule may be indefinitely prolonged and strengthened. Will Congress do nothing actively to enable the people of the States to obtain at least as much freedom as the people of British India? Will Congress remain satisfied with merely exhorting the Princes to be constitutional rulers and with assuring their subjects of its sympathy ? These questions have to be answered.

Crimes Against Women

A resolution adopted at the annual meeting of the Calcutta constituency of the All-India Women's Conference stressed the necessity for taking special measures to put down the growing evil of crimes against women. Public opinion has for years demanded effective measures. But nothing has yet been done. Of course, the law as it stands may be more effective, if properly enforced. In a recent case at Howrah Mr. S. N. Modak, I.C.S., sentenced one scoundrel, guilty of abduction and rape, to transportation for life. That is the kind of deterrent punishment needed. In addition there may be flogging, and also emasculation, as in Germany.

Mahatma Gandhi on Village Industries

> "As the author of the Congress resolutions on village industries and as the sole guide of the association that is being formed for their promotion, it is but meet that I should, as far as possible, share with the public the ideas that are uppermost in my mind regarding these industries and the moral and hygienic uplift that is intimately associated with them."

Mahatma Gandhi begins with these words an article on village industries in *Harijan.* He elucidates in the following passage his opinion that cotton mills have taken the bread out of the mouths of villagers :

> Mechanization is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India. I may not use a plough for digging a few square yards of a plot of land. The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages. The problem is how to utilise their idle hours, which are equal to the working days of six months in the year. Strange as it may appear, every mill generally is a menace to the villagers. I have not worked out the figures, but I am quite safe in saying that every mill-hand does the work of at least ten labourers doing the same work in their villages. In other words, he earns more than he did in his village at the expense of ten fellow-villagers. Thus spinning and weaving mills have deprived the villagers of a substantial means of livelihood. It is no answer in reply to say that they turn out cheaper, better cloth, if they do so at all. For, if they have displaced thousands of workers, the cheapest mill cloth is dearer than the dearest khadi woven in the villages.

Indianization of the "Indian" Army !

LONDON, Nov. 7.

In the House of Lords today, replying to Lord Strabolgi, who asked for information regarding the progress of the Indianization of the army and enquired what developments were contemplated, Lord Halifax, for the Government, reminded the House that the interests of India were too vital to allow of any step which would endanger the efficiency of her

defence forces, but, subject only to this, it was the British Government's purpose to continue the programme recently laid down, with the approval of the Government of India and the British Government, by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and any suggestions that hesitation to proceed more rapidly arose from prejudice or vested interests were entirely without any solid foundation.—*Reuter.*

Indian public opinion cannot accept the plea that it is only in the interests of India and in order to keep the army in a state of efficiency that it has not been Indianized. Nor is it at all obvious that the present Commander-in-Chief, Sir Philip Chetwode, whose scheme postpones indefinitely—perhaps to the Greek Kalends—the complete Indianization of the army and who asked on September 5 in reply to a critic in the Council of State, "Do he and his friends think that a war-worn and war-wise nation like the British, who won their empire at the point of the sword and have kept it by the sword all these years, are to be turned aside by arm-chair critics ?" is free from prejudice and uninfluenced by "vested interests." Is keeping India for Britain "by the sword", to use his words, a disinterested act, or has it got anything to do with vested interests? It is a funny idea that the most intelligent, best informed and most patriotic Indians care less for the interests of India than any Englishman !

As for "efficiency," the Shea Committee, all of whose members were experienced and seasoned military officers, thought that the Indian army could be completely Indianized in thirty years, and of course without impairment of efficiency. Another Committee, presided over by Sir Andrew Skeen, also a distinguished military officer, thought that the army could be Indianized to the extent of 50 per cent by 1952 without loss of efficiency. Why were the opinions of these committees brushed aside ? And if their opinions were to be brushed aside, why were they at all appointed ?

Dictionaries of Indian Languages

Some time ago we read the following two paragraphs in some papers :

It is understood that the Government of India have lately forwarded a letter, which in their turn they had received from the India Office, London, written to the latter by several important literary associations in England; including the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Council of the Philosophical Society and the Academic Board of the School of Oriental Studies, to all Provincial Governments, asking them to bring to the notice of the educational bodies in their respective provinces the desirability of encouraging lexicographical and other work on the languages of India.

The points which these bodies have particularly stressed are that some of the important languages of India lack satisfactory dictionaries; that the existing good lexicons are in urgent need of revision and that many of the less known languages and dialects are likely to die out without ever having been adequately recorded. The London School of Oriental Studies, it has been further pointed out in the letter, is prepared to lend advice and co-operation of a body of scholars engaged in the teaching of and research into the Indian languages.

Some years ago the Nagari-pracharini Sabha of Benares undertook to publish a comprehensive dictionary of Hindi. Perhaps it has now been completely published. Under the munificent patronage of the Maharaja of Gondal a comprehensive lexicon of Gujarati was projected some years ago. Perhaps this, too, is complete. Mr. Gopal Chandra Praharaj of Cuttack has been publishing a large Oriya dictionary, with Hindi, Bengali and English equivalents, with the help of the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj and the Bihar and Orissa Government. We have seen and noticed three volumes of it. We also saw at Cuttack last year that the fourth volume was much advanced. Perhaps all the six volumes are now available. A comprehensive dictionary of Bengali is being published by Pandit Hari Charan Bandyopadhyay of Santiniketan at his own expense. It is too costly an undertaking for a poor pandit. The Government of Bengal, the Tripura State, the Cooch Behar State, and the rich men of Bengal could have helped him.

Abolition and Existence of Slavery

A century ago, in and from the 1st of August 1834, slavery was abolished in the British Empire. But Lady Simon has recently written in *The Manchester Guardian* that "today there are probably more than five million persons over whom somebody holds a 'property' right."

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